

*Publication of the University of the Panjāb,  
Lāhore, Pākistān*

# KASHĪR

## A History of Kashmīr

by  
**Al-Hājj Dr. G. M. D. SUFI**

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**SECOND VOLUME**

**By the Author of "Kashīr"—**

(1) *Al-Minhāj*—Being the Evolution of Curriculum in the Muslim Educational Institutions of India.

[Shaikh Muhammad Ashraf, Kashmīrī Bāzār, Lāhore, Pākistān. Price—Rs. 5.]

(2) *Common sense on Pākistān* (First Edition).

[The Bombay Muslim Students' Federation, Juma' Masjid Building, Grant Road, Bombay 8. Price—Re. 1.]

Second Edition (Revised). Maktaba-e-Adab, Bombay 8.

[Publisher—M. Sanāullāh Khān, 26, Railway Road, Lāhore. Price—Rs. 2.]

Urdu Translation of the first edition by Taskin (Alig.) published by the Maktaba-e-Adab, Bombay 8. Price—Re. 1/4.

(3) *Sughra*—Being a discussion of the Status and Schooling of Muslim Women in Pāk-India.

[Printed draft awaiting revision for the press for publication.]

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Note.—A.C. in "Kashīr" represents After Christ, and stands for Anno Domini or A.D.

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Dr. G. M. D. Sufi has presented his *Kashīr* to the University of the Panjab. The University has accepted it. *Kashīr* now appears as a Panjab University Publication. Dr. Sufi has no interest in its sale.

4th December, 1943.

M. AFZAL HUSAIN,  
Vice-Chancellor,  
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# KASHIR

BEING A HISTORY OF KASHMIR

From the Earliest Times to Our Own



5770

BY

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954.422  
Sub



In Two Volumes — Volume II

The University of the Punjab

Lahore, Pakistan

1949



**CENTRAL ARQUEOLÓGICA**

LIL. Y. 100-41.

Acc. N. 5770. ....

Date. 13/3/57. ....

Call No. 954.422/3uf -

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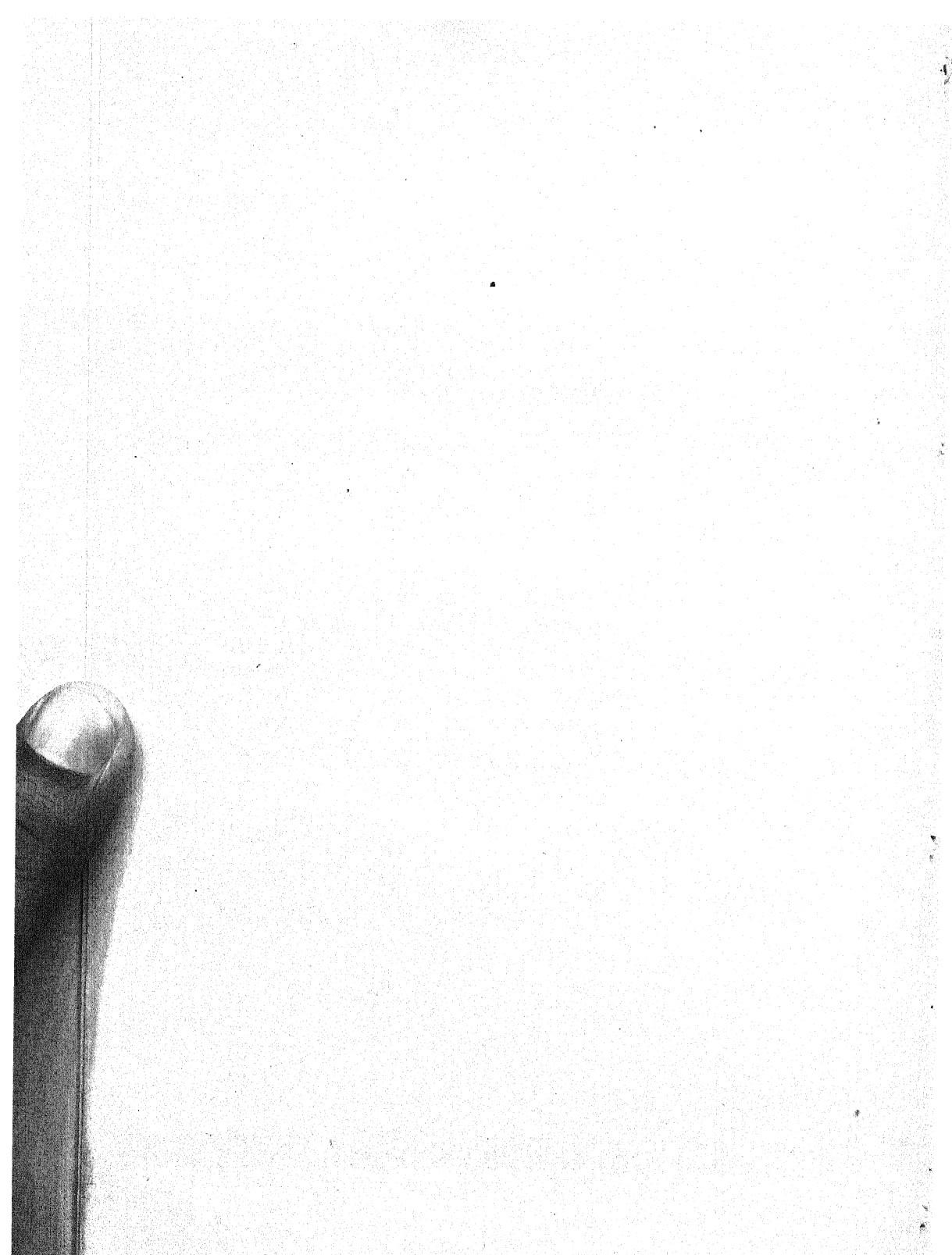
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### LETTERS & LITTERATEURS IN KASHMIR UNDER MUSLIM RULE

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The strong injunction of the Prophet of Islam embodied in his two traditions, *viz.* (*i*) 'the acquisition of knowledge is incumbent on every Muslim,' and (*ii*) 'he who goes out in search of knowledge is working in the way of God till he returns (from his search)' created among his followers a universal desire for knowledge. Within his lifetime, was formed the nucleus<sup>1</sup> of an educational institution, which, in after years, grew into universities at Baghdād, Salerno, Cairo and Cordova. It was, however, in the second century that this literary and scientific activity of the Muslims commenced in earnest. Baghdād, in this connexion, shines out as a beaconlight to the whole of Asia for the diffusion of learning. Under the Umayyads, says Ameer Ali,<sup>2</sup> Muslims were passing through a period of probation, preparing themselves for the great task they were called upon to undertake.

Under the 'Abbāsids, the Muslims became the repositories of the knowledge of the world in keeping with their claim as the devotees of a universal religion. Various parts of the globe were ransacked by the agents of the Caliphs for "the hoarded wealth of antiquity," which was brought to Baghdād and "laid before an admiring and appreciative public." Schools and academies sprang up in every direction. Free public libraries were established in every city. And the great philosophers of the ancient world were studied side by side with the Qur'ān. In the age of

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1. Syed Ameer Ali, *The Spirit of Islam*, Christophers, London, 1922, page 362.

2. *Ibid.*, page 371

Charlemagne the more characteristic ideas of the modern West, in 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Ali's words,\* were enshrined in Arabic works, and the practical arts and sciences were cultivated by the Muslims. The *'Ilm-ul-Kalām* of Islam and the medieval theology of the schoolmen of Christianity, the Neo-platonists and the Sūfis show subtle interrelations, sometimes direct and sometimes unconscious, which indicate how religious influences acted as between East and West.

When, however, the light at Baghdād began to wane, Ghaznī offered its hospitality to scholars and *littérateurs* who shed a glorious lustre on the brilliant reign of Mahmūd and his successors under whom literature and the arts flourished abundantly. The munificent patronage of learning under the Saljūqs rivalled that of the 'Abbāsids. But the barbarous campaign of the Mongols put an end, for a time, to the intellectual development of Asia, which had to wait till large numbers of these Mongols had adopted the religion of the Prophet of Arabia. The change of religion changed their outlook on life. "From destroyers of seats of learning and arts they became the founders of academies and the protectors of the learned." Timūr was a patron of science and poetry, and was fond of the society of scholars and artists of his day. He was an author as well as a legislator. And the authorship of the *Malfuzāt-i-Timūrī* is attributed to him, which claim, though perhaps not quite genuine, at least indicates that Timūr had learning enough to be considered a writer of note. Samarqand was resplendent with the glories of the arts and sciences then known to the civilized world. Bukhārā had, in fact, already preceded Samarqand in fame. Kashmir drank at these fountains. Thereafter it acquired fame as a home of Islamic learning in the days of Sultān Sikandar and his successors.

### Promotion of Learning in Kashmir

*Under Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn.*

We shall begin with the reign of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn (1354–1373 A.C.), as our researches do not help us much before

\**Modern India and the West*, edited by L.S.S.O'Malley, Oxford University Press, 1941, page 389.

this period.<sup>1</sup> At the instance of Shāh Hamadān, Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn established the first *Madrasatul-Qur'ān* (a college for the study of the Qur'ān). Abu'l Mashāikh Shaikh Sulaimān, who was originally a Hindu, received his education in this school after his conversion, and in course of time distinguished himself as an exponent of the Qur'ān, and was given the title of *Imām-ul-Qurra'*, the leader of the Qārīs.<sup>2</sup> Madrasas for the teaching of the Qur'ān and the Hadīth were established in all important villages.

1. The information as given under this section of Chapter VIII has been collected from (1) *Asrār-ul-Abhrār* by Bābā Dā'ūd Mishkātī, (2) *Maqāmāt-i-Mahmūdiyya* by Khwāja Mu'in-ud-Dīn Naqshbandī, (3) *Tazkirat-ul-'Ulamā* by Muhammad 'Alī Khān Matīn, Mansabdār, mentioned in the *Khizāna-i-Amira* as the author of the *Tazkirah-i-Hayāt-ush-Shu'arā*, (4) *Bayān-i-Wāqi'a* a note on the Jāmi' Masjid by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, (5) *Tahqīqāt-i-Amīri* by Khwāja Amīr-ud-Dīn Pakhlīwāl, (6) *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī*, and (7) *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan*, and (8) by personal inquiries from local historians in Kashmīr, notably from Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat whose life sketch is given below.

### **Mufti Muhammad Shah Sa'ādat.**

Mufti Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat is about 66<sup>o</sup> years old, having been born on Thursday, 18th Muharram, 1298 A.H.=1881 A.C. He has already published 25 treatises on different topics relating to Kashmīr, most of which are given in the Bibliography under published works in *Kashīr*. Nine more are unpublished. Mufti Muhammad Shāh's father was Ghulām Muhyī'd-Dīn Muftī Pāndānī, under whom he began his studies which he continued under Maulavī Rasūl Shāh, Mir Wā'iz. He then left for Amritsar in 1901 to study grammar, logic and medicine in Maulavī Ghulām Rasūl's Madrasa there. On return to Srinagar he further studied under Muftī 'Azīz-ud-Dīn, Khwāja Asadullāh, Maulavī Ghulām Mustafā Amritsārī, Muftī Sharif-ud-Dīn, Maulavī Sadr-ud-Dīn and Maulavī Wafā'i. In 1917 he took service in the Arabic Institute of the Anjuman Nusrat-ul-Islam, Srinagar. In 1919-20 he was employed in the Archaeological Department, then under Dr. Hirānanda Shāstrī, and prepared for the Department a draft volume on the old monuments of Kashmīr. Dr. Hirānanda, at one time, deputed him to assist Dr. Sir Jiwanji Jamshedji Modi, Ph.D., of Bombay in his visits to places of historical and archaeological interest in and around Srinagar. In 1920 he was nominated a member of the Srinagar Municipality. He was made a Darbārī in 1924. The Muftī has two sons Jalāl-ud-Dīn, B.Sc., B.T., and Nūr-ud-Dīn. Muftī Ahmad Shāh, M.A., L.T., Munshi Fāzil, in the Kashmīr Educational Service, is Sa'ādat's maternal uncle's son. Mir Wā'iz Maulavī Yūsuf Shāh, a noted religious leader of Srinagar, is his brother-in-law, being Begam Sa'ādat's brother.

2. A Qārī is one who devotes himself to the reading or reciting of the Qur'ān. The *qirā'a* is a method of recitation, punctuation and vocalization of the text of the Qur'ān.

*Tajwid* is the art of reciting the Qur'ān, giving each consonant its full value, as much as it requires to be well pronounced without difficulty or exaggeration, strength, weakness, tonality, softness, emphasis, simplicity.

*Under Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn.*

Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn (1373—1389 A.C.) built a college in his headquarters at Qutbuddīnpōr in Srinagar, and named it after himself. Pīr Hājī Muhammad Qārī was the head of the institution, which continued its existence till the establishment of Sikh rule in the Valley. Then it closed for want of patronage. It had a long roll of well-known professors and scholars. Mullā Jauhar Nānθ was the head of this institution during the reign of Jahāngīr. Mullā Muhsin Fānī, the eminent philosopher-poet, and Mullā ‘Abdus Sattār Muftī taught their pupils here. Shaikh Rahmatullāh Tārābālī, Mullā Tāhir Ghānī Ashāī the poet, Muhammad Zamān Nāfi‘ Ashāī the historian and the younger brother of Ghānī, Khwāja Qāsim Tirmizī and Mullā Muhammad Kā’ūs, are some of its distinguished alumni. The locality of the school is known as LANGAR-HATTA, signifying that the Sultān had set up a *langar* or free boarding-house for teachers and pupils. Qutb-ud-Dīn thus laid the foundation of a residential system of education in Kashmīr, which provided for free association of teachers and pupils after formal hours of instruction, and thus led the way for Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn, in after years, to establish his University of Nau-shahr close to modern Srinagar. Soibug, eight miles west of Srinagar (in Tahsil Badgām or Pratāpsinghpōr), Khuyahōm (in Tahsil Handwāra) and one more village were assigned for its maintenance.

Khwāja A‘zam, ‘Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī and Pīr Hasan Shāh mention in their respective works the institution of Sayyid

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There are three kinds of *Tajwīd* :—1. *Tartīl*, slow recitation ; 2. *Hadr*, rapid recitation ; 3. *Tadwīr*, medium recitation. *Tajwīd*, “the adornment of recitation,” has for its object to prevent the tongue making any mistake in the recitation of the divine words. Besides the study of the articulation of consonants, *Tajwīd* deals with the knowledge of the laws which regulate the pause, the *imlā* or inclination of the vowel to the sound *i* and contraction.

The consonants fall into two groups, *Musta’liya*, or elevated, so called because in pronouncing them, the tongue is raised to the palate. *Mustafila*, or depressed, so called because the tongue is below the palate when they are pronounced.

There are two kinds of contractions ; *Great* when the consonants are both vocalized. *Little* when the first of the consonants is quiescent and the second vocalized.

The verses of the Qur’ān, although separated by a sign, are not to be recited with a stop at the end of each of them. The pause is only to be made if the sense of the verse is incomplete and forms a homogeneous whole.—Moh. Ben Cheneb in *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Volume IV, page 601.

Jamāl-ud-Dīn Muḥaddith, known under the name of the ‘Urwatul-Wusqā (literally, the firmest handle) abbreviated into Kashmīrī as Āravat, and is seen in ruins to this day in Kūcha Ashāī, Fath Kadal. Jamāl-ud-Dīn was induced by Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn to settle in Srīnagar when he came as the companion of Shāh Hamadān. Jamāl-ud-Dīn taught, lived and died here.

### *Under Sultān Sikandar.*

We have already stated on page 152 that Sikandar (1389—1413 A.C.) was an exceedingly generous man, and “his liberal patronage of letters attracted learned men from ‘Irāq and Khurāsān and Māvarā-un-Nahr (Trans-Oxiana) to his court in such numbers that it became an example to the courts of other provinces.” Near his Jāmi’ Masjid, he built a college, which was known as the College of the Jāmi’ Masjid. Attached to this college was a hostel. For the expenses of the college and the hostel, several villages of the *pargana*\* of Māgām were declared a *waqf* or endowment. Qāzī Mir Muḥammad ‘Alī Bukhārī, a descendant of Chingiz Khān, was appointed principal of the college on account of his erudition. Some of the noted lecturers were : Mullā Muḥammad Afzal Bukhārī for Hadīth, Mullā Muḥammad Yūsuf for Philosophy, and Mullā Sadr-ud-Dīn Kāshī for Mathematics. Sayyid Husain Mantiqī, the well-known logician, taught logic and metaphysics.

### *Under Bad Shāh.*

Now we come to the glorious period of Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn (1420—70 A.C.). His *Dār-ul-‘Ulūm* or the University at Naushahr, not far from modern Srīnagar, was a grand monument of his love of learning. The buildings were set up near the royal palace, and the university flourished under the rectorship of the eminent scholar and savant, Mullā Kabīr Nahvī. The Mullā was the author of a commentary on *Sharh Mullā* and was Shaikh-ul-Islām, well-known for his erudition, learning and piety. This great scholar was assisted by a large number of professors and lecturers attracted from different parts of the world. Mullā Ahmad Kashmīrī, Mullā Hāfiẓ Baghdādī, Mullā Pārsā Bukhārī, Mullā Jamāl-ud-Dīn Khwārizmī who subsequently became Chief Justice, and Mir ‘Alī Bukhārī and Mullā Yūsuf Rāshidī were among the more noted teachers. The revenues of several villages

\*A *pargana* is an aggregate of villages. The *pargana* is the smaller unit after the *shiqq* or the *sarkār*. W. H. Moreland in the *Agrarian System of Moslem India*, 1929, has identified the *pargana* with the *qasbah* (pp. 18-19).

were assigned to meet the expenses of the university. A translation bureau was also established under the auspices of the university. It was here that books were translated from Arabic and Sanskrit into Persian and Kashmīrī. The *Mahābhārata* was ordered to be translated. The *Rājatarangiṇī* of Kalyāna or Kalhaṇa was brought upto date by Jonarāja, and a history of Kashmīr was compiled in Persian entitled *Bahr-ul-Asmār* or 'The Sea of Tales,' by Mullā Ahmad. The Sultān's patronage of learning was not confined to Muslims alone. Hindu scholars were also generously rewarded for their eminence in letters and science. Uttāsōm held a high place in the bureau, was the head of what may be called the department of education, and wrote a life of the Sultān entitled *Jainacharita*. Yōdhabhattā had mastered the whole of the *Shāh-nāma* which he recited to the delight of the Sultān. Even Pandit Hargopāl Kaul<sup>1</sup> *Khasta*, who was deported from Kashmīr for tearing down the Qur'ān in 1896 A.C.,<sup>2</sup> in his enthusiasm for the Sultān, says that he was called "not only *Bād Shāh*, meaning the Great Sovereign, but *Bat Shāh* on account of his patronage of the Baṭs or Pandits."

Zain-ul-Ābidin spent huge sums on the collection of a library for his university. He sent out agents to different parts of the world to secure books and manuscripts for his library, which is said to have equalled the leading libraries of the time in Turkistān and Īrān, and which existed for about a century till the days of Sultān Fath Shāh.

*Bād Shāh* gave six lakhs of rupees for the Madrasatul-'Ulūm at Siālkōt.<sup>3</sup> The queen of Zain-ul-Ābidīn even gave to the Sultān her most valuable necklace for the promotion of learning.

In Zainagīr, the Sultān established a college between his palace and the royal garden. This also served as a centre for the diffusion of learning in the Valley. A large madrasa was also established at Sir, in Dachhanpōr, near Islāmābād. Mullā Ghāzī Khān was the head of this madrasa.

1. *Guldasta-i-Kashmīr* by Pandit Hargopāl Kaul *Khasta*, Pleader, 1883, page 116.

2. از روضہ کشمیر بدر شد is the chronogram of *Khasta*'s deportation, viz. 1314 A.H. = 1896 A.C. = 1953 Bikramī. The deportation is versified as follows:—

بِحُكْمِ رَيْبِيْذِنْتِ كَشْمِيرِيَانِ شُدَّ إِخْرَاجُ ازِينِ مُلْكِ كَشْمِيرِيَانِ

3. The *Mu'ayyid-ul-Fuzalā* of Muhammad 'Ali Shirwānī.

### *Under Sultān Hasan Shāh.*

According to the contemporary annalist, Crivara, Gul Khātūn, the mother of Sultān Hasan Shāh, built a madrasa. The Sultān himself constructed a *khāngāh*. The Madrasa-i-Dār-us-Shifā was also founded by him. The Shaikh-ul-Islam of the day, and the *pīr* or the spiritual guide of the Sultān, Bābā Ismā'il Kubravī, the great-grandson of Abu'l Mashāikh Shaikh Sulaimān, of whom we have spoken in connexion with Shāh Hamadān's Madrasatul-Qur'ān, presided over it. This madrasa stood on the Dal at Pakhribal on the eastern spur of the Hari-parbat and consisted of 360 snug cubicles. The revenues of the Bāghāt-i-Malkha lying between Nauhatta and the Dal in Srinagar, and of the village Benhāma in Lār, in the Sind valley above Gāndarbal, were assigned to it. Akbar used this same building as the Jharōka-i-Shāhī for the emperor's *darshan* or appearance to the public. Today the visitor will find here the temple of Pandit Har Kaul, a merchant of Srinagar. Shāh Begam, the wife of Malik Ahmad, the prime minister, set up a school. Naurūz, her son, likewise built a madrasa for religious instruction. Malik Tāj Baṭ followed their example. Hayāt Khātūn (of the Baihaqī Sayyid family) the queen of Hasan Shāh, repaired old buildings dedicated to learning.

### *Under Husain Shāh Chak.*

Husain Shāh Chak founded a great college, and sought the company of the pious and the learned. He gave Zainapōr as a *jāgīr* for the college which was known as Madrasa-i-Husain Shāh in the Husain Āngan locality, now known as Khāngāh Naqshbandī, Khwāja Bāzār Mahalla, Srinagar. This college primarily opened in the northern corner of the Kūh-i-Marān near the Khāngāh-i-Kubravī, at the instance of the Pādshāh's spiritual *pīr* Bābā Ismā'il, of the preceding paragraph. A library was also built and a free hostel was attached to the college. The villages of Wandhāma, Haran, Darind, Birhāma and the gardens of Daulatābād, Rainawārī, and Bāgh-i-Angūrī, the modern Malkha, were set apart for the maintenance of the hostel and the library. The college was run by Shaikh Fathullāh Haqqānī assisted by Akhund Mullā Darvish. Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, a well-known saint of Kashmīr, was a student of this college. Husain Shāh also gave a *jāgīr* for extending the Dār-ush-Shifā, the madrasa founded by Sultān Hasan Shāh mentioned above.

### *Under the Mughuls.*

Daraspāgāh-i-Mullā Haidar was established in the reign of Jahāngīr by Mullā Haidar 'Allāma in Mahalla Gojwāra near the Poets' Gardens, Bāghāt-i-Shā'ir Wārī, and it turned out a large number of scholars.

Khwāja Khāwand Mahmūd Naqshbandī (*supra* p. 272) founded the Madrasa-i-Khwājagān-i-Naqshband in the reign of Shāh Jahān in Khwāja Bāzār near Khāngāh Naqshbandī. Mullā Haqdād of Badakhshān was the head of the madrasa.

Prince Dārā Shukūh, who wrote his *Risāla-i-Haqq-numā* in 1646 A.C. while he was in Kashmīr, will be remembered for having established the residential 'School of Sūfiism' for *Kasb-i-Māh* (literally, Acquisition of the Moon) at the instance of his spiritual tutor, Akhund Mullā Muhanimad Shāh Badakhshānī, on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain higher up the present Chashma-i-Shāhī. Shaikh Shāh Muhammad bin Mullā 'Abd Muhammad, commonly known as Mullā Shāh or Lisānullāh, came from Arksa, near Rustak in Badakhshān, to Lāhore in 1023 A.H. (1614 A.C.), and became a disciple of Miyān Mir,<sup>1</sup> the great saint of the time. The Mullā was highly respected by Dārā Shukūh who was initiated by him into the Qādirī order in 1049 A.H. (1639 A.C.). After the death of his *pīr*, Miyān Mir, in 1045 A.H. (1635 A.C.), Mullā Shāh retired to Kashmīr where he passed many days of his life in this monastery built by Dārā Shukūh and his sister Jahān Ārā. Mullā Shāh died at Lāhore in 1072 A.H. (1661-62 A.C.), the chronogram of his own composition is:—

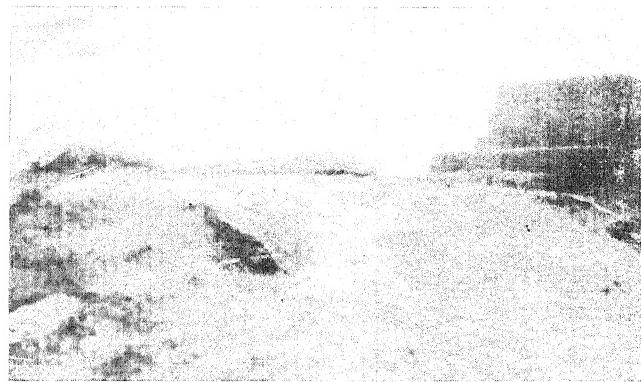
ملا شاه جان داد در توحید

(See *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī*). He was of the Qādirī *tariqa* of Sūfīs.

The Mullā was a voluminous writer and has left a *Dīvān*,<sup>2</sup> which has been lithographed, besides several works on Sūfiism. Dārā's *Sakinatul-Awliyā* gives the Mullā's life on pages 116—158. This school of Sūfiism for *Kasb-i-Māh*, among other things, taught penance and devotion, for puri-

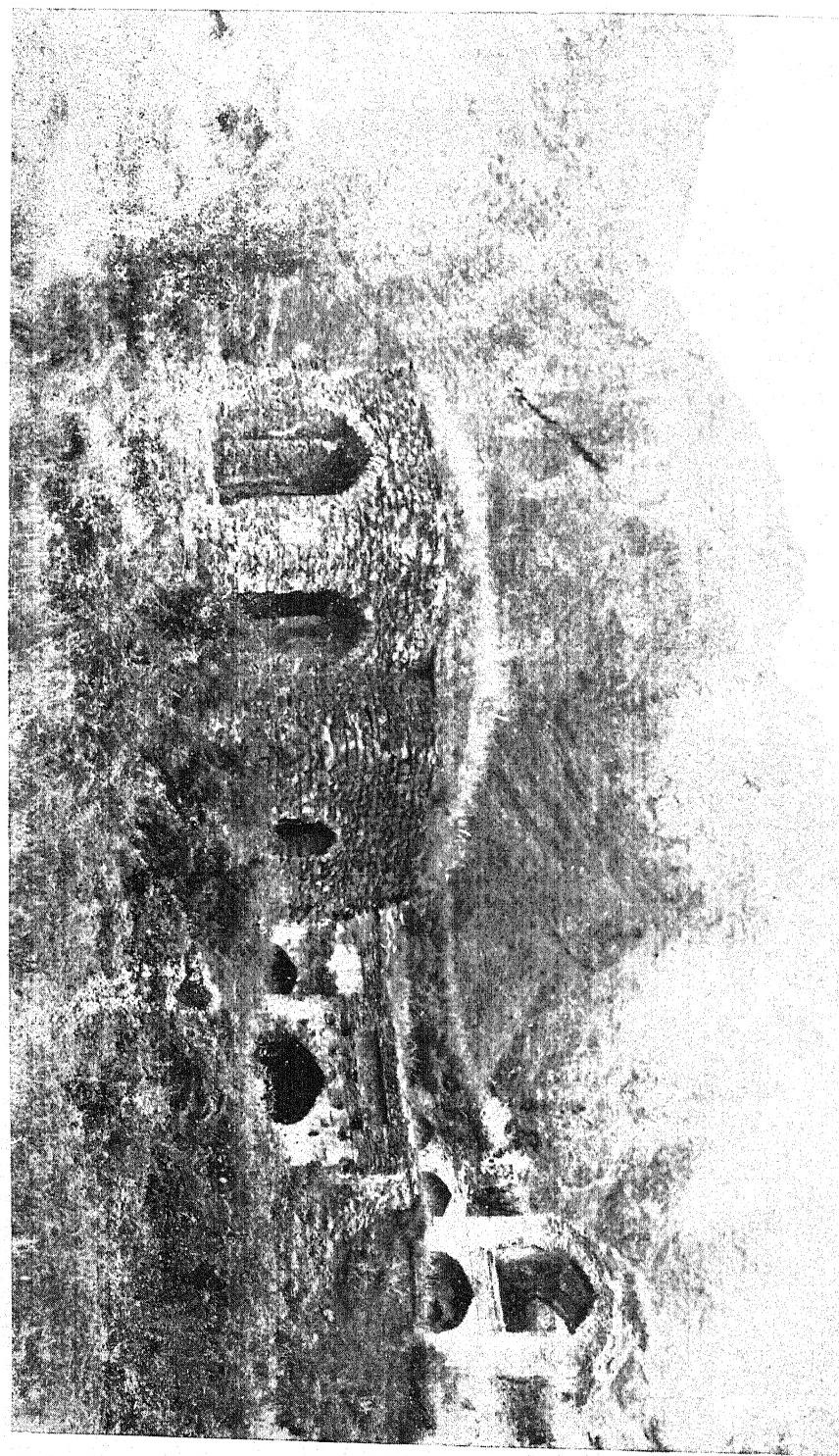
1. Mir Muhammad bin Sā'in Dātā, commonly known as Miyān Mir or Miyān Jiv, also Shāh Mir, born of a Qāzi family at Sehwān, Sind, in 938 A.H. (1531 A.C.), came to Lāhore when twenty-five, and stayed there for about sixty years. He was highly respected for his piety and was frequently visited by Shāh Jahān and Dārā Shukūh. Miyān Mir died on the 7th Rabi'-ul-Awwal, 1045 A.H. (1635 A.C.) at the age of 107. Dārā Shukūh's *Sakinatul-Awliyā* deals with the life of Miyān Mir and his disciples. There is also a notice of Miyān Mir's life in Dārā's *Safinatul-Awliyā*.

2. The text and English Translation of the *Majma'-ul-Bahrain* by Khān Bahādur M. Mahfuz-ul-Haqq, M.A., Professor of Persian and Arabic, Presidency Collage, Calcutta, 1929, Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, p. 63.



The Mazār-ush-Shū'arā or the Poets' Graveyard,  
Duragjan, Dal Gate, Srinagar.

The ruined Pari Mahall, near the Chashma-i-Shāhī, Srinagar. Prince Dārā Shukūh built this residential School of Sufism at the instance of his spiritual tutor, Mulla Shah of Badakshān, and named it after his own wife Nādira Begam, supposed to be known also as Pari Begam, the daughter of Prince Parvīz, the son of Jahāngīr.



fication of mind and elevation of soul, by devotional exercises, performed at night during moonlight. The beauty of the spot, its solitude, its general magnificent view of the surroundings particularly of the dark blue, calm, unruffled water of the Dal for a mile, and the charm of softening moonlight must have had, no doubt, a most ennobling effect on the mind of the devotees. It is a contrast indeed that, while Akbar had his inclination to the sun, Dārā Shukūh turned to the moon ! But I am afraid we have yet to be clear on this *Kasb-i-Māh*. The building is now in ruins, and is called Pari Mahall (the Fairy Palace), after the name of Dārā Shukūh's wife Nādira Begam known as Pari Begam.<sup>1</sup> She was the daughter of Prince Parviz, Jahāngīr's son, and is buried in the Dargāh of Miyān Mīr, Lāhore.

The Pari Mahall with a domed ceiling had a garden with six terraces watered by a nearby spring. The retaining wall was ornamented with a series of arches. One statement attributes the construction of the Mahall to astronomical observations, another to astrological studies under the Mughuls.

The Pari Mahall is also called Kūntilun, because, it is said, it was to be "a copy of a castle named Tilun in India."<sup>2</sup> But when ready, the Mahall was not found to equal the Tilun. Dārā Shukūh, therefore, in disgust remarked *Kū Tilun*, i.e., what comparison could it bear with Tilun ? This was corrupted into Kūntilun. This is the statement of the late Pandit Anand Kaul Bāmzai, ex-President, Srinagar Municipality, for which no authority has been quoted by him in his *Archaeological Remains*. The explanation could be held plausible only if one could be sure of the location and importance of Tilun in India which is hardly known at all.

[Probably, the reference is to the castle of Tilā on the Urūmiyah lake in Irān where Hulāgū stored treasures plundered from Baghdād and the neighbouring provinces of the Caliphate. Tilā is also Hulāgū's burial-place and of other of the Mongol princes. The castle or fortress of Shāhā is the other name of the castle of Tilā.]

The Madrasa-i-Sayyid Mansūr came into existence in 1125 A.H. (1713 A.C.), under the patronage of Nawwāb 'Ināyatullāh Khān, governor of Kashmir during Mughul rule. Akhund Mullā Sulaimān Kallu was appointed to the headship of the madrasa, and the village of Wangām was

1. The *Nigāristān-i-Kashmīr*, page 65.

2. *Archaeological Remains in Kashmir* by Pandit Anand Kaul, 1935, page 92.

assigned for its maintenance. The Madrasa-i-Mullā Kamāl and Mullā Jamāl turned out men like Shaikh Ismā'il Chishtī, Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī, and Qāzī Abu'l Qāsim.

There is ample testimony to the Kashmīrīs' love of books in numerous private collections, some of which have unfortunately been gradually sold out from the Valley, and have found their way down to India and to Europe and America.

It was in Kashmīr that Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt wrote his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*.\*

Amīr Fathullāh Shirāzī died of typhoid due to the intemperate eating of *harīsa* or 'pottage of wheat and meat' in 998 A.H. (1589 A.C.) in Srinagar, and was buried at the Kūh-i-Sulaimān beside the grave of Sayyid 'Abdullāh Khān Chaugān Begī. His "separation fell heavily on His Majesty Emperor Akbar when Shaikh Faizī composed the following elegy":—

(۱) دکر هنگام آن آمد که عالم از نظام افتاد

جهان عقل را، در نیم روز عالم شام افتاد(?)

(۲) همه گنجینه اقبال در دست لیام آید

همه خوانبه ادبیار در کاسی کرام افتاد

(۳) حقیقت گم کند سروشته تحقیق مقصود را

معانی از بیان ماند، روابط از کلام افتاد

(۴) زبان جهل چند بی مُحکایا در سخن رانی

مطلوب نادرست آید، دلائل ناقص افتاد

(۵) مُباهات از وجود کامل او بُود دوران را

به دوران جلال الدین محمد اکبر غازی

(۶) شهنشاه جهان را از وفاتش دیده پیر نم شد

سکندر اشک حسرت ریخت کافلاطون ز عالم شد

منتخب التواریخ از عبدالقدیر بدایوی

مطبوعہ کلکتہ ۱۸۷۰ء۔ جلد دوم - صفحہ ۲۰ - ۲۱

\*The *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*—English Translation by Ross and Elias, Introduction, page 23.

It was in Srinagar, Maulavī Muhammad Husain Āzād<sup>1</sup> has noted, that Akbar was enjoying his visit in 997 A.H. (1588 A.C.) that he specially sent for Hamīda Bānū Begam Maryam Makānī, his mother, and directed Abu'l Fazl to write to her :

حج رواد از براۓ سوے بُسوے کعبہ

ما بُسوے بیايد کعبہ کہ بُدو رب

And it was also in Srinagar<sup>2</sup> in 1005 A.H.=1596 A.C., that Akbar asked Jamāl-ud-Dīn Husain Inju or Anju to compile the Persian lexicon afterwards known as the *Farhang-i-Jahāngīrī*. Jamāl-ud-Dīn took twelve years to complete the work, and finished it in 1017 A.H. in the reign of Jahāngīr, after whom it was named. Jahāngīr writes : "In truth he (Anju) had taken much pains, and collected together all the words from the writings of ancient poets. There is no book like this in the science."<sup>3</sup> It was revised by the author towards the end of his life. Jamāl-ud-Dīn was promoted to the title of 'Azud-ud-Daulah (The Upper Arm of the State) by Jahāngīr. It is stated in the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*<sup>4</sup> that Jamāl-ud-Dīn presented a copy of the lexicon to Jahāngīr in the 18th year of his reign (1032 A.H.=1622 A.C.). Jamāl-ud-Dīn was, for some years, governor of Bihār.

Mullā Muhammad 'Alī Kashmīrī turned to Ahmadnagar in his early youth, and took up employment on the staff of Sa'ādat Khan Dakkanī in the dominion of the Nizām Shāhīs. Later on, he was attached to the King, Sultān Burhān-ul-Mulk. When Khān Khānān 'Abdur Rahīm took Ahmadnagar, Mullā Muhammad 'Alī got on to his staff. On Mullā's impressing 'Abdur Rahīm by his ability, he was engaged in translating the well known work of 'Allāmatul-'Ulamā' Khwāja Sā'in-ud-Dīn from Arabic into Persian. Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandī has extolled his translation in his *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1931, Vol. III, Fasc. I,

1. The *Darbār-i-Akbarī*, Lāhore, 1910, page 126.
2. Rieu's Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the British Museum, Vol. II, page 497.
3. English Translation of the *Tūzuk-i-Jahāngīrī* by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, page 257.
4. *Ibid*, page 257.

pp. 58-59. It was on the 15th Rabi'-us-Sānī, 1025 A.H. = 1615-16 A.C., that Mullā Muhammad 'Alī died at Malkāpur, now in the Buldāna district of Berār, Central Provinces, and is buried there.

The *Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* of Mu'tamad Khān (page 308) mentions Mullā Bāqir Kashmīrī as one of the learned men of the court of Jahāngīr.

An eminent poet and *insha*-writer was Mullā Muhammad Yūsuf Kashmīrī Hamadānī. Yūsuf distinguished himself as a soldier too. He was the brother of Muhammad Sādiq Kashmīrī, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī*, of whom we shall speak later (see page 356). Yūsuf, as Rieu's *Catalogue* quotes, was a noted poet of the reign of Jahāngīr. He died in A.H. 1033=A.C. 1623.

Jahāngīr, as the pupil of Faizī, had a special taste for Persian poetry. Therefore, his appointment of *Tālib* of Āmul (a town in the district of Māzandarān or old Tabaristān in Irān), as his own court-poet, implies great literary appreciation of *Tālib* by the emperor. Āmulī's\* unpublished *ghazal* (ode) on Kashmīr should, therefore, be read with interest :—

فیض پیاله بخشند آب و هوا کشمیر  
از خشت خم نهادند گویا بنا کشمیر  
  
چون خاک عشقیازان هر لحظه در مشام  
بوی سخت آید از کوچهای کشمیر  
  
کشمیر می سِنام از حق بجای جنت  
اما نمی سِنام جنت بجای کشمیر  
  
شاهنشه جهانگیر چید از بهار آو گل  
خوش مُستجاب گردید آخر دعاء کشمیر

\*Nawwāb Sadr Yār Jang Maulavī Habib-ur-Rahmān Khān Shirwānī, Hony. D. Litt., Ra's, Aligarh, kindly sent me a copy of this ode.

گرددے ز نور بنموده همنونک نور گفتة  
 کین سُرمهه بهشت است یا توتیاے کشمیر  
 جنت کججا تواند با او برابری کرد  
 چون لطف پادشاه گشت رونق فراے کشمیر  
 وصف بهشت جاوید از عاشقان او پیومن  
 ما را زبان نگردد جز در تنای کشمیر  
 هر کس پیه تماشا کردند حوش فضائی  
 رضوان فضای جنت طالب فضای کشمیر

Abū Tālib Kalīm, who was born in 1028 A.H. (1618 A.C.) and who died on 5th Zulhijja, 1061 A.H.=1651 A.C., was the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān. He was engaged in versifying for the emperor the *Pādshāh-nāma* also called *Shāh-nāma* or *Shāhinshāh-nāma* in Kashmīr when he died suddenly. He was buried not far from the tomb of Muhammad Qulī Salīm, who died in 1057 A.H. (1647 A.C.), and who was another well-known poet of the reign of Shāh Jahān. The *Pādshāh-nāma* begins with the verse—

بنام خداش که از شوقِ جود دُو عالم عطا کرد و سائل نبود  
 Hājī Muhammad Jān Qudsī during these days wrote :—

حُوشها کشمیر و خاکِ پاکِ کشمیر  
 که سر برزد بهشت از خاکِ کشمیر  
 سوادش سُرمهه چشمِ بهار است  
 بهشت و جو شیوش آبِ لار است  
 ز جوش سبزه در گوہ و بیابان  
 زمین کشته و نا کشته یکسان  
 جز ان گلها که مشهور جهانست  
 گل اینجا بوستان در بوستانست  
 گند در بذلِ عمرِ جاودانی  
 هوايش کار آب زندگانی

بَرْ بَرِ سَبْزَةِ رَهْ دَرْ كُوهْ وَ صَحْرا  
 چُو اَزْ عَقْدِ زَمَرْدِ رَشْتَهْ پَيَدا  
 بُودَ مَاشِلَ بَسْبَزِيَ خَاكِ پَاكِشِ  
 مَكْرَ آَبِ زَمَرْدَ خُورْدَهْ خَاكِشِ  
 ذَ فَيَضِّرِ اَبِرِ مَى رُوبِدِ درِينَ كَاخِ  
 ذَ تَارِ شَمَعَ گُلَ پَيَشِ اَزْ رَجَهِ شَانِ  
 كُندَ گُلَ بَرِ سَرِ دِيَوارِ رِيشِه  
 شَوَدَ فَولَادَ سَبَزِ اَزْ آَبِ تِيشِه  
 نَگَارِي بَرِ وَرَقَ كَرِ صُورَتِ خَارِ  
 ذَ تَاثِيرِ هَوا گُلَ آَورَدَ بَارِ  
 كَرِ أَفَندَ اَزْ كَفِ سَاقِي پِيَالِه  
 دَوانَدَ رِيشِه درِ گُلَ هَماچَوَ لَاهِ  
 بَمِيَنا كَرِ كُندَ فَيَضِّرِ هَوا كَارِ  
 بِبالَدِ چُونَ كَدُوى نَازَهَ بَرِ تَارِ

ـ حاجی محمد جان قُنسی

از "پادشاه نامه" عبدالحیید لاہوری -

چَلَدَ اوَّلَ - آغازِ سالِ هفتَمَ - صفحَه ۲۲

Muhammad Sādiq Kashmīrī is the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* which consists of the lives of eminent men who flourished under Timūr and his successors down to the reign of Shāh Jahān. Muhammad Sādiq was born about 1000 A.H.=1591 A.C. He spent his life in Delhi where he met Mullā Kāmi of Sabzwār and Shaikh Husain Kamāngar. Sādiq studied under Shaikh Fā'iz, and became a favourite disciple of Shaikh 'Abdul Haqq Dihlāvī from whom he daily received affectionate notes during an illness which befell him in that city, as mentioned by the author on folios 293b and 309a. Muhammad Sādiq had contemplated, as he states in the preface, compiling the lives of saints, philosophers, and poets from the time of the early Khalifs

to the reign of Shāh Jahān, but he was compelled by want of leisure to confine himself to those who lived under the house of Timūr. The *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* is divided into ten periods or *tabaqāt*, corresponding to the reigns of Timūr and his successors, viz., (1) Timūr (2) Mirān Shāh and Shāh Rukh, (3) Mirzā Sultān Muhammad and Ulugh Beg, (4) Abū Sa'īd, (5) 'Umar Shaikh, (6) Bābur, (7) Humāyūn, (8) Akbar, (9) Jahāngīr, and (10) Shāh Jahān. In each of the *tabaqāt*, the biographical notices are arranged in three sections or *abwāb* comprising (i) the Sayyids and saints, (ii) the learned or the *'Ulamā*, (iii) physicians or the *Hukamā*, and men of letters or the *Fuzalā*, (iv) the poets or the *Shu'arā*. The notices are short but 871 in number. A full list of names occupies folios 2-7. The manuscript has 328 folios. The date of the composition of the *Tabaqāt-i-Shāh Jahānī* is not mentioned in the preface. A.H. 1046 = A.C. 1636 is spoken of, vide folio 303b, as the current year. The manuscript is in the British Museum, Or. 1673 of Dr. Charles Rieu's *Catalogue*, described in Vol. 3, pp. 1009-10, from which this note is summarized. The copy is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  inches by  $5\frac{1}{2}$ ; 13 lines,  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches long, written on thin English paper in the 19th century.

'Imād-ud-Dīn Mahmūd Ilāhī Husainī, known as Mir Ilāhī, the author of the *Tazkirah*, belonged to the family of the Sayyids of Asadābād, Hamadān, in Irān, and lived some years in Isfahān under Shāh 'Abbās I, in frequent intercourse with the poet Hakīm Shifā'i. He then came to India, and accompanied Zafar Khān to Kashmīr in 1041-42 A.H.=1631-32 A.C., and resided there till his death in 1063 A.H.=1652-53 A.C.

Supported by the bounty of Zib-un-Nisā Begam, eldest daughter of the Emperor Aurangzib 'Alamgīr, Mullā Safi-ud-Dīn Ardabili lived in comfort in Kashmīr, and translated the gigantic Arabic *Tafsīr-i-Kabīr* (The Great Commentary) into Persian, and named it after his patroness, the *Zib-ut-Tafsīr*.

The *Catalogue* of the Bānkipur Oriental Public Library (Vol. xiv, pages 122-23) has a MS. of the commentary on Shaikh Najm-ud-Dīn bin Abī Qāsim Ja'far Hillī's (d. 676 A.H.=1277 A.C.) well-known Shī'ite work *Sharā'i-ul-Islām* on Muslim theology and law by 'Abdul Ghānī bin Abī Tālib Kashmīrī entitled *Jāmi'-ur-Raqavī* written in 1161 A.H.=

1748 A.C. The preface mentions some leading persons of Kashmīr such as Abu'l Mansūr Khān, Afrāsiyāb Khān and his son 'Alī Rizā.

There was a stone slab describing very briefly, in the *tughrā* script, the promotion of learning from the days of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn, put up near the Fath Kadal, close to the spot where Tān Sain is said to have lived during his stay in Kashmīr. This slab has unfortunately disappeared.

### Some Men of Learning

#### 1. Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī.

We shall now turn to the noted men of learning of these days. Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī was not only considered the most learned of his contemporaries in Kashmīr, but one of the most learned men of his age, a man of international reputation for learning, scholarship and piety.

Shaikh Ya'qūb was the son of Shaikh Hasan Ganāī of the 'Āsimī clan. The 'Āsimī clan traces its descent from 'Āsim, a son of Caliph 'Umar Fārūq the Great. Ya'qūb was the second of the seven sons of Hasan as he himself says below :

همه هفت تن بُوده او را پسر  
چو هفت اختر آسمان جلوه گز  
کمالش به هر فن و نامش کمال  
کمالاتش افزوون ز حدّ مقال  
مرا زان میان رُتبه حدّ وسط  
کلان تر ز من لیک یک کس فقط  
ز من خُوردتر آن بفطرت لطیف  
که نام وے آمد مجده شریف  
ازو خُوردتر شاه نوروز نام  
به کسبِ کمالات عالی مقام  
پس از وے مجده که آمد یعنی  
از آن چهل هم صاحبত و هم سخنی

بِرَاهِيْم ازو خُورَدَتْر آمَدَه  
 ز اسْرَارِ دِين با خَبَرِ آمَدَه  
 ازو خُورَدَتْر حِيدَر نِيك خُو سَت  
 فَرَشْتَهِ خَصَال و مَلَك خُوي اُو سَت

—”معازی النبی“ از شیخ بعقوب صرف

Pīr Hasan Shāh, a historian of Kashmīr, says that the reported date of Shaikh Ya'qūb's birth is 928 A.H. (1521 A.C.). The *Fatahāt-i-Kubraviyya*\* (MS.) of Shaikh 'Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī, written in A.H. 1163 (1749 A.C.), also gives the same date (page 408). *Shaikh Hayy* is the chronogram. Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī and the local historians of Kashmīr agree about the date of his death which is 1003 A.H. (1594 A.C.). It appears that the Shaikh lived up to the age of 73, though some say 75, which may be due to a difference in lunar and solar reckoning of dates. While a child of seven, Ya'qūb committed the whole of the Qur'ān to memory. He also began to versify at seven as he himself says :

چو در سال هفت نهادم قدم ز طبع روان گشت شعر عجم  
 پدر کرد اصلاح اشعار من به اصلاح بود مددگار من

He studied under Mullā 'Ainī when the latter was in Kashmīr where he died, and was buried in the Mazār Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh. Mullā 'Ainī was the pupil of the great Mullā 'Abdur Rahmān Jāmī so called from Jām, a district in the province of Herāt. Mullā 'Ainī prophesied that Ya'qūb would, in course of time, rise to the literary eminence of a second *Jāmī*. Mullā Basīr Khān Khandabhanī was his next teacher. Thereafter, Sarfī set out for his education abroad, halting for study at Siālkōt, Lāhore, Kābul, Samarqand, Mashhad, Mecca, Medīna, etc. At the age of 25, Ya'qūb was married in 953 A.H. A son named Muhammad Yūsuf was born but he died in early youth. According to Mullā 'Abdul Qādir Badā-

\*Loaned to the writer by Shaikh Ghulām Muhammed, M.A. M.O.L. (Panjab), Retired Registrar, Co-operative Societies, Jammu and Kashmīr.

yūni,<sup>1</sup> Ya'qūb became the spiritual successor of Shaikh Husain of Khwārizm,<sup>2</sup> in Turkistān—the pupil of Hājī Muhammad A'zam who died in Syria in 956 or 958 A.H.—and acquired honour by performing the pilgrimage to the two holy places of Islam. Ya'qūb received, at Mecca, from the renowned Shaikh Ibn Hajar Makki, the great teacher of Hadīth, the necessary *ijāzah* or licence to give instruction in the Traditions of the Prophet. Ya'qūb was well versed in the writings of Ibn-ul-'Arabī.

Clad in the robes of the Shaikhs of Arabia and Īrān, he profited greatly by his intercourse with them. He was ordained to assume the prerogatives of a religious teacher and spiritual guide and, as such, had many disciples, both in Hindustān and Kashmīr. Ya'qūb had also the benefit of intercourse with the well-known saint, Shaikh Salīm Chishtī of Fathpūr Sikri. Both were together on the occasion of the Hajj which was the last Hajj of Shaikh Salīm.

Shaikh Ya'qūb wrote an Arabic *taqrīz* or *imprimatur* or introduction on Faizi's *Tafsīr* entitled *Sawāti'-ul-Ilhām* (The Rays of Inspiration). Badāyūnī says: "He was illustrious, and was relied upon as an authority on all branches of learning which are treated of in Arabic, such as Qur'ānic commentaries, the Traditions of the Prophet and Sūfiism, and was an authorized religious leader." Abu'l Fazl<sup>3</sup> considers him "the greatest authority on religious matters." Not long before his death, he was writing a commentary which, in the words of Badāyūnī, was "one of the most wonderful productions of his perfect genius." Badāyūnī further adds that both Humāyūn and Akbar had a great belief in him, and conferred distinction on him by admitting him to their society. They regarded him with gracious favour. And he was held in high esteem and was much honoured. His generosity and open-handedness were unique at that time. According to the author of the *Dabistān*, he was "a spiritual guide of the age" (Shea and Troyer, Vol. III, p. 92). Shaikh Ya'qūb was also the superior of a hospice.

1. Badāyūnī's *Muntakhab-ut-Tawārikh*, Vol. III, p. 142, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1869.

2. In 1924 Khwārizm united with Bukhārā to form the Uzbek Socialist Soviet Republic.

3. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, H. Blochmann's English Translation, Calcutta 1873, Vol. I, page 182.

Shaikh Ya‘qūb’s *takhallus*, or poetical name, was *Sarfi* which, in the *A’īn-i-Akbarī* (Vol. I, page 581 and No. 2), is given as *Sairafī* on account of the use of this latter in some poems. The *Fatahāt-i-Kubraviyya* of Shaikh ‘Abdul Wahhāb Nūrī (page 408) gives the earliest specimen of Sarfi’s poetry :

اے رُخ مه طلعتان آئینہ روے تو ام  
میلِ خوبان در هوا رُوی نیکوے تو ام  
مگر بُبودم عنبر سارا و مگر مشکِ ختن  
در دماغِ جان نمی آید مگر بُوے تو ام

Sarfi completed a *khamsa* or a series of five *masnavīs* in imitation of the *khamsa* of Mullā ‘Abdur Rahmān *Jāmī*, his teacher’s teacher, the earlier *khamsa* being that of Nizāmī. Sarfi thus fulfilled the prophecy of his own teacher, Mullā ‘Ainī, the pupil of the great *Jāmī*. Sarfi was the author of many treatises on the art of composing enigmas, and also of quatrains on the mysticism of the Sūfis with a commentary. Abu'l Fazl says (The *A’īn*, Vol. I, page 581) that he was well-acquainted with all branches of poetry, and Badāyūnī writes that his “genius was highly adapted to the composition of eloquent poetry.” The following couplets are by Sarfi :

در صد هزار آینه یکروست جلوه گر  
در هرچه بین آن رُخ نیکوست جلوه گر  
خلقے بهر طرف شده سو گشته بهر دُوست  
و این طرفه تر که دُوست بهر سُوست جلوه گر  
مشکن اے غم دل مارا و مبین کان دل کیست  
دل ما هست ولے بین که درو منزِل کیست  
گر بُکویش گذری پاے ز سر باید کرد  
قصه کوتاه ز سو خویش گذر باید کرد

[I see that Comely Face manifest in whatever I regard ;

Though I look at a hundred thousand mirrors, in all, that One Face  
is manifest,

On all sides, people are wandering in search of the Beloved,  
 And the strange thing is that the Beloved is manifest on every side.  
 Break not my heart, Oh grief! and regard not whose that heart may  
 be;

The heart is indeed mine but consider Who dwelleth there.  
 Shouldst thou pass through His street, thou shouldst walk on thy  
 head\* (that is, with thy head downward, the ground being far too sacred  
 for thy foot).

To be brief, thou shouldst lose thy head, that is to say, be ready  
 to give up your life.]

The enigma on the name *Shaidā* is also by the Shaikh:

ماه من بدرخ نقاب انداخته وہ کی مہما روز را شب ساخته

[My moon has cast the veil on her face.

Alas, she hath of set purpose turned day into night.]

When the Shaikh obtained permission to depart from Lāhore for Kashmīr, he wrote a letter from the other side of the river Rāvī to Mullā ‘Abdul Qādir Badāyūnī which the latter has reproduced in his *History*. In this, Shaikh Ya‘qūb writes : “I hope you will not entirely efface the memory of me from the margin of your heart, and that you will adopt the graceful habit of remembering the absent. If you should have any need of Kashmīr paper for rough notes and drafts, I hope that you will inform me of the fact, so that I may send you from Kashmīr the rough copy of my commentaries, the writing of which can be washed from the paper with water so completely that no trace of ink will remain, as you yourself have seen . . . ”

The Shaikh, on reaching Kashmīr, sent another letter to Badāyūnī, which was the last that he wrote to him. The Shaikh wrote : “I hope that whenever you sit in Nawwāb Faizī’s apartment of fragrant grass (*khas khāna*) on the floor, with its matting cooler than the breezes of Kashmīr, in the midday heat of summer, drinking the water which, though originally warm, has been cooled with ice, and listening to sublime talk and witty conversation, you will think of me, the captive of the hardships of disappointment:

\*I am afraid I must differ from Col. Haig (*vide* page 201), when he translates the first hemistich as follows : If thou sayest to him “It behoves that thy foot pass over my head . . . ” This is probably due to difference in the text. The correct words are بگویش and not بکویش. Col. Haig’s translation of the last line too is wrong. It should be as given above.—Haig’s English Translation of Badāyūnī’s *History*, B.A.S., Calcutta.

اے بھی بزم وصل حاضر، غائیبان را دستگیر

زانکه دستِ حاضران از غائیبان گوناہ نیست

[“O thou, who art present at the cheerful assembly of union, extend a helping hand to the absent,

“For, the hand of those, who thus meet, is never withheld from the absent.]

“I have lost the rough copy of the verses which I wrote in the new Āsaf Khānī style, explaining what had not previously been clearly expressed. It is possible that you, my honoured friend, may have taken a copy from my rough draft and, if so, I pray you to send me a copy of your copy.”

While Shaikh Ya‘qūb was in Hindustān, Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī, better known as Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sānī, used to receive instruction from him in Hadīth or Traditions of the Prophet, and Tasawwuf (mysticism).

Shaikh Ya‘qūb died on Thursday the 12th Zīqāda in the year 1003 A.H. = 1594 A.C., eight years after the commencement of Mughul rule in Kashmīr, and was buried in Mahalla Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. The chronogram شیخِ آمم بُود (He was the Shaikh of the Peoples) gives the date of his demise. Shaikh Habibullāh Nau-shahri's chronogram فخر الانام is given in the *Fatahāt-i-Kubraviyyah* (MS., page 425).—

شاہ یعقوب قطب و مرشد رہ قدس اللہ ربنا روحہ

کردا روشن دل مُریدان چون بُود بر چرخ فیض بخشی مه

سوے عرشی بربن عروج ہمود بر جراقی اجل چو شد ناگہ

چشم ظاهر اکرچہ محروم است دیدہ باطنم برو آگہ

آرے آرے ولی نہ خواهد مُرد فہمُو حقی یکون فی التجنی

چون فنا فی الله آمدہ وصفش شدہ موصوف از بقا بالله

گفت حبی بسال تاریخش پنج و هفتاد سالہ ان شہ

ہست ”فخر الانام“ تاریخش گر نباشد ز بندہ توبیخش

On hearing of Sarfi's death Badāyūnī exclaimed :

بَارَانْ هَمْ رَقْنَدْ وَرَهْ كَعْبَهْ گُرْفَنَدْ -  
 ما مَسْتَ قَدْمَ بَرْ دِرْ چَهَّارْ بَهَانْدِيمْ  
 ازْ نُكْتَهْ مَفْصُودْ نَشَدْ فَهِيمْ حَدِيشْ -  
 لَا دِينْ وَ لَا دُنْيَا، بَيْكارْ بَهَانْدِيمْ  
 —مُنتَخَبُ التَّوَارِيَخِ— ج ۲— ص ۳۰۲— مَطْبُوعَهْ كَلْكَتَهْ ۱۸۷۵

[All our friends are gone, and have taken the road to the Ka'ba,  
 We, with tipsy foot, remain at the door of the wine-seller.  
 Not a word of the points, we propose, has been solved,  
 We are left beggars, without this world or the next.—W. H.  
 Lowe.]

The tomb of Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfi attracts visitors and is known as the "Ziyārat-i-Īshān." The word īshān is a Persian pronoun in the third person. It is used in Turkistān in the meaning of *shaikh*, *murshid*, *ustād*, *pīr*, teacher, guide. The celebrated Khwāja Ahrār, who died A.H. 895=A.C. 1490 in Samarcand is always called īshān in his biography. The īshān usually lives with his followers in a *khāngāh* (monastery), or the precincts of the tomb of a saint. It is in the sense of teacher that īshān has been used in respect of Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfi in Srīnagar.

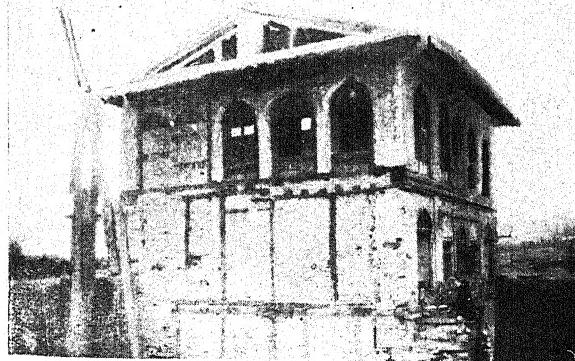
Pir Hasan Shāh has noted the following from among Sarfi's works\* in addition to the *Tafsīr-Maslak-ul-Akhyār*, *Wāmiq-u-'Azrā*, *Laylā-Majnūn*, *Maghāzi-n-Nabī*, *Maqāmāt-i-Murshid* (these five form his *Khamsa* already referred to), a *Dīvān*, *Qasā'id* and *Ghazals*, *Manāsik-i-Hajj*, *Sharh* (commentary) of the *Sahīh Bukhārī*, etc. The *Maghāzi-n-Nabī* is a history, in verse, of the struggles of the Prophet of Islam, pages 159, lithographed at the Muhammadi Press, Lāhore, in 1879 A.C. The rest is in manuscript.

Pre-eminent as was the Shaikh's position in the realm of letters, his place in the politics of Kashmīr was also of considerable importance. On his return from his extensive travels over the Islamic world, Shaikh Ya'qūb was mortified to find Kashmīr divided into factions on account of internecine quarrels. After a careful study of the political

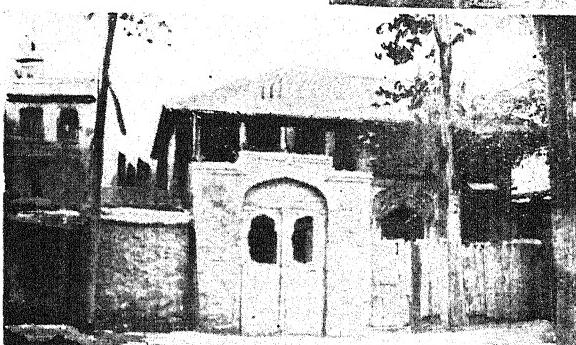
\* *Hayāt-i-Sarfi* by Mufti Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, Sābir Electric Press, Lahore, 1356 A.H.=1937 A.C. gives details of Sarfi's writings as also his life.



The reputed grave, shown by an arrow, of Mullā Táhir "Ghani," Zaina Kadal, Srinagar.



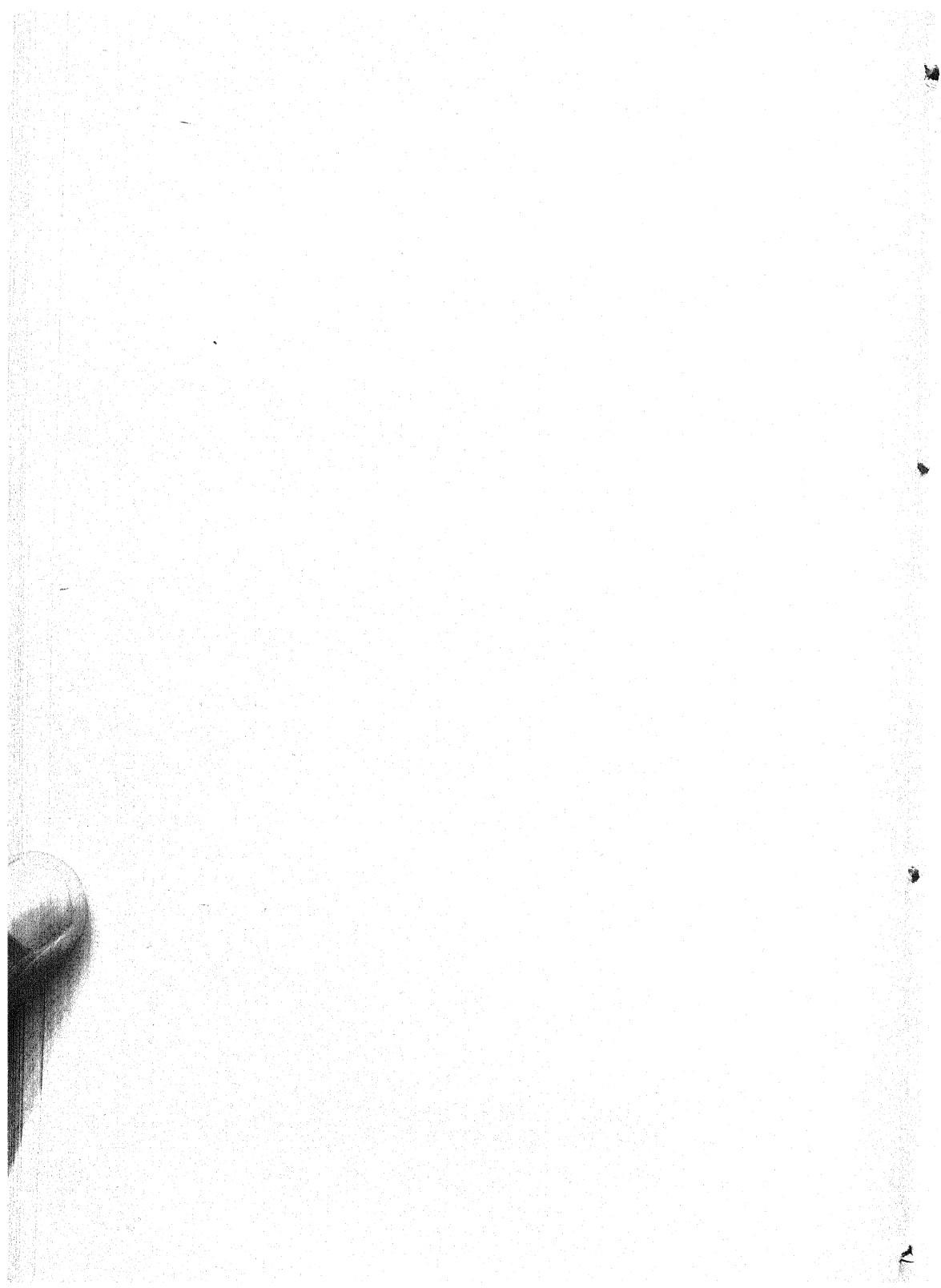
The hut supposed to be of Mullā Táhir "Ghani," in Mahalla Rājwēr Kadal, Srinagar, though the structure is not very old.



The tomb of Shaikh Ya'qūb "Sarfi" in Mahalla Hazrat Ishān, old Qutbuddinpōr, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar.



The grave of Mullā Muhsin "Fāni" in the locality now known as Masjid Shaikh Mūsa, Gurgāri Mahalla, to the west of the Khāngāh Dārā Shukūh, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar.



conditions and in consultation with other men of light and leading he, therefore, left for Hindustān, in company with Bābā Dā'ūd Khākī, and took steps to invite Akbar to put a stop to those troubles. The result was the transfer of Kashmīr to Mughul rule.

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## 2. *Mullā Muhsin Fānī.*

One of the most learned and erudite philosopher-poets of the eleventh century A.H., and a contemporary of the German philosopher, mathematician and man of affairs, G. W. Leibnitz (1646—1716 A.C.), was Mullā Muhammad Muhsin *Fānī*. Kashmīr may well be proud of a scholar of his eminence. Although the actual date of his birth is not traceable from the records before the writer, yet his death is chronicled in 1082 A.H. (1671 A.C.), his grave is reputed to be in Gurgārī Mahalla (old Qutb-ud-dīnpōr) close to the Khānqāh Dārā Shukūh, Zaina Kadal, Srinagar. Putting together the numerical figures obtainable from رفت فانی بامل باقی which is, curiously enough, *Fānī's* own composition conveying the date of his own death, he might have been born some time in the earlier part of the eleventh century A.H., or the seventeenth century of the Christian era (about 1615 A.C.). His relationship to another notable figure of Kashmīr, Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī, of whom we have already spoken, shows that he was descended from a family which enjoyed a reputation for culture and learning. His father's name was Shaikh Hasan, who was the son of Shaikh Muhammad.

After completing his studies at home, in which he distinguished himself in a comparatively short period, Shaikh Muhsin went out from Kashmīr to complete his education, visiting many places and freely mixing with all sorts of people professing different creeds. At last, he reached Balkh, and entered the service of its ruler, designated Vālī, and named Nazr Muhammad Khān. Here it was that he wrote a number of panegyrics in the latter's praise. After having stayed away for some time, Muhsin returned to India where his talents attracted the notice of prince Dārā Shukūh, who recognized them in a suitable way. He was subsequently appointed to the office of Sadārat or judgeship at Allāhābād. Here he became a disciple of Shaikh Muhibullāh, a great saint of his time. In the meantime, the conquest of Balkh

by Prince Murād eclipsed the shining star of Mullā Muhsin's fortunes. In the ex-Vālī's library, verses were found which had been written in praise of the vanquished foe, the former patron of Fānī, and probably some correspondence too. This disclosure resulted in the strong displeasure of Shāh Jahān. Fānī was consequently deprived of his office and of all his privileges, and was dismissed from the court with a paltry subsistence allowance. Shaikh Muhsin then retired to Kashmīr, where he passed his days ostensibly without any public employment, except fostering and imparting learning. And it is said he was happy and respected, and his house was frequented by the most distinguished men of Kashmīr, including the governor of the province. He gave lectures at his house. Ordinarily he would read and comment on the writings of certain authors of eminence. Several scholars of note, among whom were Mullā Tāhir Ghānī, Ghānī's brother Mullā Muhammad Zamān Nāfi, and Hājī Aslam Sālim, issued from his school. According to one account, Fānī was again raised to the Sadārat of Kashmīr. A desire for change, however, overcame him, and he repaired to Khurāsān, whence he came back to his birth-place, and took to a life of seclusion in a monastery built by Dārā Shukūh. Here, it is believed, he wrote, in 1645 A.C., his *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* or "The School of Sects." Of this we shall speak later. The 'ulamā' or the divines of Kashmīr, condemned him for it, and he was declared *murtadd* or an apostate.

Gladwin says that, besides the *Dabistān*, Mullā Muhsin has left behind him a collection of poems, among which there is a moral essay entitled *Masdar-ul-Āsār* or the 'Source of Signs.' A manuscript copy of the *Dīvān-i-Muhsin Fānī* is in the Panjab University Library, and other copies are available elsewhere too. Muhsin Fānī's introduction to the *masnavī* of Mullā Shāh begins with—

حَمْدًا لِلَّذِي هُوَ الْمُوْجُود كَهْ جُزْ أَوْ نِيْسَتْ حَامِدْ وَ مُؤْدِ  
هُوَ مَنْ لَيْسَ فِي الْوُجُودِ سَواه إِنَّهُ لَا إِلَهَ إِلَّا اللَّهُ

Before we take up the serious question of the authorship of the *Dabistān*, it would be interesting to observe that, even Fānī the 'Perishable' allowed himself to be influenced by a woman called Bachī possessed of extraordinary beauty, though not of very high character. This aroused the bitter jealousy of Zafar Khān Ahsan, the *Sūbadār* of Kashmīr, and well-known as the patron of Muhammad 'Ali

*Sā'ib* of Isfahān. Zafar Khān himself had fallen a victim to the blandishments of Bachī. Not being successful in his advances to her, *Ahsan* vented his spleen in a bitter calumny against *Fānī*. Perhaps, *Fānī* behaved like Ibn-ul-'Arabī or was swayed like Shibli Nu'mānī in matters of love.

### *The Dabistān and its unsettled authorship.*

Now a word about the *Dabistān* itself. It is a famous work on the religious and philosophical creeds of Asia. It consists of twelve main sections called *Ta'lim*. These are as follows :—(i) Pārsis, (ii) Hindus including Sikhs, (iii) Qara Tibbatīs<sup>1</sup>, (iv) Jews, (v) Christians, (vi) Muslims, (vii) Sādiqīs,<sup>2</sup> (viii) Wāhidīs<sup>3</sup>, (ix) Raushnāīs,<sup>4</sup> (x) Ilāhīs<sup>5</sup>, (xi) Philosophers,<sup>6</sup> and (xii) Sūfis.<sup>7</sup> One, however, misses a detailed account of Buddhism in the *Dabistān*. The short chapter on Buddhism is rather a description of Jainism, the rival creed in early times to that of Buddha. Perhaps Buddhism was almost extinct in India at the time of the author of the *Dabistān*, while Jainism is still to be found. The beliefs and customs of ancient Egypt are also omitted.

In the *Dabistān* which opens with the line :

اے نام تو سر دفتر اطفالِ دبستان

یادِ تو ببالغِ خردان شمع شجستان

1. Qara Tibbatīs are a class of Buddhistic Hindus. 2. Sādiqīs, according to the *Dabistān*, form the sect founded by Musailima, the false prophet of Yemen, who lived during the lifetime of Prophet Muhammad. This sect was not entirely crushed after the founder's fall and appears to have existed in the seventeenth century of the Christian era, and conformed to a second Fārūq or Qur'ān to which a divine origin was attributed.
3. Wāhidīs are the followers of Wahid Mahmūd who appeared in the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Christian era and is placed by his adherents above Prophet Muhammad and Caliph 'Ali. This sect is said to have been widely spread in the world. In Irān, the persecution of Shāh 'Abbās forced the Wāhidīs to lie concealed.
4. Miyān Bāyazīd Ansārī was born in the town of Jallundar in the Punjab and flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century in the reign of Humāyūn. He took the title of 'Master of Light,' and his followers were called Raushnāīs or 'the enlightened.'
5. Akbar established the Ilāhī (divine) Faith in 1579 A.C., and to the Ilāhians, it was supposed, the author belonged.
- 6 and 7. The last two chapters relating to Philosophers and Sūfis are rather selections of all creeds and opinions than particular religions. Sir William Jones supposed these two last chapters not to have been written by the author of the rest of the *Dabistān* which Troyer, its translator, neither affirms nor denies.

important information concerning the religions of different times and countries has been collected. The author's accounts are generally 'clear, explicit and deserving confidence. They agree, on the most material points, with those of other accredited authors.' The author of the *Dabistān* 'enlivens his text by citing interesting quotations from the works of famous poets and philosophers, and by frequent references to books, which deserve to be known. The whole work is interspersed with anecdotes and sayings characteristic of individuals and sects which existed in his times. To what he relates from other sources, he frequently adds reflections of his own, which evince a sagacious and enlightened mind. Thus he exhibits in himself an interesting example of Eastern erudition and philosophy.' The author most commonly leans to the side of progressive reform. The *Dabistān* 'touches upon most difficult points of science and erudition, and comprises in its allusions references practically to the whole history of Asia.\*'

Now about the identity of the author. The controversy was started by Sir William Jones. He was probably the first publicly to attribute the authorship of the *Dabistān* to Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*. In his sixth anniversary discourse before the Bengal Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones said :— "This rare and interesting tract on twelve different religions entitled the *Dabistān* and composed by a Muhammadan traveller, a native of Kashmīr, named Muhsin but distinguished by the assumed surname of *Fānī*, or 'Perishable,' begins with a wonderfully curious chapter on the religion of Hūshang." The date of Sir William's discourse was February 19, 1789.

But Captain Vans Kennedy, in his preliminary remarks in his paper on "Notice respecting the religion introduced into India by the Emperor Akbar," said that Sir William Jones was wrong in attributing the authorship of the *Dabistān* to Muhsin. Kennedy was followed by William Erskine. Erskine based his authority on the *Gul-i-Ra'nā* or 'The

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\*Introduction to the *Dabistān*, translated into English by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, Vol. I, part III, pp. clxxix—cxcv.

'Charming Rose,' by Lachhmī Nārāyan<sup>1</sup> who flourished at Hydarābād, Deccan, at the end of the 18th or the beginning of the 19th century. William Erskine said that Lachhmī Nārāyan, who had written a short notice of Muhsin Fānī, did not mention the *Dabistān* as a production of Muhsin Fānī. It would appear, therefore, that Erskine's contention is : since Lachhmī Nārāyan does not mention it, we should conclude that Muhsin Fānī never wrote the *Dabistān* !

The late Sir J. J. Modi<sup>2</sup> wrote : "The fact is that as Troyer (the translator of the *Dabistān*) says that the name Muhsin Fānī is found in more than one copy of the *Dabistān*, after the usual address to God in the beginning, in a passage beginning with the words 'Muhsin Fānī says,' Dastūr Mullā Firūz thought that that is the name of a writer, with a quotation from whom the author began his work. So, this writer (*viz.* Fānī), quoted as an authority, by the author, has been mistaken for the author himself !" Sir J. J. Modi then himself adds : "Troyer, about 25 years after the discussion, thought, that the question was still undecided, but we think that Mullā Firūz's explanation, approved of by Erskine, seems to be correct." Strangely enough, in his article "Kashmīr and Ancient Persians," Modi himself calls "Muhsin Fānī a native of Kashmīr" as "the author of the *Dabistān*."<sup>3</sup> But in his paper, read before the Sixth Oriental Conference, held at Patna in December, 1930, Sir J. J. Modi said that the author of the *Dabistān* is Āzar Kaiwān. This, however, cannot be reconciled to the passage wherein the author of the *Dabistān* refers to the poem of Āzar Kaiwān, the apostle of the Sipāsīs, Vol. I, (page 76 of Shea's translation) !

1. Lachhmī Nārāyan *Shafīq* of Aurangābād was the son of Rāī Mansā Rām, and was the Diwān of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh in 1204 A.H.=1789 A.C. *Shafīq* wrote the *Gul-i-Ra'nā*, a biographical dictionary of the Persian poets of India, beginning with this—

یا رب مقبول ساز انشای مرا در خوش سخنان بلند کن جائے مرا  
چون بُوقلمون که رنگ قائم دارد این ز خزان کن گل رعنای مرا

This dictionary was begun in 1181 A.H.=1767 A.C., and completed in 1182 A.H.=1768 A.C.—*The Bānkīpore Catalogue*, Vol. VIII, page 128, also Vol. VII, page 19. The writer's name is so written in the Persian script. Its Hindi form is Lakshmi Nārāyanā.

2. *A Glimpse into the work of the B.B.R.A. Society*, Bombay, 1905, pages 127-8.

3. *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, Vol. XIX, page 248.

Rieu is another scholar who disbelieves in Fānī's authorship of the *Dabistān*. In his *British Museum Catalogue* published during 1879-1883, in the course of his note, in Vol. I, p. 141, on the *Dabistān*, Rieu says : " His (the unnamed author's) glowing account of the Sipāsīs, a sect of the Pārsī or the old Irānian religion to whom he gives the first largest place, stands in marked contrast to his description of Islamism which is that of a well-informed outsider, and not of a born and bred Muslim." In brief, Rieu seems to be of the opinion that Muhsin Fānī could not be the author of the *Dabistān*, and a certain Mūbad may have been its probable author. Rieu, however, does not appear to be definite about the exact authorship of the *Dabistān*.

Ethé, in his *India Office Catalogue*, published in 1903, has merely followed Rieu. But E. Blochet, who published his *Catalogue des Manuscrits Persans de la Bibliothèque Nationale* at Paris in 1905, puts down Muhsin Fānī as the author of the *Dabistān*, but considers him to have belonged to the Sipāsī or the Ābādī sect. Blochet further adds that the author was instructed by a disciple of the celebrated Āzar Kaiwān, named Mūbad Hūshiyār. But Blochet is unfortunately wrong in thinking that Muhsin Fānī was born at Patna, *vide* his Catalogue, pages 241-242, Tome Nos. 1-720 Premier.

H. Beveridge (*J.R.A.S.*, 1908, p. 165) accepts Mūbad Shāh instead of Rieu's Mūbad, but apparently rejects his non-Muslim origin. Beveridge considers the author's name to be Zulqadr Khān, having the pen-name of Mūbad. The basis of Beveridge's statement is Shāh Nawāz Khān, the author of the *Maāsir-ul-Umara'* who calls the author of the *Dabistān* Zulfaqār Ardīstānī. Nothing here, too, can be considered quite definite.

Waldimir Ivanow who compiled the *Concise Descriptive Catalogue* of Persian Manuscripts in the collection of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, published in 1924, says (page 544): " The author's name and the date of composition are even at present not yet precisely known, although they have often been discussed by various scholars. In the present copy, in the colophon, the author is called *Zul-faqār Beg*, with the *takhallus* Mu'ayyad (or Mūbad ?)."

Beal\* says that " Mūbid Shāh was a Guebre " who " turned Musalmān and wrote a history of the religions in

\*Thomas William Beal's *An Oriental Biographical Dictionary*, revised and enlarged by Henry George Keene, and published in London, in 1894, page 256.

the time of the emperor Akbar entitled the *Dabistān*. The intention of the author appears to have been to furnish to Akbar a pretended historical basis of the religion which this emperor had invented, and which he was desirous of introducing. For this reason, the author commences with a very long chapter on the religion of the Mahābādians, which is a mere web of incoherent fables. Sir William Jones first mentioned the *Dabistān*. Gladwin published its first chapter in the *New Asiatic Miscellany* together with an English translation. Leyden in the 9th volume of the *Asiatic Researches* translated the chapter on the Illuminati, and the text of the whole work was published at Calcutta in 1809. The Oriental Translation Society also published the whole in English." M. Walter Dunne, Publisher, Washington and London, reprinted the English translation of the *Dabistān* by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, in December 1901, with a special introduction by A. V. William Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, New York, U. S. A. David Shea began the translation which he left incomplete and the last half was faithfully finished by Anthony Troyer. The translation was published in 1843. Professor Jackson in his "special introduction" calls the author 'Moshan Fānī of Iranian extraction,' and says that "School of Religious Doctrines or Institutes" would be a happier designation.

To revert to Rieu's remarks. To him, the tone of the *Dabistān* shows that the author was not a born and bred Muslim. But Rieu seems to forget that a renegade is, very often, the most relentless critic of his old faith. Still Fānī, if it is Fānī, cannot completely suppress himself. Does not the author of the *Dabistān* invoke heavenly blessings

for خلیفہ راشدین و حضرات ائمہ دین though obviously he does not

refer to the Four Caliphs and the Imāms. At the same time, the chapter on Islam is rather long and "technical." The fact, however, remains that Muhsin Fānī on account of his profound philosophical studies, his extensive travels, his intercourse with men of all sorts of religious denominations as well as his correspondence with Gurū Hargovind,\* and, above all,

\*See reference by Joseph Davey Cunningham in *A History of the Sikhs*, H.L.O. Garrett's new and revised edition, 1918, page 47, footnote 3. Also—Shea and Troyer's, Volume II, page 281.

his unusual tolerance, did incur the wrath of the 'ulamā' of his age who declared Muhsin *murtadd*, or an apostate. This was the age of Akbar, Abu'l Fazl and Faizi. We must not also omit to mention the influence of the scholarly Dārā Shukūh, the most loved child of Shāh Jahān, and the author of several notable works including the Persian translations of the *Upanishad*, of the *Bhagvad Gitā*, the *Yog-Vaçista* and the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Free-thinking was encouraged, and it paid. However, under the influence of Miyān Muhammad Amin Dār, a scholar and saint of the day, buried in Kūcha Ashāī, Fath Kadal, Srinagar, Muhsin Fānī is said to have 'repented of his sin.' Most of the historians of Kashmīr, including Khwāja A'zam, a contemporary of the Mughul Emperor Shāh 'Ālam II, and Pir Hasan Shāh have noted this. I shall quote the relevant extract from the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* which is a MS. at the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, Srinagar. On its folio 250, it is clearly stated that the book *Dabistān-i-Mazāhib* was written by Muhsin Fānī. Before we peruse the extract, we must remember that it was probably Kashmīr's close contact with Tibet that led Muhsin to include the creed of the Tibetans in his *Dabistān*. Kashmīr is mentioned a number of times in the *Dabistān*. There is a reference to the verses of 'Alī-i-Sānī Amīr-i-Kabīr Mir Sayyid 'Alī of Hamadān whom we have been calling Shāh Hamadān in *Kashīr*.

مُلا مَهْسِن فانی..... بعد تخصصیلِ کمالاتِ علوم عقلی و نقلی اطراف  
و اکذافِ هندوستان را سیاحت نمود و نیک و بدِ زمانه بسیار آزمود و با  
هو مِلت آشناشی کرد، تحقیقاتِ حالاتِ مذاهب و ملل بخوبی ساخته  
کتابِ دبستانِ مذاهب تصنیف فرمود..... می آرند که در اوائل  
مذهب ازاد بود و با هر مِلت صلح کل میداشت و مذهب حکما را  
وثوق میداد. اما در آخر عمر به خدمتِ حضرت میان محمد امین دار مُشرف  
شد و دستِ ایابت بدامن عاطفت ایشان زده، از خیالاتِ باطل برگذشت  
و عقیده کامل بهم رسانید و به علوم معنوی و تعلیم و تلقین آنچنان  
بپرسه مند گشت - آنگاه تا حین حیات در گریه و زاری و توبه و استغفار  
اوقات بسر میبرد -

This evidence is given for what it is worth, but it may be that the final word on this controversy has not yet been uttered !

[The two historians noted in the preceding paragraph and referred to in several places in *Kashīr* will here come in for brief life-sketches]

### **Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Kaul "Mustaghni."**

Khwāja Muhammad A'zam is the author of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Kashmīr A'zamī*. This history is entitled *Waqī'at-i-Kashmīr* and was commenced in 1148 A.H. (1735 A.C.), and was completed in 1159 A.H. (1746 A.C.). Several works are named at the conclusion on which the *Waqī'at* is based. The works used by Khwāja Muhammad A'zam are :—

- (۱) تاریخ سید علی (۲) تاریخ رشیدی از میرزا حیدر دوغلات
- (۳) مُنتخب التواریخ از احسن بیگ (۴) تاریخ حیدر ملک چادروره
- (۵) ریشی نامہ از ملا نصیب (۶) درجات السادات از خواجه اسحاق ناوجو
- (۷) اسرار الابرار از بابا داؤد مشکوکی † (۸) تُحفَةُ الْفُقَرَاءِ وَ دیگر رسائل از مُرشد مُصنف، شیخ مراد (۹) مائتَر عالمگیری —

†*Mashukbī*, copied by Rieu in Vol. I, p. 300b is wrong, *Mishkātī* is the correct word. Bābā Dā'ūd who died in 1099 A.H.=1686-7 A.C. was so nicknamed because he knew by heart the whole of the *Mishkāt-ul-Masābīh*—a well-known book of the Prophet's Traditions (Hadith), edited by Shaikh Wali-ud-Din in 737 A.H.=1335-6 A.C.

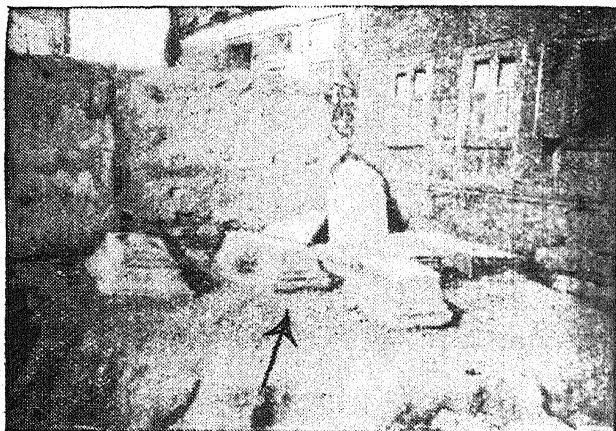
The *Ta'rīkh* has been published, but the MS. copy at the Panjab University Library and the one I was shown at Srinagar in September 1925, look more bulky but on examination they are all identical with the printed history. Popularly, the history is known as *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī*. It is written in Persian. An Urdu translation by Munshī Ashraf 'Ali was lithographed in Delhi in 1846 A.C. Recently a Persian edition by Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat has been published at Srinagar by Messrs. Nūr Muhammad Ghulām Muhammad, Booksellers, Mahārāj Ganj, Srinagar.

Khwāja A'zam was considered a scholar and a saint of his day, and was the *murid* of Muhammad Murād Naqshbandī, a Shaikh of Kashmīr.

The Khwāja is the author of several works. But he is chiefly known as a historian and flourished in Kashmīr under the Later Mughuls. Pir Hasan Shāh says that Khwāja A'zam was also a poet and counts the following among his works :—(1) *Faiz-i-Murād*, a treatise giving an account of the life of his *mursid* (spiritual guide) Shaikh Murād (2) *Fawā'id-ur-Rizā*, an account of Shaikh 'Ali Rizā, (3) *Firāq-nāma*, an elegy on Khalifa 'Ubaidullāh, (4) *Qawā'id-ul-Mashāikh*, (5) *Tajribat-ut-Tālibīn*, (6) *Ashjār-ul-Khuld*,

(7) *Samarāt-ul-Ashjār*, (8) *Sharh-i-Kibrīt-i-Ahmar* and Qasā'ids and Odes. The *Kibrīt-i-Ahmar* is the famous eulogy of Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir Jilāni for the Prophet, and Kashmiris have a special veneration for Shaikh 'Abdul Qādir and call him *Pir-i-Dastgīr*.

The Khwāja's death is recorded to have taken place on the 10th of Muharram, 1179 A.H. (1765 A.C.) This is according to the very apt chronogram ضعف گر، or 'pain in the kidney' of which he died,



The grave of Khwāja Muhammad A'zam Didamari,  
a historian, in the Malkha graveyard, Srinagar.

about four years after the defeat of the Marhattas by Ahmad Shāh Durrānī at the battle-field of Pānīpat, and one year after the battle of Buxar when Shāh 'Ālam accepted British protection. Khwāja A'zam lies buried in the Malkha quarter of Srinagar. The Diddamar quarter, referred to in A'zam's appellation, is on the right river-bank and was built by Queen Diddā for the accommodation of travellers from various parts of India. The actual tomb of Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, which is now a protected monument, stands in the family graveyard at Malkha, near Qutb-ul-'Ālam Bahā-ud-Din Ganj Bakhsh, Srinagar.

Khwāja A'zam's father was Khwāja Khair-uz-Zamān. Khwāja A'zam's son, Muhammad Aslam *Mun'imī*, is the author of the *Gauhar-i-'Ālam*, a history of Kashmir. Aslam has made considerable additions to his father's work.

#### Pir Hasan Shāh.

Pir Hasan Shāh is the author of three ponderous volumes on the history of Kashmir. He was born in Khuylōm, a village near Bandapōr, on the Wular, in 1248 A.H. (1832 A.C.), and died there in 1316 A.H. (1898 A.C.) at the age of 66 years. He came of a family of Pirs distinguished for their learning. His sixth ancestor was a scholar of great renown whom we know as Shaikh Yāqūb Sarfī. Hasan's father Pir Ghulām Rasūl was a poet and

the author of four books. Hasan studied under his father and subsequently acquired a knowledge of the Tibbi-i-Ūnāni, which he practised till the close of his life. Mahārājā Ranbhīr Singh conferred a *khil'at* of honour on Hasan for a pamphlet on the terrible famine of 1875-78 in which he made several sensible suggestions for improving the situation. Hasan's three books entitled (1) *Gulistān-i-Akhlāq* (2) *Kharīta-i-Asrār* (3) *I'jāz-i-Gharība* written in Persian mixed with Kashmīri are greatly admired by the public. Sir Walter Lawrence, when Settlement Commissioner of the Kashmir State, was supplied by Pir Hasan Shāh with much historical information and was also taught the Kashmīri language by him. Sir Walter, in his *Valley of Kashmir* (page 454) expresses his indebtedness to Hasan Shāh as follows:—"What else (of the Kashmīri language) I have learnt, I owe to Pir Hasan Shāh, a learned Kashmīri, whose work has entirely been among the villagers." When Sir Walter became Private Secretary to the Viceroy, he invited Hasan, through the British Resident in Kashmir, to be presented to the Viceroy, but the invitation was too late as Hasan had died a few days before. (My note is chiefly based on Pandit Anand Kaul's, *vide J.A.S.B.*, volume XI, No. 5, 1913).

The autograph copy of the three volumes on the history of Kashmīr is preserved at the Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā, the Ziyārat of Shāh Hamadān, Srinagar. Hasan has evidently taken great pains in his work, and it is a pity that this history is still unpublished. It is in good, clear, simple Persian.

**CAUTION.**—The author of *Kashīr* very much regrets that he has not always quoted folios of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Hasan* as several MSS. were used by him at different times in Lāhore and Srinagar from different friends. Quoting folios would have caused confusion for purposes of comparison as all MSS. had their respective folios, or modes of paging by the first word of the following page on the previous one.]

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### 3. *Mullā Kamāl.*

Judged alone by the fact that he had such pupils as Mullā 'Abdul Hakīm Siālkōtī known as the Aftāb-i-Punjāb and Mujaddid Alf-i-Sānī, the saint of Sarhind, and Nawwāb Sa'dullāh Khān 'Allāmī, the prime minister of Shāh Jahān, Akhund Mir Mullā Kamāl must have, indeed, been a great teacher of his time. Mullā Kamāl is truly the Imām Muwaffaq of Kashmīr, who taught 'Umar Khayyām, the scholar-astronomer poet, Hasan bin Sabbāh, the leader of the Ismā'ilīs, and Nizām-ul-Mulk Tūsī, the prime minister of the Saljuqs. In fact, the similarity between the two in this respect could never be more exact,

Khwāja Hasan Shi'rī ibn Khwāja Sadr-ud-Dīn Muhammad Bachh in his *Gulzār-i-Khalīl*\* traces Mullā Kamāl's ancestry to Chingiz Khān through Mīr Muhammad 'Alī Qāzī who flourished during Bād Shāh's reign. The Qāzī's father was Qāzī Mīr Mahmūd Bukhārī who descended from Arghūn, the brother of Hulāgū Khān, the great-grandson of Chingiz. Mīr Muhammad 'Alī had two sons named Mīr Sikandar and Mīr Yūnus. Mīr Yūnus' son was Qāzī Mīr Ibrāhīm, who was the Qāzī of Kashmīr during Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt's time. Qāzī Mīr Ibrāhīm had three sons—(1) Mīr Kamāl (2) Mīr Mahmūd and (3) Qāzī Mīr Mūsā Shahīd. Qāzī Mīr Mūsā Shahīd, the Qāzī of Kashmīr during Yu'qūb Chak's reign, was the father of (i) Mullā Kamāl (ii) Mullā Jamāl and (iii) Qāzī Mīr Sālih. Qāzī Mīr Mūsā, on account of Shī'a-Sunnī strife was killed by Ya'qūb Chak's order, and was, therefore, known as *shahīd* or the martyr (*supra* page 234).

Mullā Kamāl was born in Kashmīr, but the exact date of his birth is not available. His death is recorded in 1017 A.H.,=1608 A.C., in Jahāngīr's reign, at Lāhore. The chronogram is—

مُدْعِيٌّ حَقٌّ : قُطْبٌ وَ تَاجٌ اُولِيَا ، مُلَا كَمَالٌ

The *Hadā'iq-ul-Hanafīyya* by Maulavī Faqīr Muhammad has : حدیقةٌ فیض His grave is not traceable.

Mullā Kamāl had his education under Bābā Fathullāh Haqqānī, who was the son of Bābā Ismā'il Kubravī, the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Sultān Hasan Shāh, the grandson of Bād Shāh. Bābā Fathullāh was forced by the Shī'a-Sunnī troubles of the time to migrate to Siālkōt in the Punjāb. Mullā Kamāl accompanied his teacher, and with the completion of his education at Siālkōt, was married to his teacher's daughter, the second daughter being given to Mullā Jamāl, Kamāl's younger brother, who was also the pupil of the Haqqānī. Mullā Muhammad Rizā, known as Hakīm-i-Dānā, was Kamāl's son from this marriage. According to Khwāja Muhammad A'zam, Mullā Kamāl also studied under Khwāja 'Abdush Shahīd Naqshbandī Ahrārī, a descendant of the great Khwāja 'Ubaidullāh Ahrār of Khurāsān. Mullā Kamāl taught at Lāhore also, which explains his burial there.

\* *Gulzār-i-Khalīl*, printed at Amritsar in 1291 A.H. (1874 A.C.), is based on the *Tazkirah* of (i) Bābā Dā'ūd-i-Mishkātī, (ii) *Tazkirah* of Khwāja Muhammad A'mīn Gānī, and the (iii) *Tazkirah* of Qāzī 'Abdul Karīm Chhawwo, (iv) the *Risālah* of Qāzī Haidar Qāzī Khān, and (v) the *Maāthir* of Nāwāb Abul Barakāt Khān.

Rājā Mān Singh was governor of Siālkōt at the time. We also already know Maulānā Mir Kamāl-ud-Din as the son-in-law of the Qāzī'l-Quzāt, Sayyid Habibullāh Khwārizmī, the *Khatīb* of the Jāmi' Masjid of Srinagar in the time of Husain Shāh Chak (p. 222). So esteemed was Maulānā Kamāl-ud-Din's personality that the *kārdār*, or the administrator, of the Rājā accorded him a warm reception, and treated him with great respect on his settling down in Siālkōt. And all people, particularly his countrymen, hailed his arrival there with joy and acclamation. At Siālkōt, Maulānā Kamāl-ud-Din began to impart instruction in the mosque of Miyān Wāris. And it was here that his pupils 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm and Nawwāb Sa'dullāh Khān 'Allāmī, and Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī immortalized the memory of their great teacher. The eminence of Mullā Kamāl is known from the fact that his title was '*Allāma Mashrigain* and *Mu'allim-us-Saqalain*, i.e., The Savant of East and West, and the Teacher of Men and Genii. Brief notes of the three distinguished pupils here will show how great must have been the teacher.

'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm.

'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm of Siālkōt\* was born at Siālkōt about

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\**Malik-ul-Ulamā* 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm Sialkōtī by Muhammad-ud-Din *Fauq*, editor, the *Kashmīrī*, Lāhore, with a foreword by the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, Kt., M.A. (Panjab and Cambridge), Ph.D. (Munich), D. Litt. (Hon'y., Panjab, Aligarh, Allahabad, Dacca), Barrister-at-Law, 1924.

### Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din "Fauq."

Munshi Muhammad-ud-Din *Fauq* was the second son of Munshi Ladha Khān, and the younger brother of the late Mr. Rabīm Bakhsh, Inspector of Works, N. W. Ry. *Fauq* was born in February 1877. After some elementary education, he started as a *patwārī* in 1894, and then turned to journalism under the late Munshi Mahbūb 'Alām, editor and proprietor of the *Paisa Akhbār*, Lāhore. By 1901 *Fauq* began his own paper entitled the *Panjab-i-Fauqād*, and in 1906 the *Kashmīrī Magazine* was ushered into existence which lived up to 1934. *Fauq* is the author of 70 works of which 9 or 10 are yet to be published. *The Ta'rīkh-i-Bad Shāhī* is the most recently published. Like Muftī Muhammad Shāh Sa'ādat, *Fauq* has given the best of his life to research in the history of Kashmīr. He has also been an active worker in the cause of the Kashmīrī Conference of Lāhore. *Fauq* died, after an illness of three months at 4 p.m., on Friday, 14th September, 1945, at his residence outside Sherānwālā Darwāzā, Lāhore, when 69. *Fauq* is the father of two sons Zafar-ul-Haqq and Zafar Ahmad, both in postal employ. *Fauq*'s elder brother, Mr. Rabīm Bakhsh's son is Mr. 'Abdul Hamīd, B.Sc., Secretary, Railway Board, Pākistān.

*See the footnote on page 378.*

968 A.H. during Akbar's reign, where he was brought up and where he died on the 18th Rabī'-ul-Awwal, A.H. 1067 (A.C. 1656). His father's name is given as Shaikh Shams-ud-Din in the *Rauzat-ul-Udabā*, *Shaikh* being added out of respect, or probably because of recent conversion to Islam.

'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm acquired such reputation for his learning in logic, jurisprudence, tradition and exegesis that his name went far beyond India, and was familiar in Bukhārā, the Hijāz, and as far as Istanboul, Egypt and Morocco.

When Jahāngīr ascended the throne, he bestowed a considerable *jāgīr* on the Maulānā for his maintenance. Through special royal favours, the Maulānā became quite a well-to-do person. Divines and doctors of Islamic learning in India consulted him for *Fatāwā* or rulings on points of religious law. He is mentioned as one of the sixteen leading Muslim doctors in law of the reign of Jahāngīr.

In the early years of Shāh Jahān's rule, the Maulānā was sent to Akbarābād (Āgra) to preside over the royal madrasa there. The scholar and poet Hājī Muhammād Jān Qudsī was then on the teaching staff. Gradually, the Maulānā gained access to the royal court. Here he met learned men from Irān, Tūrān, Arabia, and Asia Minor. And it is stated that he was one of those most highly esteemed for their learning. It was about this time when his quondam class-fellow, Nawwāb Sa'dullāh Khān 'Allāmī became grand vazīr that the Maulānā was accorded a seat of honour in the row of the learned, known as the "Seat of the Learned." The Maulānā served as a tutor to the princes also for some time. His library was a valuable treasure of books on logic, philosophy, exegesis and ethics. This rare library of Northern India, it is said, was unfortunately given over to the flames by the Sikhs, when they plundered Siālkōt and set the city on fire.

The Maulānā erected several buildings at Siālkōt. (1) His mosque and his madrasa are in existence even today. Over the arch of the mosque, there is written the following inscription:—

تاریخ هذا المسجد بن بانی له، الیت فی الجنة

The second half of the line gives the date of its foundation, i.e., 1052 A.H. (2) A rest-house and a bath for travellers, which the British converted into a charitable dispensary in 1275 A.H. (3) The Bāgh-i-Maulavī Sāhib, stated to have been a very spacious and beautiful garden surrounded by a rampart. The Maulānā was buried in it. (4) The 'Idgāh-i-Maulavī Sāhib. (5) Tālāb-i-Maulavī Sāhib. It is said that this tank cost lakhs of rupees, a conduit from the Chenāb river brought water to it. The traces of the conduit are still to be found here and there, but the tank itself now serves as a water reservoir for the Municipality of Siālkōt.

*Footnote on page 377 continued.—*

Nawwāb Mirzā Khān Dāgh Dihlavi of the Deccan fame is *Fauq*'s *ustād* in Urdu poetry. *Fauq*'s characteristics are simplicity and directness in prose and verse.

*Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī.*

Shaikh Ahmad Sarhindī, the son of 'Abdul Ahad Fārūqī, was born at Sarhind in 1563 A.C. and died at Sarhind in November 1625= Safar 1035 A.H., at the age of 63, and was buried there. Shaikh Ahmad belonged to the Naqshbandī order of Sūfis, and was a disciple of Khwāja Bāqī-billāh of Delhi, and claimed he was the Man of the Second Millennium, and hence his title *Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Sānī* or the Renewer of the Second Millennium. One of his writings is called the *Majmū'at-ut-Tasawwuf*. Jahāngīr imprisoned him for two years. In the fourteenth year of his reign, Jahāngīr writes in his *Tūzuk* :— “Shaikh Ahmad had spread the net of hypocrisy and deceit in Sarhind and caught in it many of the apparent worshippers without spirituality and had sent into every city and country one of his disciples . . . . He had also written a number of idle tales to his disciples and his believers, and had made them into a book which he called the *Maktabat* (letters). In that album of absurdities many unprofitable things had been written that drag people into infidelity and impiety . . . . I considered the best thing for him would be that he should remain some time in the prison of correction until the heat of his temper and confusion of his brain were somewhat quenched, and the excitement of the people also should subside. He was accordingly handed over to Anīrāi Singh-dalan to be imprisoned in Gwālīor Fort.” In the fifteenth year of Jahāngīr's reign, we see him released by the Emperor, given a dress of honour and Rs. 1,000 for expenses. In the eighteenth year of the reign, the Shaikh was given Rs. 2,000 by Jahāngīr. It was, perhaps, in penance for his past attitude towards the Shaikh. And so Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has it :

گردن نہ جوہکی جس کی جہانگیر کے آئی  
جس کے نفس پر گرم سے ہے گرمی احرار  
—بال جبریل - صفحہ ۲۱۱ - ۱۹۳۹ء

Jahāngīr tried to break Shaikh Ahmad. Jahāngīr could not bend Shaikh Ahmad!

*'Allāmī Sa'dullāh Khān.*

'Allāmī Sa'dullāh Khān, as the *Maāsir-ul-Umarā'* calls him, was a Shaikh of Chiniot in the Jhang district of the Punjab and came of the Qurēsh stock. He learnt the Qur'aān by heart, acquired proficiency in speech and diction. He studied under Mullā Kamāl and entered Shāh Jahān's service in the emperor's 14th year of reign. In the 25th year of the reign, the 'Allāmī was deputed to investigate conditions of famine in the Punjab when Shāh Jahān was proceeding to Kashmir where he rejoined the emperor. Then he accompanied Prince Aurangzib in his expedition to Qandahār, ordered by Shāh Jahān. Later, he became the Prime Minister, and died in 1066 A.H. (1655 A.C.). Lutfullāh, his eldest son, at the age of 11, was provided with a *mansab* by Shāh Jahān on account of the 'Allāmī's great service to the state. Sa'dullāh Khān was so thoroughly honest that he would not care even for Dārā Shukūh's complaints against him to the Emperor.

4. *Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm.*

Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm was a learned Kashmīrī and a man of distinction. He won his way by dint of intelligence and industry. He was the son of 'Āqibat Mahmūd bin Khwāja Bulāqī bin Khwāja Muhammad Rizā. Rieu in the British Museum *Catalogue* of Persian MSS. (Vol. I, pp. 381-82) says that the Khwāja was better known as 'Abdur Rahīm (?) Kashmīrī. Since his very childhood he had cherished dreams of making a pilgrimage to Mecca, and of visiting the holy shrines of the great celebrities of Islam. At the time of Nādir Shāh's invasion of India, Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm had come down to Shāhjahānābād (Delhi) with a view to proceeding to Mecca. His dream of making a pilgrimage, though within sight of realization, was delayed. He approached Nādir Shāh for a permit. Nādir then held possession of the land routes to Arabia. Struck by 'Abdul Karīm's intelligence, Nadir Shāh offered him employment in 1151 A.H.=1738 A.C. Soon after the sack of Delhi, Nadir Shāh gave out that he was returning to Irān. Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm was given an appointment first in Nādir Shāh's camp. Subsequently, he is said to have risen to the position of Nādir's Foreign Minister, and was, on one occasion, deputed as an envoy to Balaclava\* and then to the Sultān of Turkey. On his retirement, Nādir Shāh finally permitted him to proceed to Mecca.

Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm's travels extended over many lands. He visited Baghdād, Damascus, and Aleppo. He then proceeded to Mecca along with Mīrzā Muhammad Hāshim, who was called Nawwāb Mu'tamad-ul-Mulk Sayyid 'Alavī Khān *Hakīm Bāshī* or head physician. The Hakīm, who had been taken from the court of Delhi by Nādir Shāh, obtained permission to perform the Hajj after curing Nādir of his illness.

After the pilgrimage, Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm went to the port of Jeddah, from where he sailed to Hūglī. He remained in India for several years, and studied the social and political conditions of Indians as well as of Europeans who had then settled in Bengal and on the Coromandel coast.

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\*Balakalva or Balaclava is a port and health resort on the south-west coast of Crimea (Russia), 8 miles south-east of Sevastopole, memorable for the action of October 25, 1854 A.C., and the charge of the Russian gun-by the Light Brigade (Six Hundred). Balakalva is a gay village producing grapes for the markets of Sevastopole.

After his long journeys over many lands, the Khwāja finally returned to Kashmīr, where he was persuaded by his friends to write of the experiences he had had during his extensive travels. Consequently, he wrote his *Memoirs*. These are in Persian<sup>1</sup> and contain many a picturesque description of men and things, and bear testimony to Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm's intellectualability, his power of observation, and his fascinating style of writing. The book, besides being written in an effective and interesting style, contains useful information. It provides valuable references to contemporary history, namely, an account of the court of Irān, and a narrative of the most interesting events in the history of Hindustān from 1739 to 1749 A.C. Dr. L. Lockhart<sup>2</sup> says that 'Abdul Karīm, having no reason to fear Nādir's resentment, writes "freely and without exaggeration of his humble start in life." The Khwāja gives anecdotes and interesting personal details regarding Nādir Shāh which are not to be found in Mirzā Mahdī's official biography of Nādir. 'Abdul Karīm's *Bayān-i-Wāqi'* is frequently referred to in Irvine's *Later Mughals* by Sir Jadū Nāth Sarkār in connexion with Nādir Shāh's invasion of Delhi. It is divided into five chapters and a *Khātima*: (1) Rise of Nādir Shāh and his march to India, (2) His return from India and his march through Tūrān, Khurāsān and Māzandarān to Kazvīn, (3) the Khwāja's journey to 'Irāq, Syria, Arabia and return by sea to Hūglī. Events from the Khwāja's return to the death of Muhammad Shāh, (4) Events of the reign of Ahmad Shāh. No complete translation of the *Bayān* has yet appeared. Francis Gladwin's is incomplete. So is that of Lieutenant H. G. Pitchard. A French translation of Gladwin's version is by Langlés, *Voyage de l'Inde à la Mecque*, Paris, 1797. The *Bayān* is also known as the *Nādir-nāma* or *Ta'rikh-i-Nādirī*. Under Or. 181, Rieu's Catalogue (Volume I, page 382) states that in another copy, after the portion of the work which has been translated by Francis Gladwin, who had served in the Bengal Army and was appointed Professor at the College of Fort William in 1801, are found the following additional chapters: Assassination of Nawwāb Bahādur; war of Safdar Jang with the Amīrs of Ahmad Shāh; accession of Akbar Shāh and devastation of old Delhi, accession of 'Ālamgīr II, accession of Shāh 'Ālam and the events of his

1. *The Memoirs of Khwaja Abdul Karim*—translated from the original Persian by Francis Gladwin, Esq., London, 1793.

2. *Nadir Shah* by L. Lockhart, R.A., Ph.D., Luzac & Co., London, 1938, page 301.

reign. The last occurrences recorded are the escape of Prince Jawān-bakht from Delhi, and the arrest of Majd-ud-Daula by the Amīr-ul-Umarā, both events of 1198 A.H. (1783 A.C.). The next chapter, which treats of the progress of the British power in Hindustān from the death of Shujā'-ud-Daula to 1198 A.H., and the rise of the Sikhs, terminates abruptly although a subscription is appended, as though the work was complete.

As an illustration of his great power of description and of minute observation, we might mention 'Abdul Karīm's description, which covers four pages of his book, of Nādir Shāh's tent,<sup>1</sup> decorated with precious stones. He gives a most vivid picture of the tent used by the great Irānian conqueror. This tent was pitched in the *Dīwān-khās*, or the public hall, where the celebrated Peacock Throne of Shāh Jahān and the Takht-i-Nādirī (Nādir's Throne) and thrones of some other monarchs were placed.

An example of his keen understanding of men is 'Abdul Karīm's, intelligent account of the Europeans in Bengāl, given in the chapter entitled "A summary account of occurrences in Bengāl and different parts of Hindustān."<sup>2</sup> The Khwāja describes the tastes and habits of Europeans, their cleanliness, and the freedom of their women, their business-like habits, and their firm military discipline.

The book, in short, is full of intelligent reflections and wise observations, and forms a valuable record of references to contemporary events, and helps us to visualize the personality of Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm. In the Punjāb Public Library, Lahore, there is a manuscript entitled the '*Ibrat Maqāl*' by Khwāja 'Abdul Karīm, dated 1816 A.C. The work is a general history of Shāh 'Ālam and gives useful information about the Punjāb.

##### 5. *Khān 'Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān of Lucknow.*

'Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān Kashmīrī was a very learned mathematician.<sup>3</sup> He was well versed in Arabic, Persian, English and Latin. Nawwāb Āsaf-ud-Daula of Oudh appointed him as his Nā'ib. But the 'Allāma kept up his simplicity and accessibility to such an extent that he would not agree to have a *darbān* (door-keeper) at his door.

1. Francis Gladwin's translation of *Khwaja Abdul Karim's Memoirs*, pages 29-32. 2. *Ibid.*, pages 169-179.

3. See his biography by Nawwāb Sayyid Muhammad 'Ali Khān, Hydarābād, Deccan, 1330 A.H., also by the R.A.S., London, 1804.

Any one could see him. His two works *Jabr-u-Muqābala* (Algebra), *Farangi 'Ilm-i-Hai'at* (European science of Astronomy), are well known. Nawwāb Farīd-ud-Daula, the Prime Minister of Shāh 'Ālam of Delhi and the maternal grandfather of Sir Sayyid Ahmad, came to Lucknow to study astronomy and mathematics under him. Tafazzul Husain Khān was of the Shī'a persuasion. He died in 1800.

#### *6. Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh.*

Among the 'ulamā' of Kashmīrī origin, the name of the late Shaikh-ul-Hadith Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh of the Lolāb valley is worth mentioning, on account of his eminence in Muslim theology. For several years, he held the rectorship of the Dār-ul-'Ulūm at Deoband, United Provinces, and was the acknowledged successor of the late Maulānā Mahmūd-ul-Hasan, who was universally acclaimed one of the leading 'Ulamā' of the entire Islamic world. Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh died on 2nd Safar 1352 A.H.=29th May, 1933 A.C., at Deoband, at the age of 60. With him died, perhaps, the greatest scholar of Hadith of the day. Maulavī Sayyid Muhammad Mu'azzam Shāh, the father, outlived his great son.

### Some Women of Note

#### I. *Lalla 'Ārifa.*

In the roll of notable women of Kashmīr during Muslim rule, the place of honour certainly belongs to Lalla 'Ārifa, who has influenced Kashmīr to such an extent that her sayings are on the lips of all Kashmīris—Hindus and Muslims—and her memory is revered by all. Hindus claim her as theirs, while Muslims claim her as theirs. Though originally a Hindu, she was greatly influenced by Islamic Sūfiistic thought, and may, in truth, be said to be above all formal religious conventionalities. She was the contemporary of Shāh Hamadān at the time of his visit to Kashmīr, and Muslims affirm that she embraced Islam at his hands, and inspired Shaikh Nūr-ud-Din with her teachings. Her verses, as edited by Grierson and Barnett, show that she was imbued with Yoga philosophy as propounded by the Ācāra cult of Hinduism.

Lalla 'Ārifa was born in 735 A.H. (1335 A.C.) in the time of Udyānadeva.

فرون بود بر هفت صد، سی و پنج  
 ز ویرانه شد پدیدار گنج  
 عبدالوهاب شاشق

In Indian history this was the time when Fakhr-ud-Dīn Jauna Ulugh Khān Muhammad 'Ādil bin Tughluq commonly known as Muhammad Tughluq was the ruler of Hindustān. He had already founded Daulatābād in the Deccan in 1327 A.C., and, to be precise, had, that very year, left Delhi for the conquest of Madura down south. Khwāja Jahān, his minister, accompanied by the great traveller Ibn Battūtah suppressed the rebellion in the Punjab. The foundation of the great city of Vijayanagar took place in the following year, viz. 1336 A.C.

Lalla's parents lived at Pāndrēthan, the old capital of Kashmīr in Ačoka's time, four miles to the south-east of modern Srinagar. She is said to have been married in Pāmpar, and to have been cruelly treated by her step-mother-in-law, who nearly starved her. Of this treatment, a story is told that poor Lalla had always "a stone to her dinner," that is to say, her step-mother-in-law used to put a lumpy stone on her platter, and thinly cover it with rice, so that it looked quite a big heap. And yet Lalla would never murmur! She appears to have brought her married life to a close by quitting her home. According to one account, Lalla was so named on account of her increased abdomen. Hindus call her Laleshwari, or Lalla Yogishwari, Muslims Lalla Dēd or Lalla Mājī or Mother Lalla.

Lalla used to wander about in rags and went about the country singing and dancing in a half-nude, or even nude condition. A student of Freud will find in this phase of Lalla's life a reaction\* from her domestic affliction sufficient to unbalance any mind. When remonstrated with for such disregard for decency, she is said to have replied that they only were men who feared God, and that there were very few such men about. While she was roaming about naked,

\*Introduction page 3, *Lalla Yogiswari—Her Life and Sayings* by Pandit Anand Koul, with an Introduction by Dīwān Bahādur Rājā Narindra Nāth. —The Mercantile Press, Lahore, 1942.

Shāh Hamadān arrived in Kashmīr. One day, she saw him from a distance, and according to the common Muslim tradition cried out "I have seen a Man," and turned and fled. Thereafter she soon wore clothes and recognized Shāh Hamadān to be "a Man," and freely associated with him and other Muslim saints of the time. This incident is said to have taken place at Khānpōr, pronounced by the Kashmīris Khāmpōr, and is the last stage on the road to Srinagar from the Punjāb.

Lalla died at an advanced age at Bijbrōr or Bijbihāra,\* 28 miles to the south-east of Srinagar, just outside the courtyard of the Jāmi' Masjid, near its south-eastern corner where her grave is shown today.

It is commonly avowed by Muslims in Kashmīr that the verses of Lalla, as collected and published, are those which she composed before her contact with Shāh Hamadān and other Muslim saints, that her verses after that contact are more expressly reflective of Muslim thought. It is noteworthy, here, that, even the Patron-Saint of Kashmīr, Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, is given the distinctly Hindu name of Nand Riosh, or Nand Rish, by the Pandits of the Valley.

The sayings of Lalla, as edited by Grierson and Barnett, says Sir Richard Temple, commence with a narration of her own spiritual experience. She had wandered far and wide in search of truth, had made pilgrimages to holy places, and sought for salvation through formal rites, but all in vain! Then suddenly she found it in her own 'home,'

\*Bijbihāra or Vijabrōr, abbreviated from Vijayeqvara (Civa's temple), is said to have been founded by King Vijaya (69-61 B.C.). The tradition regarding Aśoka's connexion with it supplies historical proof for its antiquity. The new temple of Vijayeqvara was built by Mahārāja Ranbhīr Singh.

Dārā Shukūh built a bridge over the Jhelum in 1631 A.C. It is now in ruins. The Bādshāhī Bāgh is remembered on account of the slab which bears the following inscription :—"By the grace of God, Dārā Shukūh on the 22nd day of Ramazān in the year of the Hijra 1060, in the reign of Shāh Jahān Bādshāh Ghāzī, completed this building which was erected under the superintendence of Dārūgha Muhammad Zāhid Abu'l Hasan Samargandī." The site of the Bādshāhī Bāgh lies on the right bank of the river to the south of the present bridge.

The shrine of the saint and scholar Bābā Nasīb-ud-Dīn Ghāzī is situated on the left bank of the river near the Jāmi' Masjid.

The population of Bijabrōr, according to the census of 1941, is 4,532.

her own soul. There she found her own Self, which became to her the equivalent of a spiritual preceptor. And she learned that it and the Supreme Self (God) were one. Sir Richard Temple has made a verse translation\* of her sayings, some of which are reproduced below. The reader will agree with Sir Richard that, in her method of teaching her doctrine by means of verse, Lalla is at once mystical and transcendental.

3. Passionate, with longing in mine eyes,  
    Searching wide, and seeking nights and days,  
    Lo : I beheld the Truthful One, the Wise,  
        Here in mine own House to fill my gaze.  
    That was the day of my lucky star.  
        Breathless, I held him my Guide to be.
4. So my lamp of knowledge blazed afar,  
    Fanned by slow breath from the throat of me.  
    They, my bright soul to my self revealed,  
        Winnowed I abroad my inner light ;  
    And with darkness all around me sealed  
        Did I garner Truth and hold Him tight.
28. Keep a little raiment for the cold  
    And a little food for stomach's sake :  
    Pickings for the crows thy body hold,  
        But thy mind a house of knowledge make.
43. Slay first the thieves—desire, lust and pride ;  
    Learn thou then to be slave of all.  
    Robbers only for a while abide ;  
        Ever liveth the devoted call.  
    All a man's gain here is nothing worth,  
        Save when his service shall be his sword :  
    Ash from the fire is the sun of birth ;  
        Gain thou then the knowledge of the Lord.
61. Whatsoever thing I do of toil,  
    Burdens of completion on me lie ;  
    Yet unto another falls the spoil  
        And gains he the fruit thereof, not I.  
    Yet if I toil with no thought of self,  
        All my works before the self I lay ;  
    Setting faith and duty before help.  
        Well for me shall be the onward way.

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\**The Word of Lalla, the Prophetess*, Cambridge University Press,  
1924.

94. " Think not on the things that are without ;  
     Fix upon thy inner self thy Thought :  
     So shalt thou be freed from let or doubt :"  
         Precepts these that my Preceptor taught.  
     Dance then, Lalla, clothed but by the air :  
         Sing, then, Lalla, clad but in the sky.  
     Air and sky : what garment is more fair ?  
         " Cloth " saith Custom. Doth that sanctify ?

214. Heedless ever that the Day Sublime  
     Cometh when the wicked locketh not  
     When the apple of the autumn time  
         Ripens with the summer apricot.

## 2. *Bibī Tāj Khātūn.*

Tāj Khātūn was the daughter of Sayyid Hasan Bahādur, the commander of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn's forces. Sayyid Hasan belonged to a very distinguished family, and was the son of Sayyid Tāj-ud-Dīn Hamadānī. It will be recalled that Shāh Hamadān brought about reconciliation between the Kashmīr and Ohind armies. It was on this occasion that, according to one of the terms of the treaty, two girls of the royal family of Ohind were married to two Kashmīr notables. Bibī Tāj Khātūn was the daughter of Sayyid Hasan from this marriage. Special pains were taken in the matter of her education. She was married to Mīr Muhammād Hamadānī, the son of Shāh Hamadān. Bibī Tāj Khātūn was of a saintly character. She passed most of her time in meditation in the garden built for her, near which Fath Kadal was subsequently built. She was buried in the same garden.

## 3. *Bibī Bāri'a.*

Bāri'a was the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn, for forty years the Chief Minister of Kashmīr and, after her conversion with her father, was married to Mīr Muhammād Hamadānī, after the death of Bibī Tāj Khātūn. The photo of Bibī Bāri'a's tomb at Karālapōr, five miles from Srinagar on the Charār Road, appears on page 93.

## 4. *Bibī Haura.*

Haura, as given in Persian histories of Kashmīr and called by Firishta Sūra, may have really been Hūriah, a houri or a nymph, was the mother of Sultān Sikandar, and the

queen of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. She was a remarkable woman, and exercised tremendous influence over her husband, and subsequently over Sultān Sikandar. It was her strong personality that kept down all mischief during the earlier part of the reign of her son. She was gifted with a strong mind, and could strike terror into the hearts of enemies. She practically acted as the regent of her son for some time. When she found that her own daughter and son-in-law were plotting against the person of Sikandar, she did not hesitate to get them disposed of without any delay, and thus nipped in the bud an evil which might have subverted the royal line of Shāh Mīr. Despite her prominent part in the civil and military affairs of the kingdom, she found time for devotion, and was the disciple of Shāh Hamadān. She was buried in the first royal burial-ground which still exists near the Kānil Masjid, Zaina Kadal, at Srinagar.

### 5. *Bibī Bahat.*

Bahat (meaning 'pure') lived in the time of Bad Shāh, and was noted for her learning. Her sayings in Persian are still on the lips of educated Kashmīris. One of her sayings is—

هر که از بود و رهیمه از اندوه رسته و از غم بیم و آمید جستن

[He, who is relieved of the thought of existence, is relieved of anxiety, and is relieved of the sorrows and fears of hope.]

Bahat was the disciple of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, the Patron-Saint of Kashmīr. The graves of this learned lady and that of her sister, Dahat, both being known as Chāt-dedī (Chāt meaning disciples in reference to the same spiritual guide) can be seen in Zālūsa (or Zālus) village, in the Nāgām *pargana*, 1½ mile below Chrār on the motor road.\*

### 6. *Lachhma Khātūn.*

Lachhma was the daughter of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn Dār, a military commander, during the reigns of Bad Shāh and Hasan Shāh. She was married to Malik Jälāl-ud-Dīn, a minister of Bad Shāh. Lachhma was well-known for her learning

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\*A *pargana* is a tract of country comprising the lands of several villages.

and piety, and founded a *khāngāh* (hospice) and a *madrasa* near the Jāmi' Masjid in Mahalla Gōjwāra. The *madrasa* has disappeared, but the *khāngāh*, now a *ziyārat*, still exists there, and is known as Masjid-i-Qazā' on account of the Qāzīs of Srīnagar issuing their *fatāwā*, or rulings, from a place near about. For the Jāmi' Masjid specially, as also for her *khāngāh* and *madrasa*, she brought a waterway right from Lār. It was called the Lachhma Kol. *Kol* in Kashmīrī means a waterway. She profited by the company of Bābā Ismā'il Kubravī, who was the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Sultān Hasan Shāh, and became the Shaikh's *murid* or disciple.

#### 7. *Gul Khātūn.*

Gul Khātūn, the queen of Sultān Haidar Shāh, built a *madrasa*. She was also famed for her solicitude for Hindus. Crivara says of her that 'she favoured the customs of Hindus as the light of the sun favours the lotus.' She was greatly esteemed by all, and men wept at her death.

#### 8. *Bībī Sāliha.*

Sāliha was the queen of Sultān Muhammad Shāh and the sister of Kājī Chak. She also came under the influence of Bābā Ismā'il Kubravī. Kashmīris remember her for the reconstruction of the shrine of Shāh Hamadān, known as the Khāngāh-i-Mu'allā, which had been demolished by the Shī'as. She would not touch State revenues, and therefore sold her jewellery to defray those expenses.

#### 9. *Habba Khātūn.*

Hub Khātūn is popularly known as Habba, or Habba Khotan. Khōtan is the Kashmīrī form of Khātūn. Habba was a remarkable woman. Her original name was Zūn, the moon. And truly she was like the moon in beauty, a 'perfection of youth, health and grace.' She came of a lower middle class family of Chandahāra, a village about ten miles from Srīnagar and about two miles from Pāmpar known for its saffron.

After some education consisting of the study of the *Gulistān*, the *Būstān* and the Qur'ān, and somewhat prosaic life, she was married. Her mother-in-law bullied her. Her husband was indifferent to her. She obtained a divorce.

One day, while singing in a saffron field, her melodies reached Yūsuf Shāh who happened to pass by. The prince was captivated. This was a turning point in the life of Habba. She was henceforth a queen, and was called the Nūr Jahān of Kashmīr. Her chief contribution was to music. The *Kashmīrī Rāst* melody is her addition to the charm of Kashmīrī music. She introduced the *Lōl*-lyric in Kashmīrī poetry, the treatment of which will be found at its proper place on page 415. By virtue of her extraordinary beauty, her great skill in music, Hub (↔ meaning love) was indeed "The Lady of Love."

When Yūsuf Shāh was made to leave Kashmīr by Akbar, Habba forsook the world, and became a hermitess. Perhaps her stanzas refer to this period of her life—

Love has consumed me from within,  
He has cast me into a hot oven  
And is burning me to cinder.

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Love has melted me like the snow,  
He has fretted me like the hill-stream,  
And has made me restless like the rills.

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The world observes the Ramazān,  
The lover celebrates the 'Id ;  
But there can be no 'Id when love is away.

—*Kashmīri Lyrics* (page 77).

She built a small cottage near her mosque in the village of Pāndachhok, three miles from Srinagar on the Islāmābād road, and passed the rest of her life in contemplation, and is believed to be buried there, though the exact grave cannot be definitely recognized.

Habba's poetry is on the lips of Kashmīris. Her life saw strange changes of fortune. Till 18 or 19 she led a simple life in a village. For the following 14 years she enjoyed life with Yūsuf Shāh as the queen of Kashmīr "luxuriating in the spell of lovely weather at Gulmarg, Sonamarg, Ahrabal, Achabal and on the Dal." For about twenty years, she was a hermitess, and died at the age of fifty-five or thereabout.

What hope can keep me alive ?  
He doth not think of me !—*Habba Khātūn*.

### 10. *Hāfiza Maryam.*

The roll of famous women of Kashmīr claims the tutoress of the celebrated Zib-un-Nisā' Begam, the daughter of Aurangzib 'Ālamgir. Hāfiza Maryam, to whom Zib-un-Nisā' owed her education, was a learned lady, wife of Mīrzā Shukrullāh of Kashmīr. Maryam's scholarly son 'Ināyat-ullāh Khān rose to the position of Mughul governor of Kashmīr. She died on the 26th of Rabī'-us-Sānī 1089 A.H. (1678 A.C.). The tablet on the grave of Hāfiza in the enclosure of Shaikh Bahā'-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh bears the following inscription :—

از جهان رفت مریم دوران بُرده با خویش حلیمه امانت  
دفن بعد از خاکِ چونه شنیده است هر کس و ممکن به تعزیز بنشست  
عقل بیهی وفات نیک سرشت گفت تاریخ شد بسوی بهشت

### 11. *Hāfiza Khadija.*

Hāfiza Khadija was the daughter of Mīr Sayyid 'Abdul Fattāh, who was a descendant of Mīr Sayyid Husain Simnānī. The reader will recall that Mīr Sayyid Husain Simnānī was deputed by Shāh Hamadān from Irān to visit Kashmīr for a survey for the preaching of Islam in the Valley of Kashmīr (p. 84, Chapter III). Mīr 'Abdul Fattāh was a learned man and himself taught his daughter. By twenty Khadija completed her formal education. The Qur'ān, the Hadīth, the Fiqh formed part of her course. The *Hisn-i-Hasīn*, the *Qudūrī*, and the *Mishkāt* are specially mentioned in her course of study. Khadija was married to a scholar whose name was Mullā Zain-ud-Dīn Muftī.

Khadija lives in history as a great teacher who opened a *madrasa* for women on her own premises. Her death at about sixty is recorded to have taken place in 1152 A.H. = 1739 A.C.

### 12. *Begam Sumrū.*

Zib-un-Nisā' Begam whose original name was Farzāna Begam (French form, Paragauna) is known to history as Begam Sombre or Sumrū. She was undoubtedly a woman of undaunted courage, great cleverness, unusual tact, and extraordinary charm of person. Captain Mundy in his *Journal of a Tour in India* says that the history of her life, if properly known, would form a series of scenes, such as, perhaps, no other woman could have sustained. Colonel

Skinner had often, during his service with the Marāthas, seen her, then a beautiful young woman, "leading on her troops to the attack in person, and displaying, in the midst of carnage, the greatest intrepidity and presence of mind."

[There has been some difference of opinion about the origin of Begam Sumrū. We shall therefore briefly discuss it here. Nevill's *Meerut District Gazetteer*, published in 1904, probably follows H. G. Keene (*The Fall of the Mughal Empire*, published 1876, page 135) when it states that Begam Sumrū was the daughter of Asad Khān (according to another account Lutf 'Ali Khān), a Musalmān of Arab descent who had settled in the town of Kutānā, about thirty miles north-west of Meerut, and that she was born about 1753 A.C. Keene mentions that her mother was a concubine. On the death of her father, she and her mother became subject to ill-treatment from her half-brother, the legitimate heir. The mother and the daughter consequently removed to Delhi about 1760. On the dawning of her youth the Begam came across the path of Sumrū. Francklin (*Shah Aulum*, page 116) describes Begam Sumrū as "the daughter of a Mughul nobleman. That Begam Sumrū was really a Kashmiri has been recently brought to light by an incidental note. Mr. M. A. Singaravelu, curator of the old records at Pondicherry, has copied a footnote (in original) to the letter from Bussy to Marshal de Castries, Royal Minister of France, in which it is stated that Begam Sumrū was a Kashmiri woman (*vide The Modern Review* for September, 1925, page 275, under the caption "Disunited India as seen by a Foreign Eye" with an introduction by Sir Jadu Nāth Sarkār, Kt., C.I.E.). This authoritative note of Bussy settles the question of Begam Sumrū's origin. Her features look quite Kashmirian. Her earlier name, Farzāna, is a typically Kashmiri name abbreviated in the Kashmiri language as Farzo, Farza, or Farzī. Zib-un-Nisā, or 'the Ornament of Women,' was the title conferred on her by the Emperor Shāh 'Ālam, on account of her loyalty and her courageous defence of the person of the emperor against the attack of his enemies, and called her his most beloved daughter (*vide* the late Mr. Brajendra Nāth Banerji's article on Begam Samrū in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, March, 1925, page 36. See also his *Begam Samrū*, Sarkar and Sons, Calcutta, 1925.) It is interesting to note that the Begam used a screen when giving interviews to foreigners, and had a veil when out in the battle-field.]

Walter Reinhardt, of obscure parentage in the Electorate of Treves, had taken the *nom de guerre* of Summers when he enlisted in the British army. His comrades from his saturnine complexion turned Summers into Sombre and the Indians, by corruption, Sumrū or Shumrū. Reinhardt obtained the principality of Sardhana as a *jāgir* from the emperor of Delhi. He sought the hand of the Begam, when a young and handsome girl, formally married her in 1773,

and converted her to the Roman Catholic religion. According to another account, she was baptized three years after the death of Sumrū, who died, or was murdered in the year 1778 A.C. at Āgra. The Begam was christened Johanna Nobilis. Begam Sumrū's second husband was a French adventurer, a soldier of fortune, Colonel LeVaisseau, who commanded her army.

Begam Sumrū died on 27th January, 1836 A.C.=8th Shawwāl 1251 A.H., aged about 83 years. She must have, therefore, been born in 1746 or 1748 A.C. The Begam was buried in the splendid cathedral in the citadel of Sardhana, of which she was the founder, and which she had modelled on St. Peter's in Rome. At her death, she left upwards of six lakhs of rupees for various charitable and pious purposes, and gave instructions for founding a college for young men to serve on the Apostolic Mission to Tibet and Hindustān. Her gifts were not confined to Christianity alone, but she subscribed liberally towards Hindu and Muslim institutions as well. The benevolence of her disposition and extensive charity, which had endeared her to thousands, excited in the mind of Lord William Bentinck, "sentiments of the warmest admiration." On her death, her *jāgīr* lapsed to the British Government. She left in cash, more than half a crore of rupees. She is now a saint of the Roman Catholic Church.

Thomas describes the Begam as small and plump, her complexion fair, her eyes large and animated. She wore Hindustāni costume, made of the most costly materials, and spoke Persian and Urdu fluently, and attended personally to business.

Begam Sumrū was not a sovereign princess. Her status was that of a *jāgīrdār*, holding lands of the Delhi crown on military tenure. If she had accepted the proposal of Ghulām Qadir Rohila, and sided with him against the emperor, perhaps she would have been the empress of India. The British Government addressed her as Her Highness. Her estate was extremely wealthy and well provided with fine towns. The revenue yielded by the estate—equal to two English counties—amounted to eight lakhs of rupees per annum. Besides this, there were other sources of income. For instance, the Begam enjoyed the right to collect transit duties on goods passing through her territories by land and water.

The military establishment of the Begam, according to Sleeman, cost her about four lakhs of rupees a year, her civil establishments eighty thousand, and her household establishments and expenses about the same. The total sum amounted to six lakhs of rupees a year.

As a *jāgīrdār* of the emperor of Delhi, the Begam had to maintain an army to help her sovereign in his need. A part of her army was at Sardhana, her capital, and a part at Delhi in attendance upon the emperor. Apart from her regular army, she raised temporary troops whenever need arose. She had a well-stored arsenal, and a foundry for cannon within the walls of a small fortress built near her dwelling at Sardhana. Her army was a well-disciplined force, composed of infantry, artillery, and a complement of cavalry, manned by Europeans of different nationalities like Marchand, Baours, Evans, and Dudrenec, who were principally occupied in opposing the inroads of the Sikhs. After them, the command of her troops devolved successively upon the Irishman George Thomas, the Frenchmen Le Vaisseau, Saleur and Colonel Poethod. At the time of her death, her forces were led by General Regholini, and eleven other European officers, one of whom was John Thomas, son of the celebrated George Thomas.

Begam Sumrū herself commanded the army on many a battle-field. The people in the Deccan, who knew her by reputation, on the occasion of her assistance to Sindha, believed her to be a witch. After her treaty with the British, she became their most sincere ally, and was never found on the battle-field again except on one occasion. The siege of Bharatpur conducted by Lord Combermere, revived all her military ardour, and she was desirous of taking the field and obtaining a share of the glory. Major Archer, Aide-de-Camp to Lord Combermere, writes : "When the army was before Bharatpur in 1826, the commander-in-chief was desirous that no native chief of our allies should accompany the besieging force with any of his troops ; this order hurt the pride of the Begam who remonstrated. She was told that the large and holy place of Muttra was to be confided to her care. "Nonsense," said she, "if I don't go to Bharatpur, all Hindustān will say I am grown a coward in my old age." (Skinner, *i*, 144 n).

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### The Kashmiri Language

Wherever Islam has gone, it has had an extraordinary influence over the language of the land and its script. The present Persian and the pre-Ataturk Turkish languages are instances of the kind. These, in turn, have influenced others. The Persian and the Turkish languages have been greatly influenced by Islam. In India, though Islam has not given a wholly new language to the country, it has substantially transformed the Braj Bhāshā (Vraja Bhāshā) into the Urdu or Hindustānī of our day.

A not dissimilar process has taken place in Kashmir. The original Dardic language has supplied the skeleton. Sanskrit has given it flesh, but Islam has given it life. And the modern Kashmirī language laid the foundations of its present-day literature during Muslim rule.

Hitherto it was believed that the Kashmirī language was of Sanskrit origin. But Professor Ernst Kuhn of Munich<sup>1</sup> was perhaps the first to suggest that the Hindu Kush dialects together with Kashmirī formed a separate group within the body of Indo-Āryan languages and suggested distinction by some phonetical peculiarities. The researches of Sir George Grierson have now established the fact that the claim of Sanskrit origin of Kashmirī cannot be sustained, and that Kashmirī belongs to the Dard group of the Dardic languages. It has, however, for many centuries been subject to Indian influence, and its vocabulary includes a large number of words derived from India, which have given support to the supposition that it is derived from Sanskrit. Some people in Kashmir still hold this view; but the result of the researches of Sir George has been accepted by scholars who can speak with authority on the subject. In order, therefore, to trace its history, it is essential that we should know what *Dard* signifies. But before we do so, let us briefly go over the distribution of Āryan languages.

The presumption is that there was, in pre-historic times, a language known as Āryan, spoken by the common ancestors of the Irānians and of the Indo-Āryans in the oasis of Khiva.<sup>2</sup> “The original home, whence the Āryans separated from

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, May 1887, page 165.

2. This note has been summarized from Sir George Abraham Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India*, Calcutta, 1919, Vol. VIII, Part II, pages 7-8, 235, 241-253. See also *Dardistān*—1866, 1886, 1893 by Dr. G. W. Leitner, Woking, England.

the ancestors of other Indo-European languages," says Sir George, "is believed to have been the steppe-country of Southern Russia." The common ancestors of the Indo-Āryans appear to have followed up the course of the Oxus and the Jaxartes into the high-lying country round Khūqand and Badakhshān. Here, a portion of them separated from the others, marching south over the western passes of the Hindu Kush into the valley of the river Kābul. Thence it moved into the plains of India where they settled; as the ancestors of the present Indo-Āryans. The Āryans who remained behind, on the north of the Hindu Kush, and who did not share in the migration to the Kābul valley, spread eastwards and westwards. Those who migrated to the east occupied the Pāmirs, and now speak Ghalchah. Those who went westwards occupied Merv, Irān and Baluchistān, and their descendants now speak those languages which, together with the Ghalchah languages, are classed as Irānian. Apparently, therefore, the Irānian languages are the direct descendants of the ancient Āryan stock, while the Indo-Āryan languages represent a branch which issued from the parent stem at a very early date.

The Dardic languages possess many characteristics which are peculiar to themselves. In some other respects, they agree with Indo-Āryan and, in yet other respects, with Irānian languages. They do not possess all the characteristics either of Indo-Āryan or of Irānian. It is assumed that, at the time when they issued from the Āryan language, the Indo-Āryan language had already branched forth from it. The Āryan language had, by that time, developed further on its own lines in the direction of Irānian; but that development had not yet progressed so far as to reach all the typical characteristics of Irānian. The Āryan language still retained some, though not all, of the characteristics which it possessed when the Indo-Āryans set out for the Kābul valley. In brief, Āryan is the parent stock, from which shoots off the Indo-Āryan language at a very early date, and passes down to India. Then, before the other branch of the parent-stock becomes actually Irānian, another branch, the Dardic, shoots off, and settles in what we call Dardistān, namely, Chitrāl, Chilās, Gilgit, Dāreyl (Yāghistān), etc.

The word 'Dard,' says Sir George, has a long history, and the people bearing the name are a very ancient tribe.\*

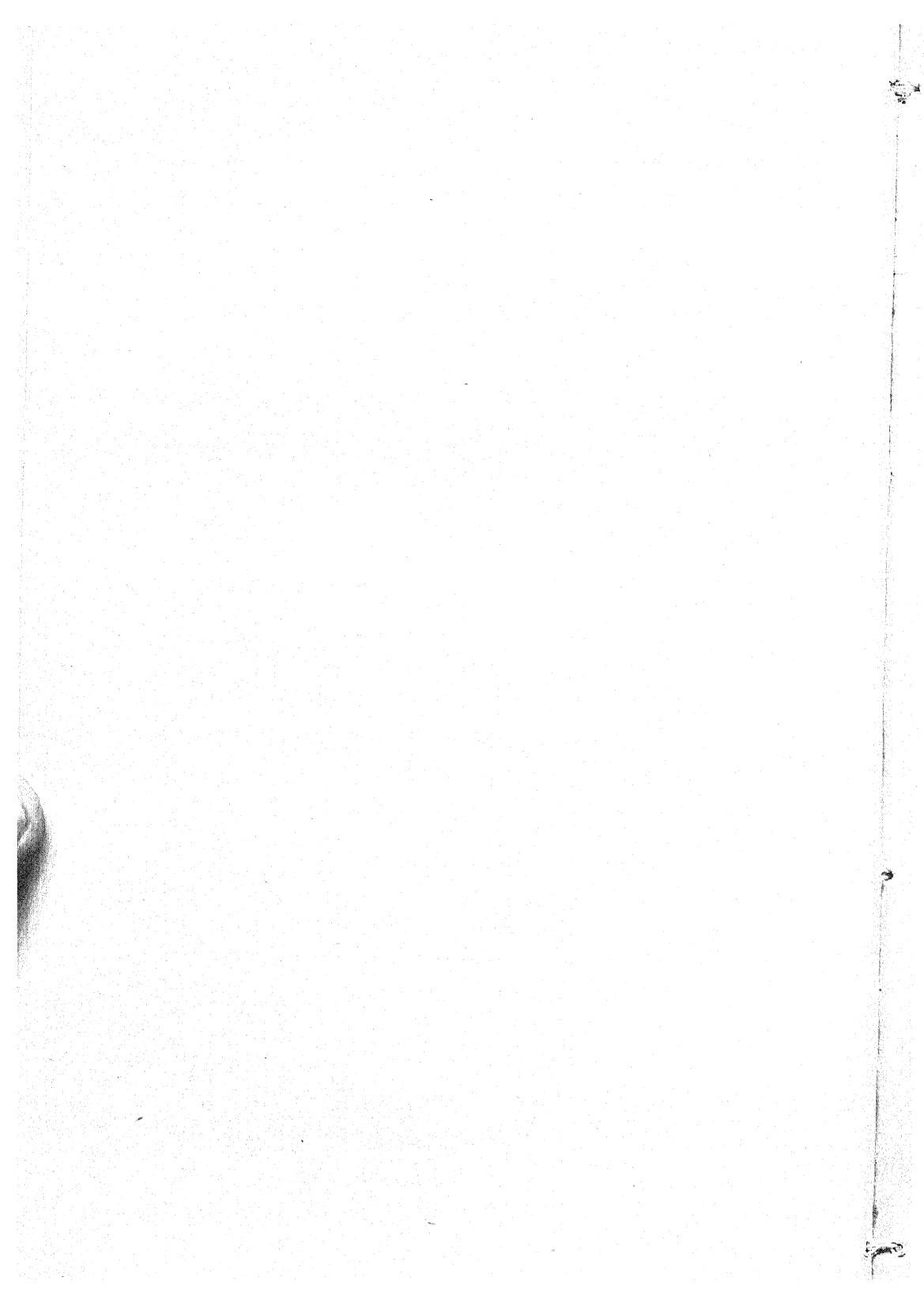
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\* *Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, page 1.



A small group of Dards from the neighbourhood of Drās, which is about 40 miles beyond Sonamarg (The Meadow of Gold), via the Zōji-Lā.

[“These fellows are hardy and enduring as any men I have ever met with; though living in the most trying circumstances of climate, they are not oppressed or weighed down by them, but keep such a cheerfulness as the inhabitants of the most favoured climes and countries may envy.”—Frederic Drew in his “Jummoo and Kashmir Territories,” London, 1875, page 424.]



They are spoken of, in Sanskrit literature, as 'Dārada' or 'Darada,' which name is of frequent occurrence, not only in geographical works, but also in the epic poems and in the Purāṇas. Kalhana often refers to them under the name of 'Dāradas' or 'Darads,' and mentions them as inhabiting the country where we now find the Shiṇs who, at the present day, are called Dards. Greeks and Romans included, under the name of the Dard country, the whole mountainous tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India proper. Accordingly, this tract embracing Astor (called by Dogrās, Hasora) Bünjī, Chilās, Gilgit, Hunza, Nagar, Pūniāl, Yāsīn and Chitrāl, has been known to outsiders as Dardistān, though this is not strictly accurate as it includes much of the country not occupied by Dards. The Āryan languages spoken in this tract are, therefore, conventionally or conveniently termed Dardic. But it appears that the inhabitants nowadays resent these names of Dard, Dardistān and Dardic when applied to them, to their country, or to their language. They want their own distinctive names to be used for them. As a matter of fact, Dards call Kashmir not Kashmir, but *Kashrat*. Herodotus refers to the country of the Dards, in III, 102-105.

Dardistān was once inhabited by tribes whom Sanskrit writers grouped together under the title of Piçācha. But exception has been taken to the use of this word as it connotes a cannibal demon, and therefore that term has been given up, and the name Dardic used instead. It denotes a combination of three groups (a) Kāfir (b) Chitrālī (c) Dard group proper. This last consists of (1) Shiṇā (2) Kashmīri, and (3) Kūhistānī.

Kashmīri—or as the people call it—Kōshur—is the language of the Valley of Kashmīr and of the neighbouring valleys. Although it has a Dardic basis, it has come, to a large extent, under the influence of the Indo-Āryan languages spoken in its southern parts. It is the only one of the Dardic languages that has a literature; and is estimated to be spoken by 1,413,166 people in Kashmir according to the census of 1931, and over 8,000 emigrants in the North-Western Frontier, the Punjāb and other Provinces. Kashmīri has also overflowed the Pir Pantsāl range into the Jammu Province of the State. It has one true dialect which is called Kishtwārī, and is estimated to be spoken by 7,464 according to the Linguistic Survey.

In the standard Kashmīri of the Valley, there are minor differences of language, for instance, the Kashmīri spoken

by Musalmāns slightly differs from that spoken by Pandits. Not only is the vocabulary of the former more filled with words borrowed from Persian (and Turkish and Arabic), but also there are slight differences of pronunciation. Again, there is the distinction between town and village talk or between *grūst* and *gandur* (uncouth and refined). Then, there is the distinction between the language of prose and that of poetry.

### Kashmiri Literature

Kashmīrī has a small but respectable list of literary works. The foundation of Kashmīrī Literature was laid during early Muslim rule. According to Sir George Grierson (p. 237), the oldest author is Lalla or Lal Dēd born in 1335 A.C., as already mentioned under the section *Some Women of Note*. She flourished in the reign of Sultān 'Alā-ūd-Dīn (1343-45 A.C.). Hundreds of Lalla's verses are commonly quoted all over the Valley. Manuscript collections of her verses have, from time to time, been made under the Sanskrit title of *Lalavākyāni*. Lal Dēdī's verses\* are all religious. *Bāñā-suravadha* is the first secular poem that can be dated, though its authorship is not known. It is on music, and is in the Hindu dialect, and was written in the reign of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The Kashmir State Research Department has published a book entitled *Mahānaya Prakāsh* by Çiti Kantha. This book, however, is believed to have been written in the 15th century A.C. Some critics, however, consider it to be very much earlier than the 15th century, and its language to be the oldest Kashmīrī containing Sanskrit words here and there. " *Satpar* by Munuji on medicine and astrology, *Lengparan* by Paruthi on the Hindu law of inheritance, *Rāmāvatāracharita*, a tale of Rāma, with a sequel entitled *Lavakuçacharita*, *Krishnāvatāralīlā*, the life-story of Krishna, *Civaparinaya*, narrative of the circumstances connected with Civa's marriage with Pārvati, are highly poetical works in pure Kashmīrī, also in the Hindu dialect." The *Rāmāvatāracharita* was printed in the Persian character at Srinagar in 1923.

Mahmūd Gāmī (Gāmī—of *gām*, *gām* means a village in Kashmīrī) of Dūru, near Vēr-nāg, is the best known of

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\*Translated by Sir Richard Temple, Cambridge University Press, 1924.

writers in the Muslim style, and is the author of *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*. An edition of the *Yūsuf Zulaikhā*, with a partial translation, has been prepared by Karl Friedrich Burkhard in German. Gāmī's *Lailā-wa-Majnūn*, *Shirīn-o-Khusrav*, *Hārūn-ur-Rashīd*, *Shaikh San'ān* are all on familiar Persian models. Professor J. George Bühlér, in his *Report of a Tour in search of Sanskrit MSS.*, mentions the following works:—*Wāmiq-o-'Azrā* by Saif-ud-Din, *Nisāb* a sort of lexicon by Sumty Pandit, *Amsila* (a poem), *Hārūn-ur-Rashīd*, *Mahmūd-i-Ghaznavī*, *Shaikh San'ān*, by 'Azizullāh Haqqānī. Hamīd-ullāh's *Akbar-nāma* is a history of Afghān rule, dedicated to Akbar Khān, the second son of Dūst Muhammad Khān of Afghānistān (in Persian). The *Dīvān-i-Nāzim*, the Dialogue of Sukh Jīwan and his wife, is, however, in Persian. Zahīr-ud-Dīn's *Makhzan-ul-Advāh-i-Kashmīr* is also in Persian.

The *masnavī*, *Hīmāl*, of Saif-ud-Dīn in Kashmīrī is well-known. *Rauzat-ush-Shuhadā*, *Jauhar-i-'Ishq*, *Mumtāz-o-Binazīr*, in six parts, are from the pen of 'Azizullāh Haqqānī.

The New Testament was translated into Kashmīrī by the late Rev. T. R. Wade, B. D., a former missionary in the Valley, and was published by the British and Foreign Bible Society in the Persian character. Rev. Wade also compiled the first grammar of Kashmīrī. The grammar of Kashmīrī in the Sanskrit language, entitled the *Kaçmīra Çabdāmrīta* by Pandit İçvara Kaula, was edited by Sir George Grierson, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1898. The Pandit was also engaged on a Kashmīrī-Sanskrit Dictionary at the time of his death in 1893, but the materials collected by him for this purpose were subsequently made over to Sir George Abraham Grierson. From these and other sources, a Kashmīrī-English Dictionary was prepared by Sir George, and published in 1932 by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal in a large quarto volume of 1,252 pages (text) under the title of *A Dictionary of the Kashmīrī Language*.

### *Kashmīrī Proverbs.*

Connected with formal literature, though not a part of it, are the subjects of folk-tales and proverbs. Kashmīr is a land of proverbs, and the common speech is profuse with them. Some of the proverbs have been collected and arranged by Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, C.M.S., and are full of information regarding the customs and character of the people.

A few of the proverbs are given below :—

A blind man's wife is in God's keeping.  
The dew is like a flood to the ant.  
A man loves his own fault.

The bachelor wishes to get married, the married man regrets having married.

I do not want honey, nor do I want the sting.  
Chickens do not die from the hen's kick.  
Childhood is without care.

Giving advice to a stupid man is like giving salt to a squirrel.

The fish dies from thirst in the river.

Sweet to the taste but bitter to pay for.

### *Kashmīrī Riddles.*

"Riddles," writes the late Pandit Anand Kaul,\* "raise a momentary sensation of wonder and afford a light intellectual pastime. Their literature constitutes a relic of ancient folk-lore. Besides amusing children, they appeal most to students of anthropology, philology and research. They are valuable in shedding light upon the remote past of the Kashmīris."

1. O my piebald horse and horseman !  
Carry me slowly across the bridge  
Thou hast not got the tresses (*i.e.* strings).  
And I shall plait them for thee.

Answer. Wooden sandals.

2. An old woman descended from the sky  
Her feet touched the earth  
There is none but God !  
I will rejoice, I will ask five villages as *jāgīr*.

Answer. Snow.

3. A doe is shedding tears on a hill.

Answer. Straining boiled rice in a pot.

4. An ass is dancing with the door shut.

Answer. A mill grinding corn.

5. Live intestines in a dead female elephant.

Answer. The inmates of a house.

6. A Pandit came downstairs with three girdles girt.  
Answer. A load of timber.

7. A Pandit came downstairs wearing red coloured clothes.

Answer. Red pepher.

8. Eatable, drinkable, crushable,  
Seed for the garden and food for the cow.

Answer. A water-melon.

9. There is a small fence round a lake.

Answer. Eye-lashes.

10. It has thirty-six windows, thirty-six doors.  
It is thirty-six yards in width.  
The king happened to build it.  
There is a maund of gold on its spires.

Answer. The Jāmi' Masjid.

### *Kashmīrī Folk Tales.*

Kashmīr is celebrated for its folk-tales. Not only are some familiar in every home, but there are also professional *rāvīs* or reciters, who make their living by telling these tales, which are worthy of the *Arabian Nights*. These men, says Sir George, recite, with astonishing verbal accuracy, stories that have been handed down to them by their predecessors now and then containing words that have fallen out of use, and with the meaning of which they are now unacquainted. Sir Aurel Stein has made a collection of such tales as dictated by Hātim Tilawyn of Panzil, a professional story-teller of the Sind Valley in Kashmīr. This collection has been translated by Sir George Grierson, and was published by John Murray in 1923 under the title of *Hātim's Tales*. Revd. Knowles has also written *Folk-Tales of Kashmīr*.

### *Newspapers & Broadcasts in Kashmīrī.*

The *Gāsh* (Light) is the name of the short-lived weekly journalistic venture appearing on 9 Ashid 621 Kashmīrī=31 Sāvana 1997 Bikrami=1359 A.H. (1940 A.C.). Due to the second world war, scarcity and cost of paper and printing, it ceased publication. The *Pratāp*, the college magazine of Sri Pratāp College, Srinagar, and now *Lāla Rukh* the Amar Singh Degree College magazine, and such others devote a portion of their pages to Kashmīrī literary contributions,

Urdu newspapers like the daily *Hamdard*, the daily *Khidmat*, both of Srinagar, and others also, at times, publish Kashmīrī poems. According to recent announcements in newspapers\* London and New Delhi radio stations are to broadcast news in Kashmīrī and Kashmīrī songs. Radio Pākistān, Lahore, broadcasts news in Kashmīrī nowadays.

### *The Kashmīrī Script.*

Kashmiris use three alphabets for writing their language, the Cāradā, the Nāgari and the Persian. The Persian script is used by Muslims and by several Hindus. It is also the script employed at the present day by Christian missionaries in writing books, designed for the natives of the country. The spelling of Kashmīrī words, written in the Persian character, has the advantage of being fairly constant, but it is pointed out that "the alphabet is not quite so well suited for illustrating the complicated vowel sounds of the language." The Nāgari character has a limited use amongst the Hindus. The first is sometimes called Musalmānī Kashmīrī. The second is called Hindu Kashmīrī. The Cāradā character is the ancient indigenous character of Kashmīrī. It is allied to Nāgari, being built on the same system and corresponding with it, letter for letter, but the forms of the letters differ greatly. It is more closely allied to the Takkri or Dogri alphabets of the Punjāb Hills, and has a complete array of signs for the different vowels. It is generally used by Hindus.

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### Kashmīrī Poetry.

The beginning of Kashmīrī poetry is to be traced back to Kashmīrī folk songs and ballads. A Kashmīrī muses when his herd winds over the verdurous lea. He sings to dance when he takes his flock of sheep to pasture. He describes the boat he plies in the waters of the Vitastā or the Jhelum, which he calls the "River of Love." He entertains himself with opera songs. He is enchanted by the natural beauty of environments and grows romantic to sing to his love. He sings even when carrying the load. The maid sings even when she washes clothes or cleanses utensils or grinds corn. As a matter of fact, Kashmīrī women, unlettered mostly, have "relieved the tedium of their life" by finding in these songs "a sincere echo of their emotion."

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\*The *Hamdard*, Srinagar, 25th April, 1944.

The Kashmīrī sings in chorus on matrimonial occasions. His lullaby notes lull the child in the cradle. He elegizes, at their death, those near and dear to him. He is, besides, mystical.

"Of course, as in the case of all poetry," says Rabindra Nāth Tāgore, "the folk poems have different degrees of merit. The living stream that flows from the genius of a true poet has its origin, like the mythical river Mandākinī, in an unattainable world. Then come those others, who set to work digging canals to take the water to the corn-fields." Metrical romances like the *Gulrīz* by Maqbūl Shāh of Krālawāri, the *Shīrīn Khusrav* by Mahmūd Gāmī and the *Hīmāl-ta-Nāgrāy* by Waliullāh Mattū have their own charm. The last mentioned and the *Aknandan* are two of the earliest of metrical romances. *Hīmāl wa Nāgrāy* or *Nāg Arzan* is also the theme of the masnavī, *Tuhfat-ul-'Ushshāq*, by Muftī Muhammad Sadr-ud-Dīn *Wafā'i* in Persian (MS.) *Wafā'i* died in 1222 A.H. = 1807 A.C.

Kashmīrī ballads have a legendary hero whose adventures and exploits form their main theme. Through these ballads vibrates the very life of Kashmīr. These are the word paintings of unsophisticated emotions, and in them are enshrined the relics of Kashmīr's home-spun traditions. The period of their composition cannot be determined with any definiteness, but certainly they seem to date back to several centuries past.

Much of the old Kashmīrī poetical composition is not extant, and still less do we know of early poets. The life of Kashmīrī poetry may be divided into three periods. The first period may be taken to embrace (1) Citi Kantha, (2) Lalla, and (3) Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn. The second period begins with Habba Khātūn and closes with Arani Māl (Mrs. Bhawāni Dās Kāchrū) and Prakāsh Bhat, the author of *Rāma-AvatāraCharita* (Life of Rāma), including *Lavakuça-Charita* (Lives of Lava and Kuça, Rāma's two sons). The third period begins with Mahmūd Gāmī and comes down to 'Azizullāh Haqqānī. The present period of Kashmīrī poetry may be taken separately to form the fourth or modern period, of which Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr* is the best known.

Citi Kantha, as already mentioned in the section on the Kashmīrī language, is the first Kashmīrī poet known to have lived in the thirteenth century or earlier. His poetry has here and there Sanskrit expressions. It is a

coincidence that Çiti Kantha lived in Kashmîr almost in the same century in which Sârangdeva, another son of the soil, was making a name in Devagiri (Daulatâbâd, Deccan), at the court of the Yâdavas, and became famous as the author of the *Sangît-ratnâkara*, a well-known Sanskrit book on Indian music. The reader need not be reminded that Mahâmahopâdyaya Pandit Lachhmî Dhar of the University of Delhi has already claimed the great Kâlidâsa as a Kashmîrian (*vide* Chapter II, pp. 46-47).

### *Some notable Kashmîri Poets and their Works.*

After the cherished dawn of its folk-songs and ballads, there came the hour of higher Kashmîri literature. After Çiti Kantha the real history of Kashmîri poetry begins with the great lady of the land, Lalla or Lal Dêd (born in 1335 A.C.). Her account has already been given on pp. 383-387 in this Chapter VIII. Lalla was more a sage and philosopher than a pure poetess, who preached her philosophy of Çaivism through the medium of poetry. Her language was mixed with Sanskrit words. Lalla's poetical compositions have been recently published under the title *Wâk-i-Lalla Ishwari*, or *Lal-Ded-e-hind Wâk*. The pronunciation of Kashmîri has undergone change from Lalla's time. And it is not easy to understand and appreciate the metre and rhythm of her verses. Dr. Grierson and local historians state that the metre of Lalla is accentual rather than quantitative. The metre of Kashmîri is different. It is modelled on Persian. The sayings of Shaikh Nûr-ud-Dîn are found in the *Nûr-nâma*. A note on his life has been given in Chapter III. Shaikh Nûr-ud-Dîn is more didactic than Lalla. He lived in the latter part of the fourteenth and the earlier part of the fifteenth century. Sôma Pandit, the author of *Zaina-Charita*, Yôdh Bat, the author of *Zaina-Vilâs* flourished in the reign of Bad Shâh. Then comes Habba Khâtûn. She is followed by Khwâja Habibullâh Nau-shahri who died in 1617 A.C. Rûpa Bhawâni burst into spiritual poetry. The dates of her birth and death are 1624 and 1720 A.C. Her language was also coloured with Sanskrit. Sâhib Kaul who wrote *Krishn-aratâra* and *Janam-Charita* lived in the reign of Jahângîr. Arañi Mâl (wife of Bhawânîdâs Kâchrû) appeared on the stage in the middle of Afghân rule in Kashmîr. Mullâ Fâkhîr is known for his odes. He died about the close of the eighteenth century. Mir 'Abdullâh Baihaqî who was the author of

*Kāshir-'Aqd'id* (a *masnavī*) and *Mukhtasar Waqāyah* (a religious poem) died in 1807 A.C. *Samsār-māyā-mohā-jal Sukh-dokh-Charita*, that was copied in 1815, is by Gangā Prashād. Mahmūd Gāmī, whom we have already mentioned, died in 1855 A.C. Gāmī's grave may be seen at the village Arwadri, near Dōrū not very far from Vēr-nāg. Waliullāh Mattū's *Masnavi*, *Himāl* cannot be ignored. 'Abdul Ahad Nāzim wrote *Zain-ul-'Arab*, a love poem. Parmānand of Matān (Mārtānda) comes between 1791 to 1879.

There are legendary and epic poems like the *Aknandan* and the *Rāmāyana* by Prākāsh Rām who was contemporary with Sukh Jiwan Mal, a governor of Kashmīr under the Afghāns.

With the advent of Muslim rule in Kashmīr, however, Kashmīri literature did not remain impervious to the influence of the Persian language. A Kashmīri poet freely used Persian expressions. He unflinchingly borrowed Persian simile and metaphor. He went to the extent of echoing Persian thought and imitating Persian style. Mahmūd Gāmī flourished towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. He is, out and out, a true copy of Persian poets. He is called the Nizāmī of Kashmīr, a title given him, perhaps, because of his self-asserted claim of holding the same position in Kashmīri literature as is held by Nizāmī in Persian. He composed a collection of five books entitled the *Khamsa* on the lines of Nizāmī's *Khamsa*, or the *Panj Ganj*, i.e., five treasures.

Maqbūl Shāh's compositions, *Gulrīz* and *Grist-nāma* are also tinged with Persian. The *Gulrīz* is a versified legend of Ajab Malik with Nūsh-lab, borrowed from a Persian book. The *Grist-nāma*, a satire, describes the satanic spirit of a peasant and his entanglements. Both the works are published. 'Abdul Ahad Āzād bestows very high praise on Maqbūl's beauty and charm of language in the *Gulrīz*. The *Grist-nāma* is rather pungent, he says. Maqbūl's other works are:—*Pir-nāma*, *Malla-nāma*, *Bahār-nāma*, *Mansūr-nāma* and *Ayyūb-nāma*.

Still Habba Khātūn (16th century A.C.), the royal spouse of Yūsuf Shāh Chak, a brief account of her has appeared in this Chapter VIII, under *Some Women of Note*, and Mrs. Bhawānidās Kāchrū (about 1800 A.C.) preferred the language as it stood among the masses, and gave vent to

their innermost feelings in beautiful poems. Habba Khātūn introduced the element of lyricism and romanticism into Kashmīri poetry by her passionate love lyrics.

Rasūl Mīr, born in Shāhābād, and the contemporary of 'Abdul Ahad Nāzīn, also kept up the chastity of the Kashmīrī language. In odes or *ghazals* he surpasses Mahmūd Gāmī and Maqbūl Shāh. Pandit Prakāsh Rām's language is Kashmīrī—neither Sanskrit nor Persian.

Parmānand may be called the Sanāī of Kashmīr, his mysticism is so forceful and appealing. Though the contemporary of Mahmūd Gāmī, he employs Sanskrit in preference to Persian. He may even be said to have adapted Sanskrit to Kashmīrī. He stamped Sanskrit words with Kashmīrī accent and modified them to look Kashmīrī. But it is strange that Parmānand should have himself left a copy of *Upanikhat*, that is, the Persian rendering of the Upanishad, made under the supervision of Dārā Shukūh. Master Zinda Kaul\* relates Parmānand's meeting with a Muslim mystic named Wahhāb Sāhib. When Parmānand went to him with a companion, the mystic remarked that Parmānand had written all his poetry in Hindu Kashmīrī which was intelligible to Hindus only, and nothing for his Muslim friends. Upon this, Parmānand turned to his companion and dictated, on the spot, a short poem beginning with the following :—

"In the contract of division (of produce) in the ratio of five parts to three, the agreement has to be fulfilled exactly—neither more nor less can be accepted."

In this poem Sanskrit words are avoided altogether. Among those who influenced Parmānand are Lalla and Nūr-ud-Dīn. In his maktab or the village school, Parmānand studied the *Gulistān* and the *Būstān* of Sa'dī, and rudiments of letter-writing and arithmetic. In his Persian *ghazals* he assumed *Gharib* as his poetical name. His Persianized Kashmīrī is now lost. Only a few verses are, here and there, recited from memory.

Parmānand's real name is Nand Rām. He was born in Bhavan (Matan) in 1791 and died in 1879 A.C., having spent all his life in his village, where he was a *Patwārī*

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\**Parmānanda Sūkti-Sāra*, Durga Press, Srinagar, 1941, pages 32-33.

or petty revenue official. When Parmānand resigned his service towards the end of his life, the head of the village, the Mugaddam, his employer, Sālih Gānāī continued to give him his emoluments.



Pandit Nand Rām, commonly known as Parmānand, a Kashmiri poet, the Sānā'i of Kashmir, born in Maṭan in 1791, and died there in 1879.

Parmānand is the author of the *Sudāma-Charitra*, the *Rādhā Svayamvar*, the *Shiva-Lagna* and many other religio-philosophical poems. He is placed next to Lalla in mysti-

cism, and is deeply devotional and highly philosophical. Parmānand is imaginative too. Some of his poems are printed and are available in Kashmir. His forte is the description of Ārī Krishna Līlā into which he has thrown his heart and soul and intellect.

Parmānand was followed by his disciples, Pandit Lakshman of Nāgām and Pandit Krishna Dās of Vanpōh. Pandit Krishna Dās excels even Parmānand in clearness of language, in his description of nature, in 'local colour,' and perhaps in the musicality of verse.

The melodies of Krishn Rāzdān of Vanpōh deserve quite a fair place in Kashmīrī poetry. His songs, very musical indeed, are popular with women folk who sing them in chorus especially on matrimonial occasions.

'Azizullāh Haqqānī, who died in recent years, is another lyricist. Music is the keynote of his compositions. His love ballads and lyrical poems have been collected and published under the title of *Ghazaliyyāt-i-Haqqānī*.

The small village of Hājin in the Bārāmūla district, on the way to the Wular, claims more than one noted poet of Kashmīri. 'Abdul Wahhāb Parē—the Firdausī of Kashmīr—flourished in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the teens of the twentieth in this village. He died in his 71st lunar year on Tuesday the 11th Safar, 1333 A.H.=1914 A.C.=1971 Bikrami. He was born on Monday, 14th Sha'bān 1262 A.H. = 1845 A.C., when Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd-Dīn was Sūbadār under the Sikhs, just a year before Mahārājā Gulāb Singh came in. Parē died in the same village. It was at a mature age that he wrote poems. His father died when he was two years and six months, and his younger brother, 'Azīz Parē, of only forty days. Their mother spun to bring them up. 'Abdul Wahhāb appears to have worked in several miscellaneous capacities, i.e., tahvildār, patwārī, and nā'ib tahsildār. Starting his career as a contractor, he rolled in riches for the major portion of his life. In his last days he, however, relinquished all wordly riches and lived like a faqīr, but did not leave his home. In the introduction to his famous translation of the *Sultāni*, he says that it was in a dream that Shaikh

Hamza Makhdūm, the famous saint of Srinagar, infused into him the poetic spirit.



The poet 'Abdul Wahhab Parē hailing from Hājan in the Bārāmūla district of Kashmir. Parē was born in 1262 A.H. (1845 A.C.), and died in his seventieth year in 1333 A.H. (1914 A.C.)

His famous translations are :—1. Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*. Each Persian verse is appropriately translated into Kashmiri verse in four volumes. 2. *The Akbar-nāma* is the epical versified account of the first three Afghān Wars where Akbar Khān, the son of Amīr Dūst Muhammad Khān of Afghānistān, is represented as the hero. It is a voluminous

work in Persian verse written by Hamidullāh of Islāmābād and has been translated verse by verse into Kashmīrī by 'Abdul Wahhāb Parē.

Other works are : *Haft Qissa-i-Makr-i-Zan* or the seven stories of the viles of women, *Haft Qissa-i-Haft A'mā* or the seven stories relating to seven blind men, *Qissa-i-Chahār Darvīsh*, the *Qissa-i-Nau-nihāl Gulbadan*, the *Qissa-i-Bahrām Gūr*.

The *Sultāni* is a voluminous biography of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm written in Persian verse and prose by five successors of the saint, and has been rendered into Kashmīrī verse by 'Abdul Wahhāb.

*Parē's* original works are :—1. *The Divān-i-Wahhāb* which comprises the whole of his poetry. There are some Persian poems also, but the *Divān* of 767 odes is in Kashmīrī.

His verse embraces :—1. Religious poems in praise of Islam, the Prophet, his Companions, and Indian Muslim saints. 2. Didactic poems with satirical touches on social customs, habits and manners. 3. Amorous poems of a strangely puritanical bent of mind. 4. Mystic poems with copious references to Muslim history. 5. Narrative poems mostly permeated with pessimism.

2. شکل و شمائل آنحضرت صلمع سچن (happened) at the end of each line.

3. درویشی is a treatise on Sūfis and Sūfiism mostly illustrated with the author's personal contact with some Sūfis.

4. سیلاپ نامہ is the first poem of its kind in Kashmīrī verse, and describes the havoc wrought by the flood that swept off the whole of the Kashmir Valley in 1960 Bikramī (1902-1903 A.C.). It is full of humour.

5. The *Kār-i-Patwār*. 6. One book on geometry is also traced to him. 7. The *Khilāfat-nāma* supplements his *Shāh-nāma* with a brief summary of the Khilāfat till the time of Sultan 'Abdul Majid Khān of Turkey. None of Parē's works except the *Shāh-nāma* and a selection of his *Divān* by Khawāja Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn Parē, M.A., LL.B (Alig.), of the Prince of Wales College, Jammu, is printed

MSS. are found in several parts of the Valley. A life of the poet is reported to be in preparation at Hājin.

Maulavī Siddīqullāh died some years earlier than ‘Abdul Wahhāb Parē, i.e., in 1318 A.H.=1900 A.C. He shone as a jurist, translator and poet. He translated the *Sikandar-nāma* of Nizāmī into Kashmīrī verse. His next translation in Kashmīrī verse is that of بَدَائِعُ مِنْظُومٍ It is a versified Persian work on Muslim jurisprudence. His third work is شَكْلٌ وَشَمَائِلٌ آنحضرت صَلَعَمْ رَدُّ الْوَهَابِيَّنِ Except the first three of his works have been published. The other unpublished works of Siddiqullāh are about nine.

Asad Parē was born in 1862 A.C. in Hājin and died in the village Sälūra near Gāndarbal in 1923 A.C. Asad was a born poet, though illiterate. On the death of his parents, when he was about twenty years old, he began travelling in Kashmīr, spent some time in the village Ganastān near Sumbul (Sambal) where Ramazān Bat, the famous author of the mystical exposition of *Aka-nandan*, in five versified parts, met him and became his disciple. He spent his last days in Sälūra where he had been married. He was naturally melancholic, pious, and mystic. He satirized the “seasonal mendicants” once, the burden of the song being :—

“Rancour turned them to ashes—

Their hobby is a show of the study of the Qur’ān !

Puffed in vainglory are they !

A wooden shoe, dishevelled hair, tattered garment  
and a string of beads

Are the paraphernalia of the cheat

For bargaining

*Hāl Qāl* on a dirty soil.

Unseen slumbering under the shade,

The seasonal dervish calls vigilance in prayer.

Hoodwinking a female disciple is the climax of his creed.

Immersed like a drop in the ocean of Essence

Are those who feel as did Mansūr al-Hallāj.

But for these "truants in trance," Mansūr's story  
Provides a means to inflame their bodies with!"

A popular folk-singer of Hājin was Tāntre who died in the first quarter of this century.

Rahmān Dār of Chhattabal, Srinagar, is another poet who lived in obscurity. Very little is extant of his composition. His poems, handed down to us, are marvellously mystical. If he had cared to come to limelight, Rahmān Dār would possibly have been ranked with Mahmūd Gāmī, whose contemporary he was. Rahmān Dār's poem *Dūst Muhammad Khān* was well-known in his lifetime. But another poem *Mānchh-tullar* (the honey-bee) is current to this day.

Nand Lāl Kaul or Nanna is another modern poet and dramatist. He infused a new spirit in the Kashmīrī language. Some of his works, viz. *Satach-Kehwat*, *Dayya Lol*, *Rāmun Rāj*, *Prahālād-Bhagat* have been published only recently. Māna Jū 'Attār of Bhuri-Kadal, Srinagar, has versified the *Shrīmad Bhāgwat Purāṇa* into the Kashmīrī language.

Master Zinda Kaul, B.A., a sound critic of Kashmīrī poetry, is a poet himself. One of his poems entitled مسجوریا لاچاریا is worthy of very great praise. (See pp. 428-9).

Pandit Dayā Rām Ganjū is sometimes humorous. In his *Ghar Vyez Māl*, he addresses little sisters and daughters of his community and country and gives them advice on household duties, cleanliness and good habits.

Pandit Nārāyan Khār of Maṭan has translated the Bhagvad-Gitā into flowing Kashmīrī verse and has, besides, composed a few other poems.

Mirzā Ghulām Hasan Beg 'Ārif, M.Sc. (Alig.), Deputy Director, Sericulture, Srinagar, is originally a resident of Islāmābād. 'Ārif is a noteworthy young Kashmīrī poet of today. He took his Master's degree in Zoology and still did not by-pass the emotional aspects or deeper problems of life which became the subjects of his song. Now he would give a homely simile, as in *Khām Sīr*, and bring home to his readers that the unburnt brick grew firmer and finer after burning in an oven. So can every man grow more perfect by burning in the fire of hardship. His confidence in the greatness of the destiny of man is obvious not only here, but even when the *Namāz-i-Janāza* or the

funeral prayer is the subject of his verse. He is reassured about the greatness of man before whom the angels prostrated when he sees the Musalmāns praying towards the Ka'ba in front of the body of one of their dead. Mirzā 'Ārif's *Bāng-i-Sahar* has been published by 'Ali Muhammad, Bookseller, Habba Kadal, Srinagar.

Of the living poets, Pirzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr* has earned indeed very great popularity and wide fame. His many songs, enriched with beautiful similes and metaphors, are already on the lips of the masses. His lyrical, patriotic and political poems have won him great laurels. "His songs and his poems," says Balrāj Sahnī,\* "are the cherished property of every man, woman and child, living between Bārāmūla and Pīr Pānchāl. If *Mahjūr* writes a poem today, it will be on the lips of the populace within a fortnight. Children on their way to school, girls thrashing rice, boatmen plying the paddle, labourers bending in their ceaseless toil, all will be singing it." Balrāj further says that the beauty of *Mahjūr*'s poetry "lies more in its music and refined sentiment than depth of thought. It has the water colour delicacy of Kashmir landscape." *Mahjūr* like Parmānand has been a Patwāri. One of his fiery political compositions once brought him into serious trouble, but the tactful handling of his revenue head averted his dismissal and perhaps prosecution. His books *Kalām-i-Mahjūr* (in nine parts) and *Payām-i-Mahjūr* have been published. About a lakh of copies are reported to have been sold out in the Valley. "Besides being very musical and correct in the technique of metre and rhyme," says Master Zinda Kaul, "*Mahjūr* is, perhaps, the first to introduce into Kashmiri the ideas of patriotism, human freedom, love of mankind, unity of Hindus and Muslims, dignity of work, respect for manual labour, and nature (scenery, birds, flowers, etc.).

In the *Pratāp* (page 11) of June 1937, *Mahjūr* has been criticized for unsound imagery. But the poem evoking criticism was the second of *Mahjūr*'s earliest attempts at poetical composition in Kashmiri, and therefore does not call for any very serious consideration. His *Tarāna*, however, does not make a very special appeal on account of the obscurity of personages chosen from Kashmir history.

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\**The Vishwa-Bhāratī Quarterly*, November, 1938, Volume IV, Part III, New series, pages 213—221.

Perhaps, Mahjūr will revise it some day to make it a live, inspiring national anthem for Kashmīr.

Mahjūr's father was Pīr 'Abdullāh Shāh. The poet was born in Mitrī-gām in Avantipōr or Pulwāma Tahsīl in 1888. His mother wrote a very fine hand. Her instructions for Mahjūr's education are a cherished treasure of Mahjūr. Mahjūr is interested in Persian poetry produced in Kashmīr and has a volume in manuscript on the subject. He has recently retired from service. Pirzāda Muhammad Amin is his only son. The family shoots from Mullā Ashraf *Dairī* (p. 479).

Munshī 'Abdul Ahad Āzād of Rāngar, Tahsīl Badgām, head master of a primary school, occasionally contributes to the columns of the *Hamdard*, Srinagar, his poems which show depth, observation and taste. Mahjūr is a nationalist who longs for liberty and prays passionately for the prosperity of his native land, but Āzād is a socialist who craves for a new era of equality. Mahjūr is sweet and looks on a wider surface of the sea, but Āzād, though dry, is diving deep into the sea. The one looks to the past, the other to the future. The one is a *pīr-zāda* (is born in a *pīr* family), the other is a *dihqān-zādah* (comes of a family of farmers). As a matter of fact, "a large majority of discerning critics acclaim Āzād a poet of greater merit than Mahjūr." *Kalām-i-Āzād*, *Payām-i-Āzād*, and *Sarv-i-Āzād* are published by Messrs. Ghulām Muhammad Nūr Muhammad, Mahārāj Ganj, Srinagar. Āzād's *Sangarmāla* is also published. Āzād's manuscript volumes on the systematic history of Kashmīri poetry entitled *Ta'rīkh-i-Adabiyāt-i-Kashmīr*, when published, should establish his status as a leading exponent of Kashmīri poetry in the Valley of Kashmīr and wherever Kashmīri is understood or appreciated. Ārif's note on Āzād appears as an appendix to this Chapter.

There are many popular folk ballads, half-satire and half burlesque, commemorating the introduction of snuff, modern inventions like the aeroplane, or the floods, and the like\*.

#### *Some features of Kashmīri Poetry.*

It is the woman who first offers her heart in the realm of Kashmīri classical lyrics or folk-songs. The woman is the

\*Pandit Nand Lāl Ambārdār, B.A., B.T., a young poet who desires a complete renaissance of Kashmīri literature on modern lines, furnished me with notes on several Kashmīri poets. He is ex-editor of the Kashmīri section of the *Sri Pratāp College Magazine*, Srinagar, and is now serving in the Education Department of the State.

lover and the man the beloved. The woman hunts the man, as it were, in the very passion of her love for man. This is but natural. She should do so as the guardian of human species. Like a mountain-bred stream, points out Professor Davendra Satyārthī,\* she flows with impulsive vibrations of love-rich dance and music to become one with the sea. Her eyes look up to no heaven beyond the love of her man, faithful in life to him and in death too ! She is naturally distressed when left in indifference, wantonness and even faithlessness by the beloved who is generally a handsome young man.

The beloved is beautiful. His locks are black snakes. His eyebrows are bows with eyelashes as arrows. His eyes are almond-shaped. His cheeks are like rose petals. His stature is like that of the cypress, and his complexion like silver or jessamine. His names are Madan, the maddener, Cupid, the beautiful, the magician. He is *tīr-andāz* or one who strikes with arrows, one who shoots with balls. He is wanton, faithless and a promise-breaker. Among flowers, birds and insects, he is likened to the spikenard, or the rose, the parrot, the nightingale, and the black flower wasp, or the drone bee.

The lover is the yellow rose, the narcissus, jessamine, and the wild *mainā*. The metaphor of the candle and the moth is also frequently used as in Persian and Urdu poetry. The lover is mad, intoxicated, distracted. The flame of love is likened to fire, with which the lover is burning or scorched, or constant fervour burns the lover's heart into roasted flesh.

The meeting places or trysts of lovers are woods, pastures, gardens, springs and banks of brooks.

The lover, in her melancholy, turns to thoughts of death, the autumn, the evanescence of the world and worldly beauty. She complains of the wickedness and the ridicule of co-wives, or people unaffected by love. She confides in her female friends and charges the wind, the parrot, the pigeon, or the crow with messages for her beloved. She appeals or prays to God. She forsakes her home for her lover. She is prepared to sacrifice her life for him. The beloved first welcomes, encourages, and entices her, and, after elopement, leaves her forlorn on the way, and enjoys the company of others like a black bee taking out the nectar of one flower and alighting on another. Her rival

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\**The Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1945, pages 307-8.

laughs at her and taunts her. Nevertheless, she is devoted to the false and faithless beloved and wishes him well. She keeps her sorrow to herself, but is unable to endure it. She, then, wanders like an insane in search of the beloved, longing for a single look of him.

Reference to classical lovers like *Hīmāl* and *Nāgrāy*, *Laylā* and *Majnūn*, *Zulikhā* and *Yūsuf*, *Shīrīn* and *Farhād* are quite common.

Human love is expressed by the typical Kashmīrī *Lōl*-lyric. *Lōl* is a Kashmīrī word signifying an untranslatable "complex of love longing and a tugging at the heart." The *Lōl*-lyric is "very musical, very brief, rarely more than ten lines including the repeated refrains, abounding in rhymes and assonances, put in the mouth of a woman lover, a cry from her heart, expressing in a flexible pattern more a mood than a thought."\* In its early days from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century it was mystical, spiritual or didactic. It is no longer so now.

Fairies are sometimes mentioned as singing and dancing in sylvan nooks invisible to human sight except to that of poets.

Mystically, the cult of love and devotion is called the tavern. Love is the wine or the wine-cup. The beloved is the dealer in wine. The practice of *Habs*, or the control of breath, is recommended for the aspirant. The aspirant is called the *Rind*, free from convention and careless of religion. He is to merge himself into the Lord, like the stream, into the sea, like Mansūr into the consciousness of 'I am Truth.' He minds not the common herd who pelt him with stones and hang him on the gallows.

The oneness of God and of His Truth in all religions are frequently dwelt upon. Rām and Rahīm are one. The God of the Ka'ba or the Qibla is also the God of the temple. Adam had two sons : one chose cremation and the other burial after death.

The dignity of human soul is upheld. The angels bow before man if he proves himself as the true servant of God. Heaven has houris. The Kausar is for cool drinks for the faithful. The hell fire is for the wicked. The *Mi'rāj*, or

\**Kashmiri Lyrics*, Introduction, page xvii.

the Ascension of the Prophet of Islam, is a pious theme.\*

Rās-Lilā lyric, introduced by Prākash Rām and Parmānand, is distinguished by its "abandon to joy, expressing devotion and religious fervour for a personal God, notably Āśva or Krishna. The universe exists: it is real and it is good. Indeed all creation is an overflowing of God's joy: it is a Līlā, a Āśva's dance."

"At the happy sight of saffron flowers, agleam with golden tinge in the calm moon-lit night," says Professor Satyārthī, "the peasant is amazed and knows not whether to admire the beauty of colour or the soothing scent most. He is neither a connoisseur of beauty and scent, nor a mystic poet, but as the saffron flower is a thing of his life rather than a day dream, he knows how to address it and sing of its beauty and scent—the cherished gifts."

The lotus is a symbol of beauty and it has an interesting poetry and folk-lore. The ripe barley field and the ripening golden paddy field are the symbols of the bride and the groom. Again, Hīmāl is the bride, and Nāgrāy the bridegroom.

The Chinār is a celestial object in the Kashmīrī landscape. Rich in foliage, the stately Chinār is always cherished by the weary way-farer. The Chinār leaf is the emblem of Cupid to the Kashmīrī.

سو جائیں ایک پتھے کا سینہ پر رکھیں ہاتھ  
مدفن دل تپان کا جو زیر چنار ہو  
جسیں مجدد شاہ دین، ہمایون

To the Kashmīrī nothing is as soft as Pashmīna or the shawl wool, or the shawl itself.

The ear-ring is the emblem of a sweet baby. The mother sings of her son naming him *Lāla* or the tulip flower, and of her daughter *Yimbarzal* or a bud of the narcissus flower.

### *The Akanandan.*

Although there is no room for any details of Kashmīrī poetry in *Kashīr*, Ramazān Baṭ's ballad of Akanandan,

\*The above paragraphs are taken (slightly modified) from *Parmanand Suktī-Sara* by Masterjī Pandit Zinda Kaul, B.A., Durgā Press, Srinagar, 1941.

however, deserves brief mention. Mr. Nand Lāl Ambārdār, B.A., ex-editor of the Kashmīri section of the *Pratāp College Magazine*, himself a student of Kashmīri poetry, has furnished me with this note on "Akanandan" which I append here with some modification :—

"The story of Akanandan is justly famous in Kashmīri legend and folklore. Ramazān Bat of Dharamunah village, near Soibugu, Badgām Tahsil, Bārāmūla district, the author of this ballad, seems to have left an indelible mark in Kashmīri literature by this, probably his single ballad, over 50 years ago. The *Aka-nandan* is the cherished property of both the villager and the citizen, and is very often sung during marriage days to the resonance of Kashmīri kettle-drums. A rustic bard of Kashmīr narrates the story of Akanandan as follows :—Long long ago, in the hoary past, there was a city called Salāma-nagar (old name Samdhimat-nagar), subsequently submerged into the Wular Lake. Here lived a pious king and a queen called Chiknaweg and Ratnamāla respectively. They had no son. They prayed to God for giving them one. Their prayers were granted. A hermit or a Yōgi appeared at the time. A covenant was entered into by the king and the queen with this Yōgi, according to which the son, when born, would belong to the king and queen for the first eleven years. Thenceforth, in the 12th, the son would be the Yōgi's. The parents agreed to this covenant reluctantly of course. The son was born. He was named Akanandan. For eleven years Akanandan pleased his parents with his innocent play and childish pranks. He grew to be very intelligent and wise. The child thus became a cynosure of many an eye. When the terrible 12th year came, the Yōgi appeared and demanded back the son as promised. Akanandan was brought from school in order to be presented to the Yōgi. But to the great horror of the parents, the Yōgi ordered the boy to be killed and cooked as meat for him as he was feeling hungry. There were naturally very bitter and loud lamentations. Ultimately the Yōgi's will had to prevail. The boy was killed and cooked into a dish. The Yōgi asked the parents to keep a portion of the meal for everybody including Akanandan himself. Both the father and the mother were taken aback at such an extraordinary request of the Yōgi. They called out for Akanandan while they were weeping, for they felt that they were calling one whom they had already killed. Akanandan appeared in his childish innocent manner, smiling and calling for food and

the Yōgi vanished. This story has, in a sense, a parallel in Hazrat Ibrāhīm's sacrifice of his son, Ismā'il, and of Abraham and Isaac according to its Jewish and Christian versions. This story has also some slight sad resemblance to the German "Der Riese und das Kind" or "the Giant and the Child," of the *Deutsche Mythologie* by Simrock.

"The *Akanandan* was first written by Ramazān Baṭ. Ahad Zargar, Samad Mir and 'Ali Wāni have also versified this story. But their attempts were not as successful as that of Ramazān Baṭ. The poem is a ballad. Its style is simple, vigorous and forceful. A lady was not far wrong when she remarked that one must have a stout heart in order to hear the story of *Akanandan*. Compare the force of

بُنْتِي كَتَهْ چُونْ اکنندونخْ مِنْتَبَاهْ ڙاڻِ شُولَهْ ماران  
بِي بِعْ وَوْنَدَهْ تِنَازِ دِنَنْ كَهْيَونَشْ مِنْ فَقِيرَهْ هِيَوْتَهْ ڙَهَانَدُونَخْ

[O ! Woman, where is thy *Akanandan* ?  
Looking so bright among his class-fellows ?  
If you have the heart,  
Offer him as a sacrifice today.]

Mark how pathetic is the appeal of *Akanandan* when he asks his mother to tell the Yōgi to spare his life :

هَنْتَجْ مُوجِي ڙَهْ مَنْجِي مار پان يه آسَهِ دِيَوْجِنْ نَتَهْ مُشَرَان  
دِپُسِنْ گُنْدَرَانْ كَرَتَوْ مُشَرَانَوْ ولو ڙَلْ ڦَوْ ولو ڙَلْ ڦَوْ

[O mother ! do not beat thy breast ;  
He must be a monster, a jin, or the Devil himself ;  
Say unto him : " Forgive us, O forgive us ! "]

Again how grim is the murder scene of *Akanandan* :—

ڙَهْ زَنْگَهْ رِچَنسِ رِتَنَهْ مَا تَائِيَهْ آمِنْ وَدَانْ هَا خُدَایَهْ بَےِ پِروَائِيَهْ  
پَنَهْ نَى مَالِي هُوبَهْ هو ڙُوبَهْ سَوْ ولو ڙَلْ ڦَوْ ولو ڙَلْ ڦَوْ

[Mother Ratana caught him by the hands and feet,  
Crying, O God, my God, O how cruel !  
His own father did cut his throat.]

Mark again how sublime is the scene when *Akanandan* was brought to life—

رِتَنَهْ مَا آلومن وَرَايَشَهْ دَادَهْ وَدَانْ بَرَهْ بُكَهْ آيَيَهْ  
لاِيُّنْ آلوَاهْ وَوتَيَهْ سُو اسْمَانَخْ دَئَهْ ٿُوثَيَبِيَومْ گُومْ مِهْرَيَانَخْ

[Mother Ratna came out to call him,  
Weeping and about to choke with grief,  
She called him aloud  
And down he came from the heavens.]

Kashmīrī poems generally do not use refrain except in *masnavīs*. Ramazān Baṭ's *Akanandan* is divided into seven parts having the following refrains :—

- (۱) ویسیئے موتئے کوتیئے گوُمُ
- (۲) کریبو میزمان داریئے
- (۳) می فقیرہ ہیو تمہ ڙھانڈونئے
- (۴) ولو ڏل ڏو ولو ڏل ڏو
- (۵) بختا وارثے اکہ نندئے جوگیبو (۶) دش ڏو ڏیلو گوم مہربانش
- (۷) صد مبارک چھام فقیر تبتیئے -

- [1. Friend, whither is my Love gone ?
2. I shall play the host to you.
3. I have begun to search for a Faqir.
4. Let us run away, let's run away.
5. To Akanandan, the Fortunate One, O Yōgi.
6. God has been pleased with me and has showered his grace on me.
7. A hundred greetings for the miracle-working Faqir !]

So far as the language is concerned, Ramazān Baṭ is sweet and musical. He is pure, simple, clear and truly Kashmīrī. There are, however, certain lines which suffer from balance of feet and may be called *contra metrum*. But these minor defects can be overlooked in consideration of the great merit of the poem.

And thus the words of Pandit Amarnāth Jhā\* are peculiarly apposite when he says :—‘For over five centuries the lyric has flourished in Kashmīr, touching life at many points, describing trivial happenings of every day, depicting scenes from nature, delineating human feelings, the life of toil, of suffering, of hunger, of passion, never forgetting quite and ever retaining in the background the spiritual heritage of the land. The greenwood tree, winter and rough weather, the sweet breath of spring, the ravages of time, Death's purple altar, the many voices of nature, the shadow of the night,

\*Foreword to *Kashmiri Lyrics*, selected and translated by Pandit Jai Lal Kaul M.A., Professor of English, Amar Singh College, Srinagar, September 1945. Rinemisray, Lambert Lane, Srinagar, Kashmīr pp. xvi—xvii.

' The intelligible forms of ancient poets,  
 The fair humanities of old religion,  
 The power, the beauty, and the majesty  
 That had their haunts in dale or piny mountain  
 Or forest, by slow stream or pebbly spring—  
 Or chasms or watery depths'

All these and strains of music from elfland " we find in  
 Kashmīrī lyrical poetry, which is but a part of Kashmīrī  
 poetry in general.

---

*Some Kashmīrī folk-songs and a few extracts from Kashmīrī Poets.*

Brief extracts have already been given from Lalla in this chapter. A few lines have also been given from Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn in Chapter III. More from him will come in later. We shall now give extracts from Kashmīrī folk-song in the meantime to be followed by others from poetry in general.

Like gold art thou gleaming, O saffron flower !  
 To thee I devote my all, O saffron flower !  
 Like a burning lamp dost thou look in moon-lit night.  
 Who hath given thee colour, O saffron flower ?  
 Who hath given thee scent, O saffron flower ?  
 Just would I give thee a sweet embrace.

---

Towards Pāmpōr flew away my Love  
 The saffron flowers confined him in sweet embrace :  
 O he is there, and ah me, I am here  
 When, when, O God, would I see his face ?

---

Let us go to Pāmpōr, O maiden  
 When blooms the saffron,  
 It makes my heart throb  
 And steals it, ah me !  
 Let's go to Pāmpōr, O maiden  
 When blooms the saffron.

---

Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,  
 To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.  
 All my boats would I illuminate  
 To manifest thy coming, dear mate.  
 Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,  
 To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.

Green grass, with Love's water do I keep,  
 O come and feed thy goats and sheep,  
 Come to my Jhelum, shepherd please,  
 To cause thy sheep's thirst appease.

O thou slow-motioned Jhelum !  
 For thee, let me devote my all, O Jhelum !  
 How great is thy stateliness, O Jhelum !  
 For thee let me devote my all, O Jhelum !

Take me, take me, O boatman to your bank  
 O here flows the Jhelum, the deep River of Love.  
 My boat takes only the pair in love  
 O here flows Jhelum the deep River of Love."

To me, O Chinār-leaf, my Love has sent thee,  
 My all, O Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee,  
 Thou art, O Chinār-leaf, a Prince of Beauty,  
 My all, Cupid, shall I sacrifice for thee.

Shawl wool shall I spin with my own hands  
 And shall get it dyed in saffron colour.  
 And exquisite shawl shall I weave with my own hands  
 And shall get it dyed with saffron colour.

How soft—O how soft, is the shawl wool,  
 A song of its softness, I'll sing,  
 O, the shawl-wool is a heavenly thing,  
 A song of its softness, I 'll sing.

My mate's head is crowned with a shawl-wool turbān  
 On his person looks lovely the shawl wool *pheran*,  
 On my home loom was woven the cloth of turban and *pheran*  
 A song of its softness shall I sing.

The banks of the Jhelum I'll illuminate today  
 O, our groom will come in a *shikāra* today,  
 The whole of Kashmīr I'll illuminate today.  
 O, our groom will come in a *shikāra* today.

Nāgrāy has come in the golden boat,  
 Come, come, O, Himāl, come!  
 Lotus-like Nāgrāy will come wearing a shawl,  
 Narcissus-like Himāl here awaits him.

Far off forests have all blossomed forth,  
 Hast thou not heard of me, my Love ?  
 Mountain-lakes like Tār-sar are all full of flowers.  
 Hast not thou heard of me, my Love ?  
 Come on, we will go to the meadows where the lilacs have  
 blossomed ?

---

Hast thou not heard of me, my Love ?  
 They play hide and seek and sing :  
 Thoroughly shall I search thee  
Among the Arval flowers, my Love !  
 Will not thou meet me anywhere ?  
Among the Arval<sup>1</sup> flowers, my Love.<sup>2</sup>

### *Lalla 'Ārifā.*

Some though asleep, are yet awake,  
 While on some, who are awake, hath slumber fallen.  
 Some, despite ablutions, are unclean,  
 While some, 'mid household cares are actionless.

---

All impurities within me I burnt away,  
 And I did slay my heart.  
 I came to be known as the pious Lalla,  
 Only when I cleaved unto Him there :  
 Only when I sat, just there, waiting for His grace.

### *Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn.*

The body exposed to the cold river winds blowing,  
 Thin porridge and half-boiled vegetable to eat—  
*There was a day, O Nasro !*  
 My spouse by my side and a warm blanket to cover us,  
 A sumptuous meal and fish to eat—  
*There was a day, O Nasro !* (See pp. 98 and 102).

---

The oriole seeks out a flower garden ;  
 The owl seeks out a deserted spot ;  
 The she-jackal searches dreary wastes ;  
 The donkey searches dung and dirt.

### *Parmānand*

Strengthen the field of action  
 With the loom of righteousness,  
 Then sow the seed of contentment,  
 Which will yield the harvest of bliss.

---

1. Arval is composed of *āra* a brook, and *val* a rose. It means the rose on a brook.

2. *The Modern Review*, Calcutta, March 1935. Renderings by Professor Satyārthī.

You are what you are  
 (Undefinable in any other terms)  
 Imperceptible to any but your own self,  
 That which makes the eyes see is not visible to the eyes :  
 There is not much in seeing the objects of sight ;  
 The great thing is to see the Seer."

---

In the realization of Self the so-called control  
 Of mind and the senses is not of much avail.  
 The Self is to be attained by conviction of faith.  
 The true Self is to be contemplated,  
 The selfless Self is to be meditated upon.

---

There is no victory for the mind except in retreat.  
 Desirelessness can alone make one  
 Fully happy and blissful.  
 God's grace to the soul means only  
 That the soul holds nothing dear but God.

---

Great ascetics feel proud and rejoiced  
 In their austerities,  
 But at the end of their lives  
 They (are still unsatisfied and)  
 Desire more life (to renew their efforts)  
 Unless the doubts in their mind and disputes come to an end  
 They only become duller.

---

One freed from doubts and fears  
 Is like gold that has passed the ordeal of fire  
 Rid of the imperfection of being partially heated.  
 A cooking pot ceases to seethe and boil  
 When the food within is well cooked.

---

A tree casts its reflection on water  
 No bird can possibly sit on its reflection—  
 The ignorant man desires  
 To possess such a house.

---

Parmānand says nothing strange  
 When he holds that all have gone  
 Hence with this desire  
 (Of fully knowing the Lord) unfulfilled.  
 Let everybody try the weight of this (truth)  
 With his own measures (of mind, reason, etc.).

*Mrs. Bhawānidās Kāchru (Arañī Māl).*

(Owing to pangs of separation) my complexion  
 Which was like July-Jessamine  
 Has assumed the pallor of the yellow rose  
 O when will he come and let me have  
 A look at his beloved face !

---

He whom I propitiated and made my own  
 Feeding him on sugar and sweets,  
 Has given me the slip and gone  
 I know not whither.  
 Oh, the wanton used to laugh at me  
 In the presence of strangers !

---

The blue beauty has subjected me  
 To the taunts of rivals and strangers ;  
 These scorching and partial burnings  
 Have emaciated me. Who will now take my letters  
 And messages to him ?

---

My rivals are flinging taunts at me  
 Since the beloved has ceased to speak to me.  
 Won't he come for a short while, and show me  
 His face, so that I should offer  
 My arterial blood as sacrifice for his safety ?  
 God grant happiness to my beloved.  
 Let him be kind to others (and forget me) if he will ;  
 Enough for me is the satisfaction (coupled with  
 A remote hope of restoration to his favour)  
 That he, at least, is happy.”

---

See friend, where I was born and where I was married !  
 My parents celebrated my marriage in the city with great  
 éclat :

City-born and bred, into the country I was married ;  
 But widowed only seven days after,  
 My parents had to call me back.  
*See, friend, where I was married !*  
 Once I went to my father's home,  
 There my brother's wife taunted me so bitingly that  
 Widowed as I was, I wished I had died as soon as I was  
 born.

*See, friend, where I was married !*

*Lakhshman Bhat*

" O my friend, my confidante ; I have been  
 Weeping bitterly (or running about) in the  
 Anguish of separation from my beloved ;  
 The crown of my head is almost scorched  
 By the hot sun. Oh, what madness made me  
 Come in this hot month of June (from my  
 Comfortable home) in Lār to (the dreary waste of) Shālyun<sup>1</sup> ?

I who was (free and frolicsome) like water  
 Have become frozen like ice on the slopes of a glacier.  
 When, if ever, will the summer sun now fall  
 On (and re-melt) this heap of ice (change the icy state of my  
 heart) ?

I had to reap what I had sown ;  
 My running about the fields and farms have been vain and  
 useless.

When tares are sown in the spring—  
 How can wheat be reaped in the autumn ?

When will the misery of this bodily life end ?  
 How long must I endure the fever and the burning ?  
 The body seems to me to be an un-soundly built house  
 Made of the wood of Arkhor<sup>2</sup> (stinging tree).

The consideration whether this or that  
 Wood is strong or weak is verily out of  
 Harmony with the higher truth ; for (the same)  
 Fire is in (and awaits) every kind of wood,  
 Be it *Kail*, *Linu*, or anything else.

Bulbul, the poet, was never fortunate enough  
 To taste the fruits of the garden of this world.  
 Owing to false hopes (that were never realized) the red cherries of  
 His cheeks got the (pale yellow) colour of the wild plum."<sup>3</sup>

*Wahhab Khār.*

Love said : " My beloved I shall create " ;  
 And there was tablet and pen.  
 The pen wrote the command of God.  
 Sing *hey ho* for joy !

1. Till recently a waste tract to the south of Srinagar.

2. Arkhor is the name of a poisonous tree found in Kashmir forests.

It is as big as the acacia tree.

3. Selections rendered into English by Masterji, Pandit Zinda Kaul,  
 B.A.

Shaikh Sanān recited the name of Rāma,  
And in an Indian girl he found his Love,  
He worshipped an idol and burnt the Qur'ān.

*Sing hey ho for joy !*

"I am the Truth," said Hazrat Mansūr,  
In his own mind he found his Love—

That secret is difficult to tell

*Sing hey ho for joy !*

Since I tried to know the secret of man's being  
And obeisance low I made,

The angels have begun to dance for joy

*Sing hey ho for joy !*

---

### *'Azīz Darvīsh.*

Manacle thy (self and make of it a) bridge (to span this  
ocean wide);

And, across, attain to the "Annihilation in the Divine,"  
Where there is no Hindu nor Musalmān.

*Hear, O hear, that song so sweet !*

'Azīz-mot has gone crazy,

He is letting out love's secret among his fellow-men,

He has heard it from pious men and saints.

*Hear, O hear, that song so sweet !*

---

### *\*Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad Mahjūr.*

Arise, O Gardener !

Let there be a glory in the garden  
once again !

Let roses bloom again !

Let bulbuls sing of their love again !

The garden in ruins,

the dew in tears,

the roses in tattered leaf—

Let roses and bulbuls be kindled anew with life !

Thy wailings avail thee not, 'O bulbul,

Who will set thee free ?

Thy salvation thou hast to work

with thine own hands alone.

Birds of the garden are full of song

but each one strikes his own note—

Harmonize their diverse notes, O God,

into one rousing song !

---

If thou wouldst rouse this habitat of roses,  
 leave toying with kettle-drums ;  
 Let there be thunder, storm and tempest,  
 yes, an earthquake !

---

*‘Abdul Ahad Azād.*

Friend, plead with my Love :  
 “ May he keep his word,  
 forgive my offence,  
 come to me,  
 stay awhile and  
 talk to me !  
 See how airily he comes into the garden,  
 his arched eyebrows dyed !  
 God help the poor narcissi—  
 fair damsels almond eyed !  
 Mercy and pity they have none—  
 these cruel and pitiless ones.  
 God knows how many hearts he sets on fire  
 with the henna flame of his finger-tips.  
 Lift not the veil so wantonly  
 (let not thy glory be seen);  
 Lovers will cry, “ O Love ! O Love ! ”  
 forgetting both God and world.  
 The fever of love consumes Azād ;  
 And if thou dost not fulfil his desire.  
 He will raise a hell,  
 regardless of all restraint.

---

*Master Zinda Karl.*

Man would weep,  
 He would not gulp down his tears ;  
 But what availed it him to shed his tears ?  
 What availed it him to drop blood from his eyes ?  
 What availed it him to beat his head against a rock ?  
 Knowing that none heeds him,  
 What drives him on still to sue for help ?  
 What drives him on to shoot his darts at the void ?  
*What compulsion ! what helplessness !*  
 Man—momently dying :  
 By hunger, cold and thirst oppressed,  
 By disease distressed, by worry harassed,  
 By fear and want and woe subdued.  
 These sorrows o'er, by a hundred desires beguiled,  
 His unsteady mind, nor finding rest in anything here,  
 Still craves for a something, though unknown,  
 The Good not seen by him, nor known by him,

He yet would find as something lost, which he possessed  
before—  
Like one who wakes with a memory dim  
Of the taste of wine he had in a dream.  
*What misery—between want and desire!*

---

*Extract from 'Abdul Quddūs Rasa Jāvidānī.*

I love thee dearly : thou disregardest me.  
I flee to thee : thou flee'st from me.  
What wouldest thou ? Command, I will obey ;  
Thy bidding I will do.  
I drank my fill at the tavern of love :  
I found thy wanton eyes bedew the cups of wine.  
Unplait thy tresses lovely ;  
Rent into hundred toothed rents  
(by the keen darts of love),  
My heart will serve thee for a comb.  
Thy heart is pure, O poet,  
What carest thou if they speak ill of thee ?

---

*Extract from Asadullāh Mīr.*

When wilt thou bloom, O Rose ?  
When wilt thou fulfil my heart's desire ?  
When wilt thou bloom, O Rose,  
In the garden of my beauty  
at the flowering time of youth ?  
When wilt thou waft thy fragrant breath  
over the flower-beds of my desire ?  
In the red poppy of my heart.  
There is a dark stain of despair :  
When wilt thou wipe the stain  
from the red poppy of my heart.  
I am a cypress tall and lean :  
O Rose, when wilt thou twine round me  
thine ivy bonds of love ?  
My body craves for thee and  
so doth my soul :  
I would, O Rose, thou didst make  
thy body and soul one with mine !

---

In the following extracts, the reader interested in the Kashmirī language will have a bird's-eye view of Kashmirī poetry from Lalla to Mahjūr. The translation into English will be followed by the Kashmirī text in the Persian script.

## The First Period of Kashmiri Poetry.

[Text and translation]

*Lalla Ārifa.*

وَدَانْ وَدَانْ گاْشْ هُوْ سُورِيْ وَدَنْ سِيتْ مَدْنْ مَيلِهْ نُو  
وُندَهْ تَجَاهْ صَافِ اَدَهْ پَحَيرِيْ اِكِهْ زَيرِهْ نَتَهْ چُھُوكْ شَالْ زَنْ وُونَگَانْ بَيرَهْ تَلْ

[Constant weeping will cause loss of thy eye-sight,  
But will not lead thee to thy Beloved.]

Keep thy mind pure, so that thou may'st have an easy access to  
Him.

Otherwise, thy weeping is like the howling of jackals in ambush in  
the field.]

صَبَرْهَا مَالِهْ چُھُوكْ سُونَهْ سُونَدْ گُورَهِيْ

مُولَهْ چُھُوكْ درُوْجْ تَهْ هَيَسِسْ كُسْ

صَبَرْهَا مَالِهْ چُھُوكْ نُونْ - مَرَزْ تَهْ زَيَورَهِيْ

كِھَيَنَهْ چُھُوكْ ٹِيُونَهْ تَهْ كِھَيَسِسْ كُسْ

[Patience, my son ! is like a golden bowl ;

Being costly, none doth dare purchase it.

Patience, my son, is a mixture of salt, pepper and *zira* (spice) ;

It is bitter to taste, so who will taste it ?]

سِيكِهْ شَائِيسِسْ پَهْلِ نُو بَوَوِيْ كُومْ يَاجِينْ رَأَوِيْ زَيَنَهْ تَبِيلْ

مُؤُسِسْ گِيَانِجْ كَتَنَهْ نُو وَنَهْ زَهْ خَرَمْ گُورِهْ دَنِهْ رَاوِيْ دُوهْ

[No crop can grow in a sandy desert.

It is useless to mix butter with bran cakes.

It is as fruitless to impart spirituality to a dullard

As it is waste of time to give candy to an ass.]

*Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn.*

كَانَنْ تَهَنَدِينْ دَارِ زَيَنَهْ سِپِرِيْ كَرْتَلْ چِھُوكْ پَھَرِ زَيَنَهْ روِيْ

بَلاِيْهْ تَمَنَزَهْ وَنَدِيَهْ زَهْ شَكَرْ اَدَهْ چُھُوكْ يَتِهْ كِيَبِيَوْ تَهْ آبِروِي

[Shield not thyself against His arrows,

Turn not thy face away from His sword,

Consider adversity as sweet as sugar,

Therein lies thy honour in this world and the next.]

سَرْفِسْ ڈَلْزَهْ اَستِسْ كِھَنَدِسْ سَهِسْ ڈَلْزَهْ كَرُوهِسْ قَامْ

دَيِنْ دَارِسْ ڈَلْزَهْ وَرِيَسْ كِھَنَدِسْ لَيِنِسْ ڈَلْزَهْ اَچَهِهْ موَهِسْ قَامْ

[One can run away a pole from a serpent,

One can run away a league from the lion,

One can keep oneself off the creditor for a year,

But none can escape Fate for a twinkling of the eye.]

## The Second Period of Kashmiri Poetry

*Habba Khōtan or Khātūn.*

(1)

گوشن منرها و تھاراوے ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(2)

وله متنه گزھوو هیشے یس مرہ سو کتھو بیشے  
پراران چھایس تھنڑیزیشے ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(3)

وله متنه گزھوو پُوشن مارہ مُت یار چھوم روشن  
روشته رُدوم گُوشن ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(4)

وله متنه گزھوو هندے لُو کہ مت کڈنس رندے  
لائیون نیاں کتھی اندے ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

(5)

وله متنه گزھوو آبس دُنیا چھو نندرہ ته خوابس  
پراران چھسیو جوابس ولو میانہ پُوشے مدنو

1. [I shall bestrew the meadows with flowers for thee.  
*Come ! my lover of flowers !*
2. Come ! thou, O my darling ! Let us collect jessamine,  
For none doth return after death.  
I am waiting for thee.  
*Come ! my lover of flowers.*
3. Come ! my dear, come !  
Let us be off to the meadows to collect flowers.  
My beloved is sulking  
And keeping himself away in remote regions.  
*Come ! my lover of flowers.*
4. Come ! my dear, come ! let us go out to collect lettuces.  
The people are speaking ill of me,  
But who can alter one's destiny ?  
*Come ! my lover of flowers.*
5. Come ! thou, my beloved ! let us go to the river bank.  
The whole world is enveloped in deep slumber,  
But I am waiting for a reply from thee !  
*Come ! my lover of flowers.]*

*Khwāja Habībul-lāh Nau-shahri.*

(۱)

یارہ گزھوو دویش و تھو گزھوو دویش

(۲)

ا شکارا دراویش صورتن منز ڈاویش  
چھاوس مُهد ناویش و تھو گزھوو دویش

(۳)

کُنت کنرا آؤیش جلوہ ماران دراویش  
نہن اقرب باویش و تھو گزھوو دویش

(۴)

کروہ دُور بہ مُوه تیر دنتم دار داری رُوح ضایع کرتیہ نیرتیہ گوم  
بھیرت و چنس لسمس پاری ڈیشت تراونہ پاری زان

- [1. My beloved, let us go to see the Fair;  
Get up, friend, and let us be off to the Fair.
2. He manifested Himself in many a beautiful form  
He assumed the name of Muhammad,  
So let us be off to the Fair.
3. He shone forth saying :  
' I was a hidden treasure . . . '  
So ! ' we were so close to you '  
So let us be off to the Fair.
4. From far off he shot at me arrows of fascination,  
Then ran away having injured my heart.  
O, the charm of his looking back !  
He saw me and yet pretended not to know.]

*Mrs. Bhawānī Dās Kāchru (Shrīmatī Aranī-Māl).*

گیئر گیئر مُو کر ها یندرو کنه رین پھلیلے مل بُو بو  
ریئ نل کارتل ها سنبُلو یمجزل پیالہ هتیہ پیارن چھے  
هیہ تیرچیپیس تے پیہنزو پھولہ بُو کنه رین پھلیلے مل بُو بو

- [1. My wheel, don't make noise  
I will soon anoint you with scent.
2. Raise thy head, out of mud, O Hyacinth ;  
I, thy Narcissus, am waiting for thee with goblets in my hands.
3. I am like a bush of jessamine ;  
Never to blossom again !  
I will soon anoint you with scent, my wheel.]

(۱)

هُن هُن چِھیم لولہ چانہ بُرت ٹُولہ چِھیم نو سُندرے سُندرے

(۲)

وژھہ والنج هاوے مُثراوِتیہ کزھہ پن زن هرہ بیو - هرہ بیو

(۳)

مشہہ مُثھہ بند زن گزھہ لا ریتیہ

ٹُولہ چِھیمنو سُندرے سُندرے

[1. From head to foot

I am filled with love for thee ;  
I have no sleep ! my fair one !

2. I will lay bare my heart unto you,

And fall to the ground like the leave of a wild bush.

3. I will cling to you like a charm on your arm.

I have no sleep ! my fair-one ! ]

### The Third Period of Kashmiri Poetry

*Mahmūd Gāmī*

(۱)

تمثیل ادم پرژہام حُبابس رنده چھوک زنده کتیہ ابس سیت

[1. Seeking for a likeness of man

I said to the bubble :

*How live you on water ?]*

(۲)

کسیدک معنی پرژہام قصابس دُو پن دل گندُل قلباس سیت

دزہ دزہ سیت چھوی متہ ات کبابس

رنده چھوک زنده کتیہ آبس سیت

[2. I asked of the butcher the meaning of love's art.

He said " Tie thy heart with the fork of Love.

This roasted meat tastes better while burning."

*How live you on water ?]*

(۳)

حُبہ سیت حبیبین پھلوکیہ لوی حُبابس

پھوکہ سیت بیہ میول آبس سیت

مُود کیاہ ته روڈ کیاہ باقی حُسابس

رنده چھوک زنده کتیہ آبس سیت

[3. Out of His love the Lover blew the bubble ; and it lived !  
 Soon was it blown off with another breath  
 But who died ? and what remained still  
 To account for, is the riddle.  
*How live you on water ?*]

(۲)

پو چُمارک پرده ڙٺ اچه منز حجabis  
 پادشاه ڈیشہ هن نوابس سیت  
 بروندھ پکھ کھلوڻمو قهرم عذابس  
 رندا چھوک زندا کتھ آبس سیت

[4. Tear open the veil of thy malice ;  
 And thou shalt see the Monarch with His Viceroy seated.  
 Go forward, fear not frowns and frets.  
*How live you on water ?*]

(۳)

صورتس معنی تعبیر خوابس مُشك زن میلت گلابس سیت  
 واصلس نشہ ڙھاء چھینه کینه نقابس  
 رندا چھوک زندا کتھ آبس سیت

[5. The Form and the Reality are like the dream and its interpretation.  
 The two are as the rose and its perfume.  
 Really all the veils are removed from him who is one with Him.  
*How live you on water ?*]

(۴)

فِکرہ هنڑہ رزہ نے دکھ دلابس ارهٹ پھیری طنابو سیت  
 موگڑہ مشغول خوشیں تھے خوابس  
 رند چھوک زندا کتھ آبس سیت

[6. Try to turn the wheel of constant remembrance by the rope of meditation,  
 For, this water-wheel moves by its own ropes.  
 Don't be given to luxury and repose !  
*How live you on water ?*]

*Maqbūl Shāh Krālawārī.*

(۵)

رنگ رنگ آسہ گل یکبار پھولیت  
 ذ مستی پوشہ نول آسہ هوشہ ڈلیت

(۱)

لگان يله آسه پوشن واوه گرائے  
هران آسه عطر باغس جایه جائے

(۲)

چمن ته ڈور بیربر سور پوشو  
سکومت چینیہ کیو نافہ فروشو

(۳)

گلاب بیهی هی ته مسول اڑاول کیا  
کنول کوتاه چمن بربیه بربیه مول کیا

(۴)

مشکبو تازه رو گلی یاسمن لاو  
سمن نسرین ته خیری ارغوان نیاو

(۵)

تحرن پٹھہ کیا وزل گلہاے اثار  
ژلن بُدل کُن پیٹھی ما ہتُون نار

(۶)

وچلرمُت اوس سبزک فرشی منجل  
کران نت برگ گل سیم و زرس تل

(۷)

چھن گلبرگ چھت ته سرخ و زرد اس  
چھکن زن سون ته روپ بر لاجورد امس

(۸)

درختن اوس نه حد میوہ دارن  
نهالی مشک بیدن سایہ دارن

[1. The garden was full of variegated flowers,  
The nightingales were intoxicated.

2. The garden was filled with perfume,  
As the flowers waved with the breeze.

3. Beds were filled with Suri flowers  
As though they were watered by the musk-dealers of China.

4. The red rose, the yellow rose, the white rose and whole beds of red flowers were there.
  5. The fresh and fragrant jessamine, narcissus and tulips And lilacs were there in sheaves.
  6. The pomegranate trees were full of red flowers, The nightingale took them to be on fire, And flew away.
  7. The verdure was spread like a carpet of green velvet, Whereupon petals of flowers were scattering gold and silver coins.
  8. The red, white and yellow petals were falling Scattering gold and silver on violet beds.
  9. And innumerable were the fruit trees, Fragrant and shady willows.]
- 

*Rasūl Mir Shāhābādī.*

(۱)

اے ہور صورت چاند برتل پیون ریوان یاد

جنت تجیری تھکتیا لانہار دلبرو

- [1. Weeping at thy door, O thou fair as a houri I was put in mind of Paradise, below which streams flow.]

(۲)

کیلٹ سینس اندر بونالہ رُفت شامہ سُنڈر

جامہ زن سروقدس پان ولہیو مدنو

- [2. Ah ! I wish to hide thee in my heart, To take you in my embrace, O my Black Beauty cypress, And to wrap my body round thy cypress-like stature as does thy garment !]

(۳)

چھلوم می تمنا بالہ تھندوے بیہ یوریہ نائی

ٹور بر ہس دودھ ہرہ کی ہرہ کرت گوم

کمہ نعمش کلیاوا ناؤن چاوہ ناون چائے

.....

- [3. How I long for his return : I would offer him bowls of cream. Alas ! He has gone away and made me distraught. What dainty dishes I would have served him ! What fine tea ! ]

(۴)

زُرَة زاجنس زُرَة كوتاہ زُرَة نے چھایس مائے  
 بُرَة اُزم نا - بُرَة مارس - بُرَة کرتیه گوم  
 تپیرہ تپیرہ چھام شرہ تہندے سوچھاو بے پروائے

[4. He has scorched me with the fire of Love.

How much patience should I have ?

He cares not for me.

If only he would enter my house,  
 I would slay young lambs for him,  
 But he has made me fade in sorrow !

I am shivering in separation.  
 But he cares not for me !]

---

بُٹھی پیشی مو گوہرہ گوہرہ کر

ومن ڈنگ سودرم منڑلے تھاہ

لالن مالہ تھ مُختس لرہ کر

[Crave not for pearls while thou art on the shore

Dive deep into the depths of the sea

Make garlands of jewels and weave wreaths of pearls.]

کاھل پانس هُمْتک آرہ کر جاھل لا گکھ تھ چھوکھ گمراہ

رایل ریسی ژٹیخ تپیرہ کر لالن مالہ تھ مُختس لرہ کر

[Shake thy lethargic body with dauntless courage.

If you act like the ignorant, you are lost.

Bestir thyself to lop down the cypress of obstruction,

Make garlands of tulips, make wreaths of pearls.]

---

### 'Abdul Ahad Nāzim.

عاشق چھے روزت اشہ هسہ ماشہ سوسہ مار

زُونہ گاشہ یکھنا چرار چے برسوارہ عزیزو

[Thy lover, O Beloved, is waiting for thee, with every hope.

Ignore him not, Come !

Won't you come in the moonlight on a Thursday sacred to Chrār ? ]

منڑچین ژُلفس خال شامک دذ درسن باز

زُونہ ڈیہ حُسنچہ پان ہانکلہ کھارہ عزیزو

[2. The black mole on thy cheek,

Is a thief that hides at dusk in the curls of thy hair.

At night he will raise himself

To the moonlit courtyard of thy beauty with the help of the chain.]

کیا ونوے ژُلفو ته دورو مُیون سیاہ و سفید  
گیمتس حرف پریشانس تھوت کن تی پریا

[Ah ! Who knows what good or evil about me  
Thy tresses and thy ear-rings have said to thee ?  
But, was it proper for thee  
To give ear to their senseless raving ?]

*Swāmī Parmānand, the Sana'i of Kashmīr.*

(1)

تئی پھلے پھلے ووہتی ہیلے ہیلے وٹی

کول کوہ روںوس گیم گلیہ زیو  
زوچ، گڑھ، پیمنے گڑھ بیوٹھام ڈرٹی  
کٹ سنکٹ ہے مُکٹ داری

[1. What I have sown in grain I shall reap in ears  
I am tongue-tied, alas ! why did I stray off my path of search ?  
What to speak of cakes,  
Before the grain was good to flour,  
The mill has stopped.]

(2)

تار دتمو بیمہ بودہ سرہ نتھ پیٹھ رنگہ رنگہ منگنس بو ننگہ امٹ  
منگومی مہایکہوڈہ زندہ دیم ایکہوڈہ کٹ سنکٹ ہے مُکٹ داری

[2. O God ! Before I am drowned  
Lead me safe across the sea somehow.  
I am weary of asking for boons again and again.  
So now I ask Thee once for all  
Bestow Thou favours likewise.]

(3)

ہول ہول یہ پاپن بور گوب ته ٹجھ ائی  
الہبارة ہیتھی کائیہ کتھی وادھ گائیہ  
وتھیہ بور بندھے چور بڈھ سٹھ وٹی  
کٹ سنکٹ ہے مُکٹ داری

[3. The path is mazy (or, my belt is not tight) ;  
The burden of sin is heavy ;  
The ropes are loose ;  
A sheep is on my back ; my joints are stiff.  
How shall I reach the ghāt ?  
My destination is far off.  
And the thieves of sense are organized.]

(۴)

ارناواه کرناواه پُھلوٹہ ریم پل تھے وٹھ

ڈونم نہ ہو دھ هرہ ہروں آس

ھفت جوش پانس آکا شہ وچھہ مترٹہ

کٹھ سنکھ ہے ملک داری

[4. I pounded rocks and stones (*i.e.*, performed great feats)

In far off places.

But Ah ! I did not know, that thereby

I was entangling myself in the worries of the world.

My steel frame made of the seven metals

Became the target to lightning darts from above.]

---

گندہ ناچھو زندہ مرن سہزہ وزار گُرُن

پانہ روم پانہ سورن سہزہ وزار گُرُن

[To die while one is alive is excellent sport ;

It is meditation on one's self

The contemplation of the Self apart from the Ego.]

یتھ سوروی چھاو شرپان تندھ مایپان وپان

بھگوان تت چھی دپان سہزہ وزار گُرُن

[Wherein everything is absorbed,

There is no room for the Ego.

That is called God.]

پریمہ سرہ وہ ونے رہ لکیہ ہنہ ہنے

پاؤں لکیہ تیلہ کنے سہزہ وجار کرن

[3. By the burning breath of love,

Every particle will be ablaze.

And water will serve as oil.]

سریس ماچھیہ چھائی تھلود و تیلہ می شائی

بایہ ژلہ نے ژہ گراٹی سہزہ وزار گُرُن

[4. The sun has no shadow,

You clear away from the place.

And all your wavering will disappear.]

*'Abdul Wahhāb Parē, the Firdausī of Kashmīr.*

ON CHILDHOOD.

(۱)

با کرتھام باز گارو لُوكچارو هو بے وسا بے اعتبارو لُوكچارو هو

- [1. O my childhood ! you played a trick  
With me like a juggler.  
O childhood, you are fleeting and unreliable.]

(۲)

کنجیہ هندے دیوہ دارو آرہ کرونے توہ وارہ کرونے پارہ پارو لُوكچارو هو

- [2. You deodar of the forest, the saw (of time)  
Has cut thee into little bits  
And reduced thee to dust.]

(۳)

ا د او سک رنپ ا رو ایرہ والان کوہ چھی و تیان و نکن غبارو لُوكچارو هو

- [3. Just now you were like a mountain torrent  
Flooded and sweeping away whole hills.  
But now there is nothing in you but the dust of dryness.]

FIGHT BETWEEN RUSTAM AND SUHRAB.

(۱)

کرک نیزہ بازی بھم زود تر سپن نیزہ ریزہ ریزہ پتھر

(۲)

دوشی گرم بازار شمشیر گے دوشی قبیع ذن تشنہ لب سیرگر

(۳)

کرون ون ہتوک جنگ گُرز گران دوکر ہتھیہ یرن پیٹھیہ چواہنگران

(۴)

دوشی تم عرق ریز خونین بدن دوشی امن درخندہ هر دو دون

(۵)

کھی دکیه اکس گرزا لایکیه بیزور تمن پیٹھیہ سیلہا گرزا پھلوٹ اورہ بیو

(۶)

کرکیه پیشستی بہ تیر و کمان کران هله تم ہمچو پیلی دمان

(۷)

دوشن تیر و ترکش سپن مختصر دوشن ضرب کانیہ گوکیہ نہ کارگر

- [1. First they fought with their spears  
Which were reduced to pieces.

2. Then both of them drew their swords,  
And satisfied their thirst (for blood).
3. Then came the turn of maces,  
And they began to strike like blacksmith's hammers on anvils.
4. Both were full of sweat and wounded.  
Both were weeping while apparently laughing.
5. They struck each other so furiously  
That their maces were broken.
6. Now they began to fight with bows and arrows.  
Attacking each other like mad elephants.
7. The arrows also were exhausted on both sides  
But none of their darts proved fatal.]

*'Azīzullāh Haqqānī.*

رَاهُ وَ رِسْمٌ عُشُقِ جَانَانْ جُزْ بَلَا هَرَگَرْ چُهُونَه

عَاشَقَسْ غَيْرِ بَلَا رُوزَنْ رَوَا هَرَگَرْ چُهُونَه

[Nothing but tribulation is the way of love.  
The lover must not live without tribulation.]

یکسانہ اندرہ درا و یکسانہ نے تمس جسم نے جوہر

چھاوے جایہ جایہ سوے جانانہ نے تمس جسم و نے جوہر

[The same came out of the same.  
He has neither body nor substance.]

The Modern Period of Kashmiri Poetry

*Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad Mahjūr.*

وْزَةِ مَل

THE LIGHTNING.

(۱)

نازہ تند یم وُزل جامہ کم ولیت نُورہ وُزمائے پُورہ هاو پان  
نورہ وُزمائے پُورہ نازلیت نُورہ وُزمائے پُورہ هاو پان

[Who clothed your delicate body in red?  
Resplendent Lightning! let us see the whole of you.]

(۲)

جلوہ ہاو بنتیہ پیٹھہ اھرہ بلیت شہرہ تے گامہ گو شور یکسان

پریم رس باگران و چھاکے کھنہ بلیت نُورہ وُزمائے پُورہ هاو پان

[You manifested yourself at Ahrabal.

And you created an uproar alike in villages and towns;

You came down Kahnabal

Scattering the essence of love.]

(۳)

زُلْفَكَ پاٹيَهِ چَطَى پِيجَ هَليَهِ هَلَعَ كَارَهَ پِتَ شُوبَانَ مَارِ پِيچَانَ  
سُونَهِ هَارِمَسْتِسَ وَانَكَ ولَيَهِ ولَعَ نُورَهِ وَزُملَعَ بُورَهِ هَاوَ پَانَ

[Ringlets like writhing snakes look beautiful behind your neck.  
Your body is crooked like somebody's locks  
Your golden hair is woven into plaits.]

---

(۴)

شَامَهِ زَهَايَهِ اِبَرَهِ دَارِ جَامَهِ ولَلَعَ  
وَارِيوَ يَنَهِ چَلَكَ پِيَلِيرَتَ گَزَهَانَ  
بَيَهِ چَلَكَيَهِ مَالِيُونَ گَزَهَانَ ڈَلَلَعَ  
نُورَهِ وَزُملَعَ بُورَهِ هَاوَ پَانَ

[Dressed in garments covered with mica you go at dusk,  
To your father-in-law's house, but  
Like a girl (newly wed), you immediately run back  
To your paternal home.]

(۵)

درَشَنَ هوَوتَهِ پِرَدَهِ تَلَ تَلِيهِ نَظَرَ اَكِيهِ وَچَلَتِهِنَ سُورُويَ جَهَانَ  
پَانَ زَهَايَهِ تَيَهُوُوتَهِ بَيَهِ ولَيَهِ ولَعَ نُورَهِ وَزَهَسْلَعَ بُورَهِ هَاوَ پَانَ

[You manifested yourself  
From behind the folds of your veils,  
You viewed the world all at one glance ;  
And quietly hid yourself.]

(۶)

زَنَهُوكَ سَرُونَويَ كَمَى گَائِلَعَ سَنَدَرِينَ گِيُوتَ چَهُونَهِ يَهِ سَارَجَانَ  
تَى وَچُهَيَتَ پَتَنَهِ هَيَوَتَهِ يَمَبَرَلَعَ نُورَهِ وَزَهَمِيلَعَ بُورَهِ هَاوَ پَانَ

[What wise man revealed to you the mystery of existence  
That this world is not the proper abode for the beautiful  
Is that, why, O charming creature,  
You kept yourself back ?]

(۷)

جانَ نَى يَهِ عَالَمَ زُونَتَهِ رَنَگَهِ ولَعَ  
پِيَلِيرَ پِيَلِيرَ كِياَزَهِ چَلَكَ يُورَگَنَ وَچَهَانَ  
درَسَهِ كَوَسَ لُوبَهِ چَلَوَئَهِ كَرَانَ مَسَوَلَعَ  
نُورَهِ وَزَمِيلَعَ بُورَهِ هَاوَ پَانَ

[If you did not consider this world good  
 Why do you look back to it again and again ?  
 What temptation attracts you, O beautiful flower ?]

(۸)

هیرہ بون لاگت جامہ وزلئے آنھ کیا چھو معنے یہ کمیوک ذنشان  
 خون ناحق ما درابیکھہ ممل ملیئے نورہ و زملئے پورہ هاو پان

[Why, from top to bottom, are you dressed in red ?  
 What does it signify ?  
 Are these clothes perhaps stained  
 With the blood of some one wrongfully slain ?]

(۹)

اں گئے پم مسافیر وتن ڈلئے منزہ منزہ چھیک تمن ژہ و تیکھاون  
 چانہ مشعالہ هند گاش چھوون مولئے نورہ و زملئے پورہ هاویان

[Now and then you guide the travellers  
 Who lose their way in the dark,  
 You bestow the light of your torch without any price.]

(۱۰)

تیز رے پیشیکھ چی نار مشعلیئے  
 گاش ہیتیکھ کس چھوہن ژیز زهاران  
 چھپیکھ چھارہ ماچھیک گندان ها نزلئے  
 نورہ و زہ ملیئے پورہ هاو پان

[O flaming torch of the sky,  
 Whom are you looking for ?  
 Are you playing hide and seek, you accuser of people ?]

(۱۱)

باز مہجور من کریئ ارلئ سیت باج حصہ ترس آمش غیرزان  
 سورہ فل گنزرک تنسند دورہ فلیئے نورہ و زہ ملیئے پورہ هاو پان

[Fate has played a trick upon *Mahjür*,  
 He got ignorant men for his companions,  
 Who mistake his gems for ashes.]

(۱۲)

یانہ ہور میہ ٹور چندن مولومے تمامت چلو میے یار ویسی  
 دبیوم آگس بی رو شی زاگس لاغس بی شیرہ هی  
 دلہ کس باغس پوشہ پھارلومے تمامت ڈلو میے یار ویسی

[Hardly had I, a budding houri, bathed me in sandal-oil,  
When he, my Love, did flee away from me, O friend.  
Methought I would lie in wait for my lord  
With jasmin to crown his head.  
In the garden of my heart, a rare flower had blossomed  
When he, my Love, did fly away from me, O friend.]

(۲)

دامانه بُوْم اشہ متنی کامنے پرaran دُوه گُوم  
سامانه گندتھ آیس بُوت کیاہ چھ لوگھ نشہ متنی  
پامن لاج - تھس کیاہ کرہ کامنے پرaran دُوه گُوم

[The hem of my robe is drenched with tears, my Love,  
Waiting and yearning for you, my days drag.  
I came bedecked ;  
Prithee, why so proud, my Love ?  
You put me to the taunts of others, alas !  
Waiting and yearning for you, my days drag.]

(۳)

میانہ مدن هیو هیو چھم چان لادن  
ها پیو پیو درش دیو دیو چھم چان لادن  
ادن چیے سیت کریوم وعدے  
وعده کوہ ٹولہم پیو پیو - چھم چان لادن

[3. My Love, my Jasmin, my Jasmin,  
I long for thee.  
O come, O come,  
And show thyself ;  
I long for thee.  
I plighted, when young, my troth to thee,  
Why didst break thy troth, my dear, my sweet ?]

دُورہ رُودم اند - دُورہ وَنَتے وَنَتے ویسی بیہ نا سن  
دُورہ دو پنم گثر وو وَنَتے چُورہ رُودم منز لا سن  
مُورہ نارچھم کیہوللہ وَنَتے وَنَتے ویسی بیہ نا سن

[He held aloof, 'mid distant woods,  
Say, Friend, will he not come ?  
From far off he cried, 'let's away to the woods';  
But in some lovely spot himself he hid.  
My bosom is aflame, how shall I endure it ?  
Say, Friend, will he not come ?]\*

\*Englisted by Pandit Jai Lal Kaul, M.A., LL.B., Professor of English, Amar Singh College, Srinagar.

*Mirzā Ghulām Hasan Beg 'Ārif.*

A stirring elegy on the death of a dear child from the mouth of a Hindu woman with the ashes of her son in the bottle in her hand.

مُکور گُن گُو میون یُوسف میون سُوی ماہِ تمام

کِ کِڈھس کل کِ دتوں بِرہم کِ گُرم مندین مے شام!

O where has gone away my Yūsuf, my full moon.  
Who tempted away my brilliant day and gave me gloomy  
night.

وقتِ پیری تراوُنس کس - دستگیری کُس کِرم

رأُورِم یاون یمسی پتھے تراوُنس بےِ إنتظام!

In old age I am helpless whom no one would now support.  
I spent away my youth for him who left me uncar'd for.

گوم نیز تھے بیہ نہ فیر تھے یا ز کیا چھس میان دی

الفتنس تاثیر دی چھا؟ دم سزا تھاوم غلام!

He left me never to return: why should he hate me for my love.  
My bondage I do guarantee: now let me be his slave.

لولہ تاوے پان گووْلُم ته چھووم جوے رشیر

رشیر خوارن گیگر کونس، سیر راوم عام خام!

My tissues fire of love did melt to feed him with my milk,  
This secret would be known to all since I must wail in grief.

قالبیں منڑہ شکل دڑھس کینہ پدن کینہ مال سنٹر

الفتیجہ جادوگری تھاوم و سرتھے زبر دام!

Upon the figures of his father and myself I form'd his shape,  
Within this trap of love, in vain, I tried that he may fall.

بدنه منڑہ قس داریہ رہ کنھ میانہ لولک نارچیا

لُول چھا، تصویر بعض، قار بعض! جیمرا ام!

O was the fire of funeral pyre my fire of love?  
Bewildered am I for my love once shaped his form, then  
body burnt.

چھا یوہوے تعییر یتھے لولن کرم صورت گری  
صورتیں چھا سُور مُث رادان لولس انہدام!

O where has gone away that form that I did shape with my  
own love?  
Are ashes end of beauteous form and burning end of love?

زندگی هند چھایوہوے انجام؟ الْفَت نَا تَمَام  
خام چھا الْفَت پُنون؟ كِنَه فِطْرَتِس خام إِنْتَظَام!

Unworthy was my love, or is this end of every life?  
Is nature imperfect, or unripe still is love?

ناره کُوی حاصل چھو و اصل آبہ کس نورم کربُون  
لولپھ گنگایہ منز لولس پتوں اخْر مقام!

In gleaming water cast him now when fire reduce'd him thus,  
Affectionate Ganges' bosom keeps for love his resting-place.

### Kashmir's Contribution to Persian Poetry

#### I.—By Muslims.

It is a universal fact that the physical features of a country profoundly influence its people, their occupation, their art and their literature. Kashmîr is a typical instance of the kind. Nature has profusely endowed Kashmîr with the wealth of real beauty which has made it renowned as a paradise on earth. Such a land could not fail to be the home of poetry, perhaps the highest expression of beauty. And, did not Bilhaṇa tell the world that the seed of poetry is the saffron flower? And the land that produces saffron produces poetry. But the poetry of Kashmîr has not as yet been properly appreciated, and the outside world knows very little of what the genius of Kashmîr has contributed to the realm of poetic thought. The arts and crafts of Kashmîr have acquired a fame on account of the energy of 'the commercial artist'; but the art of the poet has lain hidden in the manuscripts which have hardly seen the light of day. As we are concerned here, in this section, with the Muslim period of the history of Kashmîr, we shall confine ourselves to what Kashmîr has done for the muse of poetry in the language of its adoption, namely, Persian. If Persia is proud of its Firdausî, its Hâfiż, its Rûmî and its Nizâmî,

Kashmīr is equally proud of its Shā'iq, its Ghani, its Sarfi and its Akmal. 'Abdul Wahhāb *Shā'iq* wrote a versified history of Kashmīr or the *Shāh-nāma-i-Kashmīr* consisting of 60,000 couplets. Ghāni's *Dīvān* or the collection of his odes has gone beyond the confines of Kashmīr though it still awaits its days of proper appreciation. The *masnavī* of Mirzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Beg Khān *Akmal* is a *masnavī* of sublime mystic thought in Islam. The *Khamsas* that Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfi*, or Mullā Ashraf Dāirī *Bulbul*, or Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Mattū *Bahā*, or Mullā Hamidullāh *Hamid* Shāhābādī wrote have yet to enter the precincts of a printing press. Gray's well-known lines—

"Full many a gem of purest ray serene

The dark unfathomed caves of ocean bear,"

apply most aptly to the Persian poetry of Kashmīr

چھپے رہینے کے زمانے سے کبتنک

گھر ہیں آب و لر کے قام بکداہ—اقبال

The Persian language may be said to have entered Kashmīr with the advent of Islam. But it was about a century later during the reign of Sultān Sikandar and Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn that the sweet literary language of Asia acquired general adoption. Till then Sanskrit continued, and the Ārāda script was in vogue. It was the presence of scholars and poets like Mullā Ahmad *Ahmad*, Sayyid Muhammad Amin Mantiqī *Uwais* or *Wais* Kashmīri, Mullā Nadīmī senior, Mullā Fasihī, Mullā Malīhī, Mullā Jamīl, Mullā Ahmad Rūmī, Mullā Nūr-ud-Dīn, Mullā 'Alī Shīrāzī, Mullā Nādirī, Maulānā Husain Ghaznavī and others, at the court of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn and his successors, that struck Persian roots deep into the soil of Kashmīr. The Sultān's own composition, the *Shikāyāt*, has already been mentioned. Sultān Haidar Shāh composed a book of songs in Persian. Under Husain Shāh Chak, who was himself a poet of note, Persian poetry further flourished in Kashmīr till under the Mughuls it reached its climax at a time when Urdu was struggling for its formation in and around Delhi. Persian poetry under Mughul rule in Kashmīr produced Mazharī, Fānī, Ghāni, Sālim, Aujī, Fitratī, Furūghī, Najmī, Taufiq, Gūyā, Jūyā, Sāti' and Yaktā, and a host of others. The court language and the language of the literate had already been perfected and polished as a convenient vehicle of human sentiment and emotion, of delicate impressions of love and of yearnings of the heart. The ecstatic

raptures and thought imagery of the Kashmīri poet's mind found expression in the sweet and graceful rhyme of the land of Irān. The exquisite beauty of Kashmīr's natural scenery inspired the thoughts, which found their harmonious expression in Persian phraseology. It was as though the Kashmīris were staging themselves not in their national *pheran* (*pairahan*) but in the clear-cut fashionable and up-to-date Persian draperies, flounced here and there with the Arab thread-work. The effect was peculiar and exquisite. It was peculiar because the Kashmīri poet utilized the Persian ways of expressing his emotions in the Persian idiom, ready to his hand and suited to his purpose. It was exquisite, because unlike the ordinary Persian poetry, his sentiments were quickened directly by the natural phenomena, amidst which he lived day and night, and were therefore more realistic, true and simple. His poetry is a faithful representation, and true interpretation of facts observed at first hand in the midst of his poetic environment. The Persian idiom becomes so apt in his mouth that it acquires a sweetness, grace and meaning of its own as quite distinct from the conventional, perhaps soulless and merely ornamental use made of it in other parts of India. Expression was given to fundamental truths of ethics, philosophy, practical wisdom, religious dogma and even to the varied 'states' of a lover's mind, in unison and in separation, in eagerness and in expectancy, in hope and in fear. Political theories, economic and social relations are supported and established with apt illustrations, and fine allegories drawn direct from nature, revealing keen observation and deep study of the human mind. The dew drops on the verdant grass, the soft breeze, the sun and the moon, the revolving heavens, gigantic hills, the snow, the hailstorm, the rose and the jasmin, the torrents, the lakes, and the flowing waters, suggest to the highly sensitive mind of the poet morals and lessons which years of dull poring over books could never bring home. The Kashmīri had a distinct advantage over the Hindustāni in this respect. For the latter, perhaps seldom, saw the natural phenomena that were ever present to the mind of the former. The Kashmīri's line of argument may not, at times, be quite logical, but there can be no gainsaying the fact that it appeals and wins over the heart. His illustrations may not always coincide with his propositions, but they are alive with felicitous terms and strike a responsive chord. These features of Kashmīr's Persian poetry are most prominent

in the compositions of Ghāni, of Sālim, of Muhsin Fāni and of Mirzā Mujrim and several others. Some critics, however, find Kashmīri poetry not as full of emotion as that of 'Urfi or Nazīrī. But all Kashmīri poetry is not yet printed.

Before substantiating what has already been said by actual reference to the Kashmīri poet's work, one must not ignore the critical question of the value of Kashmīri poetry taken as a whole. Is it worthy of the attention, not of those who are ready to appreciate all kinds of Persian poetry, but of those who, with the assistance of their literary taste, and in the light of their critical sense, award places in the scale of merit?

"In poetry," as Matthew Arnold, in his essay entitled *The Study of Poetry*\* says, "the distinction between excellent and inferior, sound and unsound or only half-sound, true and untrue or only half-true, is of paramount importance." He recommends that we should "keep clear and sound our judgments about poetry," keep ourselves free from fallacious estimates and praises of that which is not the best. If it were claimed that all Kashmīri poetry is excellent, we should be in appreciable danger of failing to keep our judgments clear and sound. We make no such large claim for it. Even in Ghāni, there are verses and *ghazals* (odes or lyrics) which often fall short of a high standard. In fact, Ghāni himself admits it when he says :

شعر اگر اعجاز باشد بے بلند و پست نیست

در یه بیضا هم انگشتها یکست نیست

But it can be claimed that, side by side with much that falls short, there is much that has "a power of forming, sustaining and delighting us," that which cannot fail to give pleasure to the most austere critic, that even in the less excellent compositions there are lines which ring true, that even in faulty pieces a quiet thought is often exquisitely conveyed, an image of feeling convincingly rendered.

There is another way of judging poetry, as it were, another test. Let us again turn to Matthew Arnold for reference. He says : "There can be no more useful help for discovering what poetry belongs to the class of the truly excellent, and can therefore do us most good, than to have always in one's mind lines and expressions of the great masters, and to apply them as a touchstone to other poetry." "Of course," he continues, "we are not to require this other poetry to resemble them ; it may be very dissimilar. But if

\**Essays in Criticism* (Second Series) by Matthew Arnold, Macmillan, London, 1915, p.5.

we have any tact, we shall find them, when we have lodged them well in our minds an infallible touchstone for detecting the presence or absence of high poetic quality, and also the degree of this quality, in all other poetry, which we may place beside them. "Short passages, even single lines, will serve our turn quite sufficiently." (Pp. 16-17).

Now let us place Mirzā Muhammad 'Alī Sā'ib of Isfahān in Irān, side by side with Mullā Táhir Ghānī of Kashmīr. Our choice of Sā'ib, it is to be hoped, is not unreasonable, as both were contemporaries. And, as to the excellence of Sā'ib's poetry we have the testimony of two keen, learned critics, one of the West and the other of the East, both men of profound learning, the verdict of whose judgment can hardly be questioned. I mean the late Professor E. G. Browne, and the late Maulānā Shibli Nu'mānī. Says Professor Browne<sup>1</sup> : "I find Sā'ib especially attractive, both on account of his simplicity of style, and his skill in the figures, entitled *Husn-i-Ta'lil* or "poetical aetiology," and *Irsāl-ul-Masal* or "proverbial commission." Nearly forty years ago (in 1885), I read through the Persian portion of that volume of the great bilingual 'anthology' entitled *Kharābat*, which deals with the lyrical verse of the Arabs, Turks, and Persians, both odes and isolated verses, and copied into a note-book, which now lies before me, those which pleased me most, irrespective of authorship ; and, though many of the 443 fragments and isolated verses which I selected are anonymous, more than one-tenth of the total (45) are by Sā'ib."

Maulānā Shibli<sup>2</sup> considers Sā'ib "the last great Persian poet, superior in originality to Qāānī, the greatest and most famous of the moderns." Abū Tālib in his *Khulāsat-ul-Afkār* remarks that Sa'dī was the originator of *ghazal* though *ghazal* existed before Sa'dī—to which Bābā Fighānī gave a new colour, but that Sā'ib was the founder of a new school. In addition to these weighty opinions, we have to remember that Shāh 'Abbās II of Irān made Sā'ib his poet-laureate.

Now, it will be interesting to note that, according to Mīr Husain Dūst of Sambhal, Morādābād, when Sā'ib met Ghānī, and the latter presented him with his selected verses, the following couplet of Ghānī "sent him into

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1. *Persian Literature in Modern Times*, 1500-1924, pages 164-165.  
 2. *Sh'r-ul-'Ajam*, volume III, page 189.

ecstasy," and Sā'ib is said to have remarked that "the whole of his *Divān* or collection of odes, could have been bartered away for this single couplet of Ghani" :—

حسن سجنے بخط سبتو مرا کرد اسپر

دام ہم رنگ زمین بود گرفتار شدم

[The green glow (of beauty) by means of the green (just shooting) down captivated me ;

The colour of the net being the same as that of the ground, I was enmeshed.]

Maulānā Āzād Bilgrāmī\* says that Mīrzā Sā'ib adds an insertion (*tazmīn*) to the words of Ghani :—

ایں جواب آن غزل صائب کہ میکوید غنی

یاد ایامی کہ دیگر شوق ما سرپوش داشت

On one occasion, the note-book of Sā'ib had the following second hemistich while the first one had been erased by him—

کہ از لباسِ تو بُوی کتاب می آید

A friend of Sā'ib asked Ghani to suggest the first hemistich, whereupon the latter readily replied :

کُدام سُوخته جان، دست زد بدامانت

کہ از لباسِ تو بُوی کتاب می آید

This friend showed the couplet to Sā'ib, who is said to have remarked that he (Sā'ib) should have written a whole *Divān* with only the first hemistiches himself, and asked Ghani to add insertions thereon. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, on one occasion, said Sā'ib wrote—

سیہ چوری بدمست آن نگار نازنین دیدم

بہ شاخِ صندلی پیچیدہ ما، عنبرین دیدم

whereupon Ghani re-wrote the same :

سیہ چوری بدمست آن نگارے بہ شاخِ صندلی پیچیدہ مارے

\**Sarv-i-Āzād*, published at Hydarābād, Deccan, in 1913, page 103.

At the use of the *chūrī* one is reminded of the only quatrain or *rubā'i* of the Emperor Akbar<sup>1</sup> quoted by Maulavi Muhammad Husain Azād :—

می ناز که دل خون شده از دُوری او  
 من بار غم ز دست مهنجوی او  
 در آینه چرخ نه قوس قرح است  
 عکس است تمایان شده از چوری او

As for the basis of Professor Browne's estimate of Sā'ib's skill in "proverbial commission," mentioned above, the fact is that Ghānī has as much skill in the use of this figure of speech as Sā'ib, or any other Persian poet. Ghulām Qādir *Girāmi*, the late court poet of H. E. H. the Nizām of Hydarābād, while praising a poet says :

چُنان تمثیل را داده رواجی که از فکر غنی گیرد خراجی

The reader can compare our selections of Ghānī's couplets with those of his own choice from Sā'ib, and see that Ghānī has as much excellence as Sā'ib and, in some respects, far excels him. The reader would further appreciate Ghānī all the better, as his mother-tongue is not Persian, while Sā'ib was born to the language. Sā'ib is said to have made a selection for his own پیاس (personal note-book) of two hundred and twenty verses from Ghānī's *Dīvān*. Abū Tālib *Kalīm*, the poet-laureate of Shāh Jahān, and Hājī Jān Muhammad *Qudsi* were great admirers of Ghānī, as also Tāhir Wahid.<sup>2</sup>

No single city, in India, at any rate, has produced such a large number of poets in the Persian language as Srinagar. In the long list of Kashmīr poets there are some whose pre-eminence has been recognized. The absolute pre-eminence of Ghānī, it may be heresy to say, has been perhaps too generally assumed, and his praise so assiduously sung as to suggest that Kashmīr had produced but one poet. No one would venture to pluck a leaf from his laurels ; it will be green while the Persian language lasts. But it ought to be remembered that Ghānī is something more than a single original poet. He is a school, a generation of poets.

1. *The Darbār-i-Akbarī*, Lahore, 1910, p. 126.

2. *The Bānkīpur Catalogue of Persian Manuscripts*, Calcutta, 1912, Vol. III, p. 136.

Ghani, however, was not without his satirist who, jealous of his fame, says :

شاعر ما مُغنى بے سر !  
یا، او کیست؟ خامان بر دوش !  
کار او چیست؟ آسیا بانی !

### The Three Periods of Persian Poetry in Kashmir.

Persian poetry in Kashmīr is conveniently divided into the (*i*) pre-Mughul, (*ii*) Mughul and Afghān, and (*iii*) post-Mughul and Afghān periods. In the first period, about 17 poets are considered very prominent by a critic, though certainly their number must have been very much greater. In the second period, about 197, and in the third about 33 may be classed as distinguished. In the first period, Persian poetry is a direct imitation from Irānian scholars who came straightway to Kashmīr. In the second period, there is Indo-Kashmīr mixing with Persian on account of the presence of people from Delhi, Āgra and Qandahār and Kābul. In the third period, local idiom, similes and metaphors from Kashmīri influence Persian poetry produced indigenously. Within these three periods the poets, noticed in the following pages, do not appear in chronological order but in the order of their importance or their appeal.

Let us now take a rapid survey of some of the random couplets of the poets we have mentioned above, as it is hardly possible for us to give full *ghazals* in the short space of a section of *Kashīr*.

بر تواضعهای دشمن تکیه کردن ابلهیست  
پاے بُوسِ سیل از پا افگند دیوار را  
عشق بر یک فرش بنشاند گدا و شاه را  
سیل یکسان می کنند پست و بلند راه را  
کاسه خود پُر مکن زنہار از خوان کسی  
داغ از احسان خُورشید است بر دل ماه را

The torrents are the usual phenomena of the Valley of Kashmîr. Ghâni, in the first couplet, impresses on his reader the common experience that the assumed humility of the foe is the more to be dreaded, as the turbulent torrent which by analogy, as it were, kisses the feet of the wall, actually tends to pull it down. In the second, he likens love to a torrent, and also by analogy teaches that love affects the rich and the poor alike. In the third, he refers to the spots of the moon due to the borrowed light of the sun, and draws the moral that a man should avoid being eternally dependent on another. Note how the sight of a torrent suggests to Ghâni truths of fundamental importance.

لِمْ بِي سَايَهُ گُلْ مِي كَشِدْ چُو گِل سَامْ

سَرْشَتَهُ اَنَدْ بِي آَبْ وَهَوَى كَشْمِيرَمْ .

—سَامْ

[My heart, Sâlim, is attracted like the dust to the shadow of the rose,  
My (clay) has been kneaded with the air and water of Kashmîr.]

دِلْ كِه صَاحِبْ دِيدَه شُدْ، لِبِرِيزْ نُورِ حَقْ شُودْ

قَطْرَى رَأْ، چُونْ صَدَفْ، بِيَمَانَهُ درِيَا كُنْيَدْ

—سَامْ

[The heart that is gifted with true vision becomes overfilled with the light of Truth ;

Make that drop (of Truth) like the oyster which transforms the drop into a pearl.]

[Note.—Mr. Victor G. Kiernan, M.A. (Cantab.), formerly of the Aitchison Chiefs' College, Lâhore, kindly rendered 45 of the following couplets into English rhyme which are not, therefore, literal.]

نَدارَدْ درْ هَوَائِي گَرَمْ، لُطْفِي آَنْشِي صَهِيَّا

هَلَالِ عَيْدَ دَانِ، گَرْ رَجَّي اَنْرَے شُودْ بِيَدا

—غَنِي

[When hot winds hem us in, the fires

Of crimson wine are overcast ;

Each cloud-streak is as welcome as

The crescent moon that ends the Fast.]

دَسْتِ اَرْبَابِ كَرَمْ چُونْ كِيسَهُ مُغْلِسْ تَهْلِيسْت

معْنَى اَيْنِ نُكْنَهُ حلْ شُدْ اَزْ كَفِ درِيَا مَرَا

—فَانِي

[The giver's hands grow empty

Like the pockets of the poor.

I saw this when I watched the wave

Showering with spray the shore.]

گوشہ گیر از انقلاب رُرْزگار آسوده باش  
شورش دریا بین چون موج بر ساحل بیا

—سالم

[Shunning time's revolutions, take your ease ;  
Like, as the wave lies, close under the shore,  
And watch from there the loud tumultuous seas.]

نصیبی نیست از اهل کرم برگشته بختان را

که هرگز پر نسازد کاسه گرداب را دریا

—غنى

[The giver cannot mend  
The ill-starred man's ill luck—  
The river never fills  
The whirlpool's hollow cup.]

تا بهر صورت تواده، حُسْنِ خود را جلوه داد

رنگهاشی مختلف، از جامه ایجاد بست

—فانی

[God, to reveal Himself, has hung  
Creation with the colours  
Of a million rainbows.]

نفسها صدمه سیلاب مرگ و تن بدان فائد

حصار ما، چو ساحل، تکیه بر آب روان دارد

—سالم

[Each breath we draw into this mortal frame  
Is one more wave of the swift tide of death ;  
Upon which current stands our fortress, like  
The crumbling bank above the gnawing stream.]

بُود در اضطراب از اهل عالم هرگاه کامل شد

طپیدن، درمیان جمله اعضا، قسمت دل شد

—غنى

[The quivering heart uneasily  
Over the body's organs reigns ;  
The world, with all its doings, pains  
Him most who lives most perfectly.]

## Section I.

Poets during the period of the Sultans and the Padshahs  
or the Shah Miris and the Chaks of Kashmir  
[1324 A.C. to 1586 A.C.]

This period should begin with the name of Mullā Ahmad. As, however, we have already mentioned him under Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin, we shall pass on to others. Qāzī Hamid, Sayyid Muhammad Amin Mantiqī Baihaqī *Wais*, or *Wais*, Mullā Nāmi senior, Mullā Nāmi junior, Muhammad Amīn *Mustaghnī*, Husain Shāh Chak, Yūsuf Shāh Chak, Bābā Dā'ud Khākī, Mullā Ahmādī, Mullā Mihrī, and Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī are the more important names of this period. We shall begin with couplets from *Wais* who flourished under Baḍ Shāh and was killed in a skirmish in 889 A.H.= 1484 A.C., in Sultān Hasan Shāh's reign.

آزمودم جهان و اهل جهان آذچه هستند آشکار و ذهان  
 همه در بند خویشتن مشغول هم در کار خویشتن حیران  
 نے تکلم بُلطف و با احسان نے ترّحِم ب تعالیٰ غمزدہ  
 چُلده در قصر خون یک دگر اند چُلده در قصر خون یک دگر اند  
 کار شان نے بغیر کذابی کار شان نے بغیر کذابی  
 در میان شان هر آنکه کمترتر در میان شان هر آنکه کمترتر  
 نکنند إلتقاء رنجورے نکنند إلتقاء رنجورے  
 هرکرا گرمی بسر بینند هرکرا گرمی بسر بینند  
 گرو بُود گاو سامری او را گرو بُود گاو سامری او را  
 می بدانند موسی عِمران می بدانند موسی عِمران  
 جان دهند از برای یک لب نان کس نگوید که این خران تا کے  
 بعد ازین ویس توکی گفت و شنود کُذجع کُوه و عبادت مغبود

Muhammad Amin *Mustaghnī* passed his days in the time of 'Ali Shāh Chak.

من خنده نه ام بطبع عاشق ناساز یا گریه که بر روی روم چون غماز  
 یا ناله که سر یگوشی بیگانه نهم من در دم خلوتی ماحروم راز  
 برهمن! گرد تو گردم، راه کفرم بهمنا که زایمان خودم شرم بسے می آید

Mullā Nāmī senior was a poet who belonged to the court of Husain Shāh Chak.

هرگز دل بخیر تو مائل نمی شود در دیده نقشی روے تو زایل نمی شود  
 از دوریت چه با کیکه من بعد ظاهراً اصلاً میان ما و تو حایل نمی شود  
 دستم بریده باد، چه کار ایدم بکو؟ در گردن پستان چو حایل نمی شود

Shaikh Dā'ūd or Bābā Dā'ūd Khākī comes of a Ganāī family. The word *Ganāī* comes from *gan* meaning a pen, and the writer is, therefore, called the *ganāī* as he uses the pen. The title of *Ganāī* is believed to have been conferred, in Kashmīr, on Bābā 'Usmān Ūchchap by Bād Shāh, at whose burial the Sultān is said to have been present. Shaikh Dā'ūd or Bābā Dā'ūd was born in 928 A.H. or 1521 A.C.—the year when, in Europe, the Diet at Worms excommunicated Luther. Dā'ūd's father was Shaikh Hasan Ganāī a well-known *khattāt* or scribe. Bābā Dā'ūd studied under Mullā Basir Khandabhwani and 'Allāma Raziyy-ud-Dīn. Later, he became the tutor of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh's son. He gave up service and became a *murīd* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm. On account of trouble during the last days of Chak rule, he went with Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī to seek Akbar's help. The Bābā died on return from Akbar at Islāmābād (Anantnāg) in 994 A.H.=1585 A.C., and was interred in the enclosure of Bābā Rīshī Sāhib there. Some years later, however, his remains were brought to the *ziyārat* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm in Srinagar for their final resting place near the Bābā's spiritual guide. Khākī was the *takhallus* or poetic name of Bābā Dā'ūd who has written quite a number of books—*Vird-ul-Murīdīn*, *Qasida-i-Lāmiyya*, *Qasida-i-Jalāliyya*, *Qasida-i-Ghusliyya* and *Qasida-i-Zarūriyya*, *Dastūr-us-Sālikīn*, *Majma'-ul-Fawā'id*. The Bābā's poetry consists of religious and mystical themes.

مُرتضی را دیدم و پُرسیدم از وے حال رُفض

گفت بیشک هست در سب مُسلمانان وبال

—قصیدہ لامییں

گه بمسجد روم، گاه بیخانه شوم  
 من بیچاره ترا می طلبم از هر سو  
 نتوانم که شمارم کرم و نعمت تو  
 گر زیانم شود اندر تن من از هر مو  
شاکیا پیر شدی از طلب بیار هنوز  
 از گلستانِ وصالش نشمیدی بُو

—غزلباتِ خاکی

We have already written in detail about Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī in an earlier part of this Chapter (see pages 358—365). A few of his couplets are presented here—

زُضُعِفِ تن عَجَبِ حاليست بِيمارِ ماتحبَّت را  
 که نتواند کشید از ناقوانی بارِ صحت را

[Sick and worn with love—  
 Health is too great a burden :  
 He cannot lift it.]

بر رُخ فَكَنَدْ چاشتكه آن مه نقاب را  
 پیش از زوال، شام رسید آفتاب را

[When morning came, she veiled a face  
 As lovely as the moon.  
 Twilight, it seemed, had seized the sun,  
 Not waiting even till noon.]

از ٹوتیا مپوس از ان خاک در پیوس  
 خاصیتیش ز مردم صاحب نظر پیوس

[Ask not collyrium, if you will  
 Make bright and clear your eyes :  
 Ask only for the dust that lies  
 About his door. To tell  
 Its virtue, ask the wise.]

هم ز دل دُزدید صبر و هم دل دیوانه را  
 بیار من با خانه می دُزد متعای خانه را

[All patience from my heart my love first stole,  
And then my heart's infatuated whole—  
Bold thief ! he stole the house itself,  
Besides the silver from the shelf.]

خالت از مکر بر آن گوشہ ابرو بنشست

هر کجا گوشہ نشینی سست دُرو مکرے هست

[The mole that near your eyebrow lurks  
Is waiting to ensnare our feet ;  
Whoever lurks in corners so,  
Is always fullest of deceit.]

پناہ آر صرف بحفظ خدا ازین جو فروشان گندم تما

[Seek shelter under God, O Sarfi,  
Against those who show wheat, and sell oats, i.e. cheats.]

### Section II.

#### Poets during the period of Mughul and Afghan Rule in Kashmir:

[1586 A.C. to 1819 A.C.]

##### 1. *Mazhari*.

Abu'l Fazl says (*The Ā'in*, vol. I, page 584) that *Mazhari* wrote poetry from his early youth, and lived long in 'Irāq. *Mazhari* travelled a good deal over Irān, Khurāsān, and Hīndustān, and saw the poets of his age. In Irān he was with Muhtasham Kāshī and Wahshī. After his return to India, *Mazhari* was employed by Akbar as Mir Bahri or Superintendent of the Dal and other lakes and waterways which employment he held in 1004 A.H.=1595 A.C. *Mazhari* turned Shi'a. As his father was a Sunnī, they separated from each other. *Mazhari* is said to have written six thousand couplets. He died in 1018 A.H.=1609 A.C., though Pir Hasan Shāh says in 1026 A.H.=1617 A.C. *Mazhari* is buried in the Malkhah graveyard in Srinagar. All *Tazkiras* praise his poems. Some of his verses are :

چه حالت است ندامن جمال سلمی را

که بیش دیدنش افرون کند تمی را

[I do not know what secret,  
In Salmā's beauty lurks ;  
The longer you behold it,  
The more its magic works.]

فداي ائينه گردم که دلستان مرا

دُرُون خانه گلگشت بُوستان دارد

[I admire the looking-glass, which reflects my sweetheart promenading on a flower-bed, although he is inside his house. This simile will be understood if we state that the eyes of the beloved are like narcissus flowers—crocus-like or almond-shaped,—the chin is like an apple, the black hair like hyacinth,—in fact, his whole face resembles a garden, rather he is a garden personified.]

ببست دیده ماجنون، ز خوبیش و بیگانه

چه آشنا نگهی بود چشم لیلی را

[What lovely look lay in Laylā's eyes  
That shut Majnūn's eyes to friends and strangers.  
An English equivalent may be—  
What passion lay in Cleopatra's eyes  
To close to friend and stranger Antony's ?]

اقبال حُسن کار تُرا پیش بُرده است

ورنه صلاح کار ندانسته که چیست

[Good fortune gave you beauty, and your face  
Has prospered your affairs for you, my dear;  
Without that capital you would have been  
A sorry steward of your life, I fear.]

هر کس که باچشم ما سُبک شد بر خاطر آسمان گران است

[He who is pleasing to our eye,  
Is to the heart of heaven distasteful.]

لاله طورم، نه همچکوں عُنچه گلبن زاده ام

شعله جای باخیه بر چاک گربان میز نم

[I am a tulip of Sināī, and not like the bud born of the rose.  
To my torn collar, I apply the (needle of my) flame to stitching it.

In this connexion, I was rather struck when I came across the following: "Electronic heating makes it possible to sew together not only pieces of cloth, but cloth to rubber or wood, metal to rubber, and so on."—*The Bombay Chronicle Weekly*, Sunday, 20th July, 1947 page 23, col. 4, bottom. How prophetic of Mazhari to have said this in the 16th century, A.C.! ]

ذنباله در خاطر خود رای خودم بی زجت ره ابله پای خودم

صد پرده درم، ز خود نیایم پیرون صد مرحله پیمایم و بر جای خودم

[I follow where my obstinate heart leads,  
Grow footsore even when the way's not rough ;  
Tear down a hundred veils, but not that of my own Self ;  
Travel a hundred stages, still am with my own Self.]

مظہر، بہ جہان، چو بی نصیبیاں میباش  
وز گل بنوای عندلیبان میباش  
با دیدنی از خودی عالم میساز  
مهماں نظارہ، چون غریبان، میباش

[Be with the luckless, Mazhar, in this world,  
The nightingale whose voice implores the rose ;  
Content to grasp earth's beauty with your eyes,  
As strangers watch, mere guests, a spectacle.]

Mazhari composed the following chronogram on the death of Akbar, *viz.*, 1414—400 = 1014 A.H. = 1605 A.C.

پادشہ اکبر کہ پنجاہ و دو سال عدل اُو ظلم زُحل سیما سُوخت  
مظہر از "صاحبقران" تاریخ یافت گفت زین حسرت دل چفتائے سُوخت

## 2. *Mullā Muhsin Fānī*.

The life and works of Mullā Muhsin *Fānī* have been treated on pages 365—373 in this Chapter. Here a few couplets of his are given :

خُود شناس ارنیست کس فانی نباشد حق شناس

آ شفای با خدا نبود ز خود بیکانه را

[He to whom are dark  
The secrets of the Self, *Fānī* !  
To himself is strange,  
A stranger is to God.]

This is an explanation of—

مَنْ عَرَفَ نَفْسَهُ فَقَدْ عَرَفَ رَبَّهُ

[One who knows his own self, knows God too.]

دیدن بچشم دل همیں عالم چہ مشکل است

آئینہ کہ داشت سکندر همین دل است

[To view the whole world by the mind's clear light  
Is not so hard ; the magic mirror where  
Sikandar saw all happenings far and near,  
Was only this, the spirit's crystal sight.]

جُز خیالِ چشم مسنت، در دم اندیشه نیست  
هیچکس را بادهٔ حُوشتر ازین در شبشه نیست

[Only the image  
Of your eyes drunk with passion  
Exists in my heart.  
None can keep a richer wine  
In his flask, than this of mine.]

فانی سلوک راه چو پرکار می کنم  
یک پای ما بگردش و یک پای درگل است

[Fāni, thy heavenward march is but gyration,  
Like what the compass on the paper draws ;  
For one foot moves, the other keeps its station.]

### 3. *Mullā Tāhir Ghānī Ashā'i.*

The full name of Ghānī is *Mullā Muhammad Tāhir Ghānī*. He belonged to the *Ashā'i* clan which has been the subject of varied views. Sir Walter Lawrence says that *Ashā'i*s are Mughuls (p. 309). Pir Hasan Shāh's view is that this clan migrated from a village named Ishāwar in Khurāsān. This same view seems to have prevailed with Mr. Matin-uz-Zamān Khān the author of the census report of 1911 (*vide* part I, page 205, footnote) who spells the village Eshāwar. Despite consulting detailed atlases, scholars of Persian and wideawake travellers to Irān, I find no clue to the existence of this village in Khurāsān, Irān. Either it is far too small and far too insignificant, or Pir Hasan Shāh is mistaken. Hāji Mukhtār Shāh *Ashā'i*, however, says in his *Risāla Dar Fann-i-Shālbāfi* (p. 1) that the progenitor of the '*Ashā'i*'s came from Bukhārā with Shāh Hamadān. Another view is that this progenitor was called '*Ashā'i*' by Shāh Hamadān whose '*ishā'* (night) prayers he attended secretly to avoid ostracism by some of his critics. Under the circumstances, this explanation is probable. But the spelling in vogue is اشائی (*Ashā'i*), and not 'Ashā'i.)

Some say Ghānī was born about 1040 A.H.=1630 A.C.—the third year of the accession of Shāh Jahān. But this date is not acceptable to those who assume that Ghānī died at an advanced age and not at 39, and, as proof, cite Ghānī's own couplets like the following :—

ز پیری چنان گشته ام ناتوان که دنдан پنهنده بجاے زبان

ربخت دنداز دهن، رفت جوانی بریاد آه ازین ژاله که در مزرع بختم آفتاد

ز پیرو ریخت ندانم، ندادم تن بیاد حق

بیازی آخر این تسجیح چون اطفال گم کردم

مُوے سر کردم سفید امّا خیالت در سراست

اخْمَقْ پنهان تو این تُدَهْ خاکستر است

Like that of the astronomer-poet of *Irān*, 'Umar Khayyām, Ghāni's date of birth must be pronounced to be uncertain. Not much is known about Ghāni's family. Most of his educational career was spent under Mullā Muhsin *Fānī*. The choice by Ghāni of his pen-name, accidentally it might be though, is remarkably significant, as it reveals the particular incidents connected with his life. The numerical value of the three letters, composing his name, when put together, gives the year, 1060 A.H. (1650 A.C.), in which according to Sārkhuš, Ghāni commenced writing poetry. He was twenty then. But it is not improbable that he commenced writing poetry earlier. The etymological meaning of these letters, put in a nutshell, represents his attitude towards pleasure and wealth, and the pomp and show of mundane dignity. Ghāni appears to have used *Tāhir* as his pen-name in his earlier poems. The name, *Tāhir*, it is said, was given to him by his father who owed spiritual allegiance to Khwāja Tāhir Rafiq Ashā'i mentioned in Chapter III of *Kashīr*, page 113.

Ghāni's travels abroad are in dispute. But from what he himself says, it appears that he did go out of Kashmīr.

کرد است هوای هند دلگیر مرا اے بخت رسان بیان کشمیر مرا

It redounds to the great credit of Ghāni that he never sought the company of the rich, or those placed in exalted positions. His own mind was to him a kingdom in which he found all joy. He was in the habit of putting the padlock on the door of his cottage supposed to be in Rajaurī Kadal near the *ziyārat* of Sayyid Hasan Balādūrī (Balāzūrī ?) when he was in it, and taking it off when he was out. When asked the reason of this strange action on his part, he replied that he was the only wealth in the cottage which needed a padlock. When he was out, the need for the padlock did not exist. And so the door was always open in his absence. [The photo of this hut faces page 362]. Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has put this little episode in beautiful verse :

غُنی آں سخن گوئے بُلْبُل صفیر	نو اسخن کشمیر میٹو نظیر
چُواندر سر را بُود دَربَتَه داشت	چُورفت از سرا، تخته را وَگَذاشت
یکے گفت اے شاعرِ عدلِ رسمے	عجب دار د از کار تو هر کے
پاپنچ چُخُوش گفت مردِ فقیر	فقیر و پرِ اقتیم معنی امیر
زمن آنچہ دیدند یاراں رواست	دریں خانہ جُرم من متاعی کجاست
غُنی تانشیتند بکا شانہ اش	متاع گرانے است درخانہ اش
چُول آں محفل افروز درخانہ نیست	تھی ترازیں بیچ کاشانہ نیست

Ghani lived during the governorship of Zafar Khān h̄san. Nawwāb Wahid Zamān Tāhir Wahīd was a great admirer of his.\*

But Mullā Tāhir Ghāni throughout his life never waited on a prince, nor wrote a single *qasīda* (eulogy) in praise of any nobleman or king. His *Dīvān*, consists of *ghazals* and *rubā'iyyāts* and *qasīdas* (not in praise of any nobleman, etc.). It is said that he wrote about 100,000 verses. His *Dīvān*, copied in 1102 A.H.=1690 A.C., was printed at the Mustafā'i Press, Lucknow, in 1261 A.H.=1845 A.C. It was arranged by Muhammad 'Alī Māhir, originally a Hindu brought up by Mirzā Ja'far Mu'ammā'i, and probably re-edited by Ghāni's pupil, Muslim *Mujrim* with the help of another pupil named Lāla Malik *Shahīd*, senior to *Mujrim*. It is a fragment of about 2,000 of what Ghāni actually composed. And hence the *Riyāz-us-Shū'arā* of 'Alī Qulī Vālīh Dāghistānī of Isfāhān, composed in 1161 A.H.=1748 A.C., in Muhammad Shāh's reign, 82 years after Ghāni's death, and the *Majma'-un-Nafa'is* of Sirāj-ud-Din 'Alī Khān Ārzū, completed in 1164 A.H.=1750 A.C., say that Ghāni left about twenty thousand verses.

\*The Bankipore Catalogue—Volume III, Persian Poetry, pages 136-139.

The *Divān* begins *qasīdas* with—

سُوزِ داغِ دلِ ما دفع نه شد از مرهم گرمئی شمع ز کافور نمی گردد  
and *ghazals* with—

جنونے کو کہ از قیدِ خرد بیرون کشم پا را

کُنْ زَنجِيرِ پائے خوبیشتن دامان صحراء را

and *rubā'iyyāt* with—

چون نیست در آفتاد گیشم کس را شک

برخاسته از چه رو بجنگم هر یک

دھوی برابری ندارم بکسی

بر خاک چرا برانرم کرد فلک

A poem entitled the *Jang-nāma* describing the war between Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr and his elder brother Dārā Shukūh is attributed to Ghānī in the Catalogue of manuscripts in the library of the University of Bombay prepared in 1935 A.C. by Khān Bahādur 'Abdul Qādir Sarfarāz (page 208). This *Jāng-nāma* begins with—

تُوی آن جهان آفرین پادشاه کہ از حضرت جُستہ شاهان پناہ

حدایا ہمہ مُلکِ عالم تُرا است جهان پادشاهی مُسّلم تُرا است

The *takhallus* of the poet occurs in the couplet below:—

غنى چون بوصف آن جهان برترست بمقصود باز آمدن بهتر است

On looking into this MS. (No. 74) I feel the style is different from the usual style of Ghānī, and the praise showered on Shāh Jahān could not be expected from Ghānī who would call on no noble even, much less seek the elaborate ceremonial of an audience with His Majesty the Emperor of India. Possibly it is some other "Ghānī" and not Mullā Tāhir Ghānī Ashā'i of Kashmīr.

Ghānī appears to have possessed an extraordinary fertility of brain, and an uncommon vividness of imagination. The accounts of poetical encounters show that he met the exigencies of the occasion with a wonderfully prompt utterance. The austere Nawwāb Siddiq Hasan Khān of Bhopāl in his *Tazkira-i-Sham'-i-Anjuman* says that "Ghānī had a high-soaring intellect, and in the space

of a few years, he acquired a high place in the art of poetry writing, and ultimately began to dive deep into the ocean of poetry, and brought forth pearls that were worth buying with the cash of life." Ghānī had a brother whose name was Muhammad Zamān Nāfī' who was a well-known man of letters in his day. Tāhir Nasrābādī states on a reliable authority that the emperor of India wrote to Saif Khān, governor of Kashmīr, to send Ghānī to the imperial throne. Being requested by Saif Khān, the poet instructed the governor to report that Ghānī was insane. Saif Khān objected to this. The poet, all of a sudden, tore his collar, marched off, and died three days\* after. The death of Ghānī took place in 1079 A.H.=1668 A.C. Muhammad 'Alī Māhir's chronogram is—

تهی چون کرد بزم شیخ را گردید تاریخش  
که آگاهی سوے دار بغا از دار فانی شد

The date of the death is also expressed by حی غنیا. Ghānī lies buried in Gurgārī Mahalla (old Qutb-ud-Dinpōr), Zaina Kadal, Srinagar, though the actual grave is today unidentified as yet.

[For notices on Ghānī's life the reader may refer to—(1) Tāhir Nasrābādī *Tazkira*, folio 265b (2) *Yad-i-Baizā*, folio 170a (3) *Riyāz-ush-Shū'rā*, folio 28th (4) *Majma'-un-Nafā'is*, Vol. II, folio 344b (5) Rieu, Or. 300, Vol. II, p. 692 (6) Ethé Catalogue, 1127 (7) *The Bānkīpore Catalogue*, Vol. III, No. 334, pages 136-139 (8) *Amal-i-Sālīh*, folio 705 (9) *Sarkhush*, folio 95 (10) *Mirāt-ul-Khayāl*, folio 101, and (11) *The Oudh Catalogue*, pp. 113, 151 and 410].

The age of Ghānī was the bloom of Persian poetry in Kashmīr. Under its Mughul satraps, who were themselves men of great literary eminence, and who encouraged poetry and fine arts, Persian poetry found a second home in Srinagar.

The reader may now enjoy some couplets from Ghānī—

غنی از دولت دنیا نگردد عیب کس زائی  
که زر نتواند از روی مسکن بُردن سیاهی را

[The world's wealth, Ghānī, cannot blot one's fault;  
For all gold's scratchings, still the touchstone's black.]

نیست شهرت طلب آنکس که کمال دارد  
هرگز انگشت تما بدر نباشد چو هلال

\**The Bankipore Catalogue*, Volume III, page 137.

[The man made perfect seeks  
No glory and no singer ;  
The new moon, not the full,  
Reaches with crescent finger.]

هرکه پابندِ وطن شد می کشد آزارها  
پای گل اندر چمن، دائم پُر است از خارها

[He who clings to his birthplace will know no freedom from troubles ;  
While the rose clings to her stem, thorn-pricks are close to her flesh.]

فیض سخن به مرد ساختگو نمی رسد  
از نافه، بُوی مُشك به آهو نمی رسد

[Not for itself the musk-deer bears  
Its musk : not for himself  
The poet for his harvest cares.]

ز شعر من شده پُوشیده فضل و دانش من  
چُو میوه که هماند بیزیر برگ نهان

[Under my verses  
Wisdom and knowledge  
Hide like the ripe fruit  
Under its leafage.]

در مُکرر بستن مضمونِ رنگین لطف نیست  
کم دهد رنگ، ار کسی بندد چنای بسته را

[A thought once dressed in sparkling rhyme,  
Why versify a second time ?  
Twice over used, the brightest henna  
Will dwindle to a pale sienna.]

سنگین دل است هرکه بظاهر ملاشم است  
پنهان درون پنبه نگر پنبه دانه را

[Silk tongues hide cold hearts ;  
Inside the fleecy cotton—  
See ! the cotton-seed.]

بی نیازی از سخن هرگز نباشد گوش را  
سیرچشمی حاصل از نعمت نشد سرپوش را

[The ear is never fed up with poetry  
As the dish-cover is ever there to overlay the dish.]

دل به إستدلال بستم، ماندم از مقصود دور  
نردهان کردم تصور راه ناهموار را

[I vowed my mind to Reason, and she led me  
Not where I would ; for rugged was the road :  
I fancied it a ladder stretched to God.]

جان بلب از ضعف نتواند رسید  
من بزور ناتوانی زنده ام

[My strength is gone, and even my ghost  
Too weak to reach my lips and flee ;  
Only this weight of weakness keeps  
Firm-bound to life my misery.]

سعی به راحت همسایگان کردن خوش است  
 بشنوش گوش از برای خواب چشم افسانها

[It is virtue to try  
And give comfort to neighbours—  
Ear, listening to stories,  
Brings slumber to Eye.]

نمی باشد مُخالف، قول و فعل راستان باهم  
که گفتار قلم باشد، ز رفتار قلم پیدا

[Deeds from words cannot vary in the lives of righteous men,  
More than the letters written by the motions of the pen.]

تا توانی عاشق معنتوقر هر جاشی مشو  
می گند خورشید سر گردان گل خورشید را

[Give to no fickle paramour  
Your love, or you will come to harm ;  
The sunflower, through the inconstant sun,  
Lives in perpetual alarm.]

عاشقان را جنبشی مژگان چشم یار گشت  
عالی را اضطراب نبظر این بیمار گشت

[The quivering lashes of her eyes have killed  
Her lovers ; the contagion of her fevered  
And languorous eyes, a world of graves has filled.]

مُوے میانِ تُوشَدہ کرالہ پن  
کرد جُدا کاسہ سرها ز تن

[Your waist, as slender as a hair,  
Might serve the potter for the string  
That from the wet wheels hurrying  
Sets free the moulded earthenware.]

It is noteworthy that this very couplet is said to have drawn Sā'ib from Irān to Kashmīr to meet Ghāni.

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#### 4. Hājī Aslam Sālim.

Hājī Aslam Sālim was the son of Abdāl Bat who had embraced Islam. Aslam was the pupil of Mullā Muhsin Fāni. In his youth, he was in India in the service of Prince A'zam Shāh, after whose defeat at the hands of Prince Mu'azzam, he returned to Kashmīr. His manuscript *Dīvān* of about 700 pages is in the Panjab University Library, and consists mostly of odes and quatrains but no *qasīdahs*.

عمر وحشت زده آهوى بیابانی هست  
روز و شب نرگس شهلاى گلستانی هست

[Life—in a boundless  
Desert, a frightened  
Deer . . . a narcissus  
Black-and-white  
Scenting a garden—  
Day and night.]

ماه در هاله، بفکر تو، فرو رقت ببین  
که سری مست در آغوشی گریبانی هست

[Sunk in her halo, lost in thy love, the moon—  
A trance-filled head sunk on the robe's soft collar.]

در شباب و شیب، چشم دل ز غفلت وا نشد  
گردشی ایام گوشی جنبشی گهواره بود

[In youth, in age, this spirit never rubbed  
Its eyes from languid slumber's mockings;  
Time's rumbling revolutions were to it  
No more than drowsy cradle-rockings.]

شناور تکیه بر دریا کُند تا دست و پا دارد  
عمل شرط است و می باید توکل بر خدا کردن

[The swimmer, while his limbs are strong,  
    Trusts himself to the river ;  
So he who makes his day's work long,  
    May trust the Heavenly Giver.]

اجل دیوانه وضع و عمر مست جلوه می ترسم  
صدای پای رهرو شیر را از خواب بردارد

[Death, the mad beast, is sleeping : Life,  
The gay coquette, goes dancing, tripping.  
    Her jingling feet will wake  
    Him and his claws one day.]

### 5. Auji Kashmīrī.

Auji Kashmīrī was the son of Maulānā Nāmī Kashmīrī, and commenced to write verse at a very early age. When he was a young man, he was offered service by Mīrzā Ja'far Āsaf Khān, the governor of Kashmīr, which he accepted. This service did him considerable good, as association with Āsaf Khān gave him opportunities to improve himself, which Auji fully utilized. On Āsaf Khān's reversion to India, Auji was patronized by successive governors. He was not fond of travelling, but once went as far as Lāhore, and soon returned to his native land. 'Abdun-Nabī Khān Qazwīnī, the author of the *Mai-khāna*, compiled in 1028 A.H. = 1618 A.C., writes that, on one occasion when he was at Ajmer with Maulānā Muhammad Sūfī also called Muhammad Māzandarānī, the author of an anthology called the *But-khāna*, a gentleman from Kashmīr came in. The talk drifted on to Auji's poetry. That gentleman read the following couplet from the *Sāqī-nāma* of Auji—

مرا دامن خویش زنگیر شد مرا دست در آستین پیر شد

whereupon Maulānā Muhammad Sūfī went into raptures, and remarked that, if he had heard of that couplet before, he would never have written his own *Sāqī-nāma*, Qazwīnī further adds that he saw Auji in Kashmīr when he was about fifty-five, and found him paralytic, using opium, and that his poetry had lost its earlier charm. Probably Auji was a Shī'a.

He wrote three thousand couplets, and finished his *Sāqī-nāma* when he was in the service of Mīrzā Ja'far Āsaf Khān. The following couplets are from his *Sāqī-nāma* :—

مرا شبشه بِر دُوش و باران سنگ نه پای درنگ  
 مرا دامن خویش زنجیر شد مرا دست در آستین پیر شد  
 بیا ساق آن راوق تاک را ضیا بهخش خورشید ادراک را  
 بده تا بدان که آن نوش لب چرا می گریزد ز من بی سبب  
 نسیم سحر، خاطر انگیز شد ز سیماش گل آتشم تیز شد

#### 6. *Fitratī*.

*Fitratī* was the pupil of Mullā Zihnī Kashmīrī and enjoyed association with Mullā Nadīmī, Mullā Fasihī and lived in the time of Akbar. On one occasion *Fitratī* got twelve thousand rupees as a reward for the two following couplets from the Emperor :—

قسمت نگر که در خور هر جوهري عطا است  
 آئينه با سکندر و با اکبر آفتاب  
 او کرد گر معاشره خود ز آئنه  
 این میکند مشاهده حق در آفتاب  
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#### 7. *Furūghī*.

*Furūghī* was the contemporary of Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr. *Furūghī*'s two *masnavīs* on Shāh-jahānābād and Bāgh-i-Hayāt Bakhsh of that city of Shāh Jahān brought him a reward of twelve thousand rupees and employment on twelve rupees a day under that emperor.

تعالی الله چه شهر است این که از شان  
 گذشته هر بناه او بکیوان  
 جهان را به ز خود گر یاد باشد  
 همین شاه جهان آباد باشد

جگر از غیرتش خون شد یمن را  
عقیق او گواه است این سخن را  
ز خوییهای او هر گه گند باد  
رود صد جله اشک از چشم بغداد  
شکوه آسمان دارد زمینش  
جهان انگشت آمد او نگیش

### باغِ حیات باخشش

اے چشم بهار از تو روشن خاطر بتصور تو گلشن  
راحت در روح فیض عامت زان گشت حیات باخشش نامت  
نهبر که میان تو روان است عالم همه جسم او روان است  
زان نهر که هست در کنارت آمد ابیه بروی کارت

After the death of Shāh Jahān, Furūghī entered the service of 'Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr and won many a reward. Furūghī died in 1077 A.H. = 1666 A.C.

### طبعات

گر دلت ارزو کند آن گهر یگانه را  
رقیق گنان بآب ده همچو حباب خانه را  
لاله را هم با چمن دل صاف نیست  
ما دل باران عالم دیده ایم  
اے که در رفتن شتاب تیر دارد عمر تو  
چون کمان بهر که میسازی مُنقش خانه را

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### 8. *Najmī*.

*Najmī* was the pupil of Qāsim Kāhī. In 988 A.H. = 1580 A.C., he left Kashmīr for Māvarā-un-Nahr (Transoxiana). Here he entered the service of Sultān Isfandyār

bin Sultān Khusrav bin Yār Muhammad bin Sultān Jānī Beg. He was given a robe of honour and made a *Khān* of two hundred *tankas* for the *Qasīda* to the Sultān in which Najmī says :—

چو بازِ صُبیع بِر آمد ز جانبِ خاور  
 نواخت طبلِ زراندود بازدارِ ستحر  
 ز آشیانِ جهان کرد زاغِ شب پرواز  
 عقابِ چرخ ز بیضا نمود بیضه زر  
 بصنعِ ایزد بیتچون چو بیضه قندس  
 هماے روز بِر آورد سر ز خاکستر

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#### 9. *Mullā Sāti'*.

According to the annalist Khalil Marjānpurī, 'Abdul Hakim known as *Mullā Sāti'* was the son of *Mullā Ghālib*. When his muse burst, he took guidance from *Lāla Malik Shahīd*. Later, at *Shahīd*'s instance, he gained in the company of *Mirzā Dārāb Jūyā*. He went with the army of Shāh 'Alam Bahādur to Peshāwar and profited by association with Muhāmmad Sa'īd *Ashraf*, a noted poet of the day. He kept up his poetic progress under Bahādur Shāh, and reached his climax under Farrukh Siyar when, on Nawwāb Samsām-ud-Daula's introduction, he won rewards. On Farrukh Siyar's murder *Mullā Sāti'* returned to Kashmīr.

مُفتَن نَه ز جامِ عشقِ مسْتَنِ دادند کَائِن نِيستِيم بِنَقِيلِ هَسْتَنِ دادند  
 سوْمَايِي هَر آنچه بُود دادم از دست ارزان نَه متاعِ تَنگَدِستَنِ دادند

#### 10. *Mullā Muhammad Taufiq*.

*Mullā Muhammad Taufiq* belonged to the family of Judoha, and resided in the vicinity of the *Jāmi'* Mosque, Srinagar. He was a pupil of *Mullā Sāti'* and became a well-known poet of his time. *Taufiq* is regarded by some as next only to Ghāni. At any rate, in the time of Sukh Jiwan Mal, governor during early Afghān rule, he occupied the foremost position among the poets of the day.

(pp. 310-11). In addition to his *Dīvān*, he has written treatises entitled *Shaibī*, *Sarafa*, *Bahr-i-Tavīl*, etc.

می سزد فتنہ دوران شدنت اے کافر

کہ ترا پُشتیبانی است چو کاکل بر سر

[Well may you trouble all a world,  
Perverter of men's faith!—with hair  
So lustrous, so amorously curled.]

بینی و چشم و دُو آبروی ٹُو ای گُل اندام

شاخ بادام و دُو بادام و دو برگ بادام

[Oh thou having a flower-like body, thy nose, and eyes and thy eyebrows are—a branch of the almond tree—two almonds and a couple of almond leaves.]

### 11. Khwāja Habibullāh Hubbī.

Khwāja Habib *Hubbī* of Nau-shahr, Srinagar, is a poet of no inconsiderable merit. He was born in 963 A.H.=1555 A.C. in the time of Sultān 'Ali Shāh Chak. His father came of a Ganāī family and was a salt merchant by profession. *Hubbī* was placed under the tutelage of Mullā Hasan Āfāqī, under whom he studied Persian and Arabic. He, then, completed his advanced studies under Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī*. Afterwards he became a disciple of Mīr Muhammad Khalifa. Khwāja *Hubbī* was passionately devoted to music. He died in 1027 A.H.=1617 A.C. in the month of Zu'l-Hijja in an epidemic. *Hubbī* was the author of *Tanbīh-ul-Qulūb*, and *Rāhat-ul-Qulūb*, treatises on mysticism. He also wrote the life of his teacher Shaikh Ya'qūb *Sarfī* entitled *Maqāmāt-i-Īshān* in 1011 A.H.=1602 A.C. *Hubbī* was regarded as a saint. Jahāngīr, on one occasion, went to Khwāja Habib's place when he found him engaged in *Samā'* (music of the mystics). *Hubbī*'s *Dīvān* is a specimen of fine poetry, written in simple style and short metre, replete with fine ideas finely put, and shows the originality and freshness of his imaginative mind. He was a master in the art of composing chronograms of the Prophet, his Caliphs, and other notables of Islam.

اے کہ بہشتِ بربن بے ٹو عذابِ عذاب  
 آتشِ دوزخِ همہ با تو گلابِ گلاب  
 گھرمئی شوقتِ چہ کرد، نرمئی نوقتِ چہ کرد  
سیندہ کبابم کباب<sup>۱</sup>، دیدہ پُر آبہ پر آب  
 حجی بے چارہ بین، اشک فشان بر زمین  
 کردہ زراعتِ چُنین، رُواست شراب و کباب

### 12. 'Abdullāh Mizahī Farībī.

Mir 'Abdullāh Mizahī had for his *nom de plume* Farībī. He was called Mizahī as he had eyes twinkling, almost constantly when talking. 'Abdun Nabī Khān Qazvīnī says that he saw, in manuscript, his verses which, however, were not then arranged in the form of a *Dīvān*, when he met him in Kashmīr. Farībī also was averse to travelling. 'Abdun Nabī quotes the following couplet as his :—

تاری از زلفِ ٹو با شانہ نیامد بیرون  
 کہ بہ آن صد دل دیوانہ نیامد بیرون

### 13. Bābā Nasib-ud-Dīn Ghāzī.

Abu'l Fuqarā' Bābā Nasib-ud-Dīn or Nasīr-ud-Dīn Ghāzī was the son of Shaikh Mir Husain Rāzī, and was the *murīd* of Bābā Dāūd Khākī. Ghāzī was born in 977 A.H.=1569 A.C., and died in 1047 A.H.=1637 A.C. at Bijbihāra where his grave stands to this day as a *ziyārat*. Scholars are indebted to him for publishing, for the first time, the account of the life of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī under the title of *Nūr-nāma* in Persian. Hitherto Nūr-ud-Dīn's life was in Sanskrit in the Ārāda character.

[There is a manuscript of the *Rīshī-nāma* or the *Darwīsh-nāma*, called the *Taskira-i-Mashāikh-i-Kashmīr*, by "Nasib-i-Kashmīr" in the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. It is a rare hagiological work dealing with the Muslim saints of Kashmīr who lived in the Valley during the 8th to 10th centuries A.H.=14th to 16th centuries A.C. Besides material for the study of Sūfiism in Kashmīr "there is much information with regard to the general style of life in medieval India and specially concerning local folk-lore." The language is Persian strongly influenced by "Kashmīrī syntax." The manuscript contains a long preface dealing with the glorification of the first four Caliphs of Islam and general ethical discussions in a Sūfic strain. The first biography is that of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī. Then follow those of the disciples of the Shaikh as also the life of

Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, Nasīb's own *pīr*, and of several of his disciples. The narrative has "more of miracles" but "very few exact dates." There are many poetical quotations in old Kashmīrī, some of them ascribed to Lalla. Shāh Muhammad is the name of the copyist who transcribed it in the 11th century A.H.=17th century A.C. The copy is defective at the beginning and does not contain the title. There are also many lacunas in the middle. Many pages are rendered illegible by bad repairs.—[Waldimir Ivanow's *Catalogue of Persian MSS. in the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1924, pp. 108-9].

Below the reader will find Nasīb's couplets in Persian—

چه بندی دل درین دُنیا که رُوزے چند مهمانی  
که ناگاه مرجگ پیش آید خوری آن دم پیشمانی  
نیاری یاد رُوزی آنکه وقتِ مرگ در پیش است  
چه مغروری درین دُنیا مگر مُردن نمی دانی  
یک اندیشه کُن بِنگر، کیان بُوند درین دُنیا  
کُجا رفتند یارانه که بُوند مُونسِ جانی

#### 14. *Mullā Zihñī*.

*Mullā Zihñī Kashmīrī* was also a poet of note. 'Abdun-Nabi Khān Qazvīnī in his *Mai-khāna* remarks that, when Qazvīnī saw Zihñī in Kashmīr, the latter had written four thousand couplets, but had not arranged his *Dīvān*. Zihñī was respected for his piety. He is noted for his verses in praise of the Four Caliphs of the Prophet. Bābā Nasib-ud-Dīn Ghāzī, the saintly poet of Kashmīr, encouraged him. Qazvīnī has selected the following couplets from Zihñī's *Saqqī-nāma*:

شوابی که مسست از جُزو و کل      چه اصل و چه فرع و چه خار و چه گل  
شوابی که گل بر دماد ز سنج کشد آب حیوان ز کام نهینگ  
شوابی کُرو سُد دل غمَّه چو وادی ایمن تجلی کده  
دماغ از شمیمش بھارے شود بہ یادش درُون لاله زارے شود

#### 15. *Mirzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Kāmil* or *Akmal*.

Mirzā Akmal-ud-Dīn Beg Khān *Akmal* Badakhshī comes of a very well-known family. His grandfather Muhammad Qulī Khān migrated from Tāshqand to Badakhshān and then moved down to Delhi. Muhammad Qulī Khān rose to the position of governor of Kashmīr from

999 to 1010 A.H.=1590 to 1601 A.C., during the reign of Akbar. He died in Srinagar, and is buried in Mahalla Sangīn Darwāza, outside the wall of the fort. M. Qulī Khān's son was Mīrzā ‘Ādil Beg Khān and he settled down in Srinagar. ‘Ādil was esteemed in Shāh Jahān's time. The youngest of ‘Ādil's sons—Beg Khān—was born in 1054 A.H.=1644 A.C. Shāh Jahān was, then, in Kashmīr, and he named the baby Kāmil Beg Khān. The Mīrzā's education was entrusted to ‘Allāma Abu'l Fath Kallū Qallashpūrī. *Akmal* wrote *Bahr-ul-Irfān* of 80,000 couplets after the *masnavī* of Maulānā Rūm. This is in manuscript yet. The chief feature of *Akmal*'s poetry is that his examples, similes, metaphors, stories and references are all Kashmīrī and purely indigenous like that of the *Akanandan* and others. 1131 A.H.=1718 A.C. is the date of *Akmal*'s death at the age of 77.

کُفر و إسلام را پیجنگ انداخت خود بر آن جنگ شد تماشائی

خود شود مُدعی که دین این است خود دهد کُفر را تواناشی

اکمل الدین یقین همین دارد مذهبش وحدت است و یکنائی

Mīr ‘Abdur Rasūl *Istighnā* of Kashmīr, who died during ‘Ālamgīr's reign, is mentioned in the *Safina-i-Khushgū* compiled in A.H. 1137—1147=A.C. 1724—1734 by Bindraban *Khushgū*. The *Kulliyāt* of Ismā‘il *Bīnish*, mentioned in the *Riyāz-ush-Shua‘rā* and the *Ātash-kadah* is noted by Rieu, in his *Catalogue*, Vol. II, pp. 695-6.

#### 16. *Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān Fidā*.

Mīrzā Muhtasham Khān *Fidā* was the son of an official of rank, Mīrzā Matānat Khān. The letters composing *Mīrzā Muhtasham* (1138 A.H.=1725 A.C.) constitute the date of his birth. After finishing his education, Muhtasham went to Hindustān in the prime of his youth. Mu‘in-ul-Mulk ibn Qamar-ud-Dīn Khān, the governor of Lāhore, was struck with his intelligence and offered him employment, which the Mīrzā accepted. On the death of Mu‘in-ul-Mulk, Muhtasham returned to Kashmīr, and entered the service of Hājī Karīmdād Khān, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr. Muhtasham died in 1197 A.H.=1782 A.C. He was the *muriid* (disciple) of Miyān Gul Muhammad Kanggāl, a spiritual leader of the time.

صنما، براه مسجد مگذر پشی خاشا  
شکنند شیخ و صوف، همه توبه نصوحتی

[Sweetheart, you think it fun to stroll  
Before the mosque : don't play such tricks !  
Or Shaikh and Sūfi will forget  
Their austere vows, and crane their necks.]

انوا که دل و جانش با همچو توی باشد

در خانه توی همدم، در راه توی همراهی

[Whoever in Thy keeping has reposed  
His heart and soul, finds Thee at home a guest,  
And on the way a fellow-wayfarer.]

از نزم حیات پادشاهان رفتند—در چشم زدن

نرگس چشممان و خوش نگاهان رفتند—چون گل ز چمن

[Kings, in the twinkling of an eye,  
Have gone from amid  
The assembly of life.

Narcissus-eyes and radiant looks  
Have vanished as flowers  
Depart from the garden.]

The Mirzā's son, Nūr-ud-Dīn Nūr, was a poet likewise, but died in early youth in an epidemic. He was noted for *Badiha-gūī* or improvisation.

### 17. Khwāja Rafī‘.

Khwāja Rafī‘ Rāfi‘ Māntjū or Māntjī was the pupil of Mullā ‘Abdul Hakīm Sātī of Kashmīr, and lived with Nawwāb Samsām-ud-Daula, the successor of Sayyid Husain ‘Alī Khān as the Premier of Farrukh Siyar, the Emperor of India. The *Khizāna-i-Āmira* says :—

رافع از شعراء کشامره و صاحب افکار نادره است - نواب صاحب الدوله خان  
دوران او را بربین بیت هزار روپیه صد و بخشید -

کفرم چو کاسه گرداب همچنان خالی است

بان مُتحیط کرم گرچه اشنا شده ام

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Raffī returned to Kashmīr and was employed by Sukh Jīwan Mal, the Afghān governor, as a court-poet, and died in 1177 A.H.=1763 A.C.

### 18. *Mullā Ashraf Dairī*.

Mullā Ashraf Dairī *Bulbul* was born in 1093 A.H.=1682 A.C., the year of the Rye House Plot, in the village Ashmandar, near Mitrīgām, in the Pulwāma Tahsīl. His father was Mullā Dā'ūd. Bulbul died in the neighbouring village of Dairī in 1170 A.H.=1756 A.C., when the musician Mozart was born, or four years after the end of Mughul rule in Kashmīr. He is the *Nizāmī* of Kashmīr in respect of his *Khamsa* which consists of—(i) *Himāl Nāgrāi*, (ii) *Hasht Asrār*, (iii) *Mehr-o-Māh*, (iv) *Hasht Tamhīd*, (v) *Rizā-nāma*.

چد

رسانندہ رُوزی مُور و مار بہ قُدرت، نہ با آللہ دستکار

نعت

یتیم کہ بے درس، قرآن بخواند خُط نسخ بر صُحْفِ دیرینہ راند

نعت

گُشادند از لب زبان سکوت کہ سُبْحَانَ حَمْدُ الذِّي لَا يَمْوَت

تمہید

اگرچہ نظامی بسے رنج بُرد ز گنجینہ معنوی گنج بُرد  
من از رُوحِ او باریع خواستم سخن را بمعنی بیاراسته  
دُو چیز است اندر جهان پایدار سخنا و سخن نکته آبدار

خاتمه

چو ایياتِ این نامہ کردم شمارِ خرد گفت با من بگو ده هزار

This last couplet is from *Bulbul's Rizā-nāma* which consists of 10,000 couplets.

**19. 'Abdul Wahhāb Shā'iq.**

'Abdul Wahhāb Shā'iq was a resident of Srīnagar. After his early education, he went out on his travels in pursuit of further studies. When he returned, he set up as a teacher in a small village called Dachhna, near Bandapōr on the Wular, in order to lead a retired life of quiet and contentment. When Rājā Sukh Jiwan Mal called for poets to compose the *Shāh-nāma* of *Kashmīr*, Mullā Shā'iq came to Srīnagar. On a rupee a couplet he was engaged on the versified history of Kashmīr which, on the tragedy of Sukh Jiwan Mal, was left incomplete. This history is in manuscript, and consists of 60,000 couplets as already stated at the outset of this section. As Kāmil copies Rūmī, Shā'iq shows Firdausi's style in his composition. Shā'iq died in 1182 A.H.=1768 A.C.

میان اهل دُنیا مردِ مُفلس خوار میگردد

الف چون درمیان زر در آید زار میگردد

اعتماد هستی موہوم کردن ابلهیست

چون گذارد کس قدم بالائے ظل پُل در آب

**Section III.**

**Poets during the period of Sikh and Dogra Rule in Kashmir**

[1819 A.C. to 1926 A.C.]

**1. Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Bahā.**

Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Mattu Bahā comes of a noted Kashmīri 'ulamā' family. Mullā Maqsūd, Maulavī Muhammad Anwar, Mullā Nūr-ullāh, Akhund Mullā 'Abdul Haqq, Muftī Hidāyatullāh are some of the well-known names of this great Mattu family. Bahā-ud-Dīn was born in 1180 A.H.=1766 A.C., a year after the death of Mīr Ja'far of Bengāl. Bahā studied under Mullā Mahmūd Balkhi. After studies, he was absorbed in *tasawwuf*, and avoided mixing with the rich and lived by teaching. He is the author of a *Khamsa* comprising—(1) *Rishi-nāma* having 4,000 couplets, (2) *Sultāni* 3,300 couplets, (3) *Ghausiyya*, 5,500 couplets, (4) *Naqshbandiyya*, 4,600 couplets, (5) *Chishtiyya*, 3,000 couplets. Bahāud-Dīn died in 1248 A.H.=1832 A.C. in the year of the Sher Singhī famine, and is buried in the family graveyard in the Patwānī Masjid Mahalla.

شروع کتابِ غوثیہ

اے بہما، دفتر دگر سر کن رُسوے طبلہاے اذفر کن  
لشکر آوردۂ، تو شاہ بیار اختر آوردۂ، تو ماہ بیار  
کیست آن شاہ، شاہ جیلانی قطبِ اقطاب غوثِ صمدانی

2. *Mullā Hamīdullāh.*

*Mullā Hamīdullāh Hamid*, the son of *Maulavī Himāyat-ullāh*, attracts our attention as the author of the *Chāi-nāma* in response to *Zuhūrī's Sāqi-nāma*.

ظہوری مگر چاے نادیدہ بُود ازین وصف، در رز پیچیدہ بُود  
بِدَه ساقیا چاے تاخیر چیست بِدَه تلنخ گر شکر و شیر نیست  
اگر جم ازین خم شدے نبض منشاریش غرالی شدے نبض منشاریش  
بیینی که چون دیگ بق بق زند تُو گوشی که منصور آزالحق زند  
إِشارة بُود در كلام حُدا كُواسوے نان، واشردوا سُوے چا

[*Zuhūrī* probably never knew of tea, that is why he was absorbed in the wine.

Give me tea, O *Sāqī*, and let there be no delay ;  
Let me have it bitter, if milk and sugar are not to hand.  
Had Jamshid taken a draught from this pot,  
His slow-beating pulse would have run like a deer.  
Didst thou notice the boiling kettle of tea cries *baqq baqq*.  
Verily thou wouldest say it is Mansur who is shouting *Ana'l Haqq*.]

This stanza may appeal to the English reader if rendered humorously as follows :—

[Flaccus, I fancy, never heard of tea ;  
Falernian was his notion of a spree.  
Bring, Ganymede ! the steaming tray : make haste !  
No milk or sugar ? Never mind the taste !  
If Charles the Fifth had quaffed this fragrant pot,  
His slow pulse would have gone a brisker trot.  
Just hear the kettle bubbling 'plop, plop, plop'—  
Like some impostor bawling : 'I'm the Pope !']

3. *Mirzā Mujrim.*

Among the latter day poets of Kashmīr, *Mirzā Mahdī Mujrim* is very well known. The late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl preferred him to *Ghani* in certain respects on account of his forceful expression. *Mujrim* was, at first, a Shi'a, but

afterwards became a Sunnī, and was a constant visitor to the shrine of Sultān-ul-‘Arifīn Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm on the Hari-parbat in Srīnagar. *Mujrim's* date of death is 1273 A.H.=1856 A.C., a year before the Indian Revolt.

إِلَهِي ساز روشن از کرم شمع زبان را  
به انوار قبولیت مُخور گُن بیان را  
بغیر شعر مُویم شد سفید، ای خاک بر رُویم  
ازین گل پاک گُن سر چشم طبع روان را  
بیا مُجبر از کرده بیزار شو  
ز حد رفت خواب تو بیدار شو

فدا سازم دل و جان آن جفا ساز ستمگر را  
ادا و ناز، چشم نیم باز غمزه پرور را  
بگلشن چون روم در خاطرم آید سراپایش  
نمی بینم گل و نسرین و شمشاد و صنوبر را

#### 4. *Khwāja Hasan Shi‘rī.*

*Khwāja Abū Muhammad Hasan Shi‘rī* comes of the family of ‘Ināyatullāh Khān, governor of Kashmīr under the Mughul Emperor Muhammad Shāh. *Shi‘rī's* father was *Khwāja Sadr-ud-Dīn*. *Shi‘rī* was born in 1223 A.H.=1808 A.C. The chronogram of this Hijrī date is—  
*Shi‘rī* died in 1298 A.H.=1880 A.C. in Srīnagar. The chronogram of his death was composed by himself thus—

جُست تاریخ فوت خود شعری شد ندا رجت خدا آمد

*Shi‘rī* migrated from Kashmīr to the Punjāb during Māhārājā Kharāk Singh's rule to set up as a shawl merchant. From Amritsar *Shi‘rī* moved to Delhi, where he had poetical contests with Mirzā Asadullāh Khān Ghālib. From Delhi he travelled to Calcutta by way of Benāres. The

title *Fakhr-us-Shu'ra Āftāb-i-Hind* came from the Sultān of Turkey to whom he addressed a *Qasīda*.

نقش یمن است بر نگین شعری و سهیل حوشہ چین  
 نامم به زمین حسن عیان است شعری لقیم ز اسمان است  
 نکنہ پرداز اگر هست، فقیر است امروز  
 پیش ازین عهد شنیدم که غنی هم بود است  
 — مشنوی لعل و گوهر —

### 5. *Mirzā Mahdī*.

*Mirzā Mahdī* passed his life as a teacher in Srīnagar, being a resident of Mahalla Shahiliteng, near Habba Kadal. He was subject to fits of madness, and on this account he had to give up the tuition of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. *Mahdī* was a very learned scholar of Persian. His poetry has more of *qasīda* and *hajw*, praise and blame, or eulogy and censure, than anything else. His couplets are scattered and not properly arranged. Kashmir courtiers respected him for his learning. *Gharīq-i-āb*, 1313 A.H.=1895 A.C., is the date of his death by drowning in the Jhelum near Amirā Kadal, Srīnagar. On the dismissal of Dīwān Lachhman Dās, governor of Kashmir, with whom he associated, *Mahdī* cried:

از جای چو بر جستی و خستی چکر ما  
 بستی کمر خودش، شکستی کم ر ما

On seeing the fall of the petals of the almond flower, *Mahdī* said :—

ز طمطراق بھار و ز برگ ریتی گل  
 شد است فوشی زمین آسمان اختر دار

### 6. *Sir Muhammad Iqbāl*.

If we were to notice the poets of Kashmir who were born outside Kashmir, we should have to give the place of highest honour to the late Sir Muhammad Iqbāl, but he is too well known and his death only too recent to need any detailed mention here. In his *Shikwa* he says :—

نختم ہندی ہے مگر تو حاجازی ہے مری

But it would not be untrue to say that, though his نعمہ represents the happiest blending of Eastern and Western thought, his ل is the choicest expression of Kashmīrī genius. He himself says in his *Payām-i-Mashriq* [page 214, 2nd edition] :—

تَنْمِيْكُلَّهُ زَ خَيَابَانِ جَنَّتِ كَشْمِيرِ

دَلِ ازْ حَرِيمِ حِجَازِ وَ نَوَا زَ شِيرَازِ اسْتِ

which has been quoted below his photo at the dedication of *Kashir* to him. The two chronograms by two Kashmīrī poets on Iqbāl's death are :—

”عَلَامِي شاعر مشرق“

—خواجہ مجدد امین دارابوداراب - سرینگر - کشمیر

آہِ رِقبَالِ! آفَتَابِ آسمَانِ شاعری

—پیر زادہ غلام احمد مہاجر - متوفی گام - کشمیر

But men of the calibre of Iqbāl are not an everyday phenomena. It is in centuries that such worthies are given to the world. Hakim Sanā'i accordingly says : —

عُمرُهَا بَايدَ كَهْ تَا يِكْ كُودُكَه ازْ رُوَّه طَبِيعَ

عَالِمَه گُرَدَه نِکو يَا شاعرِه شِيرَينِ سُتْخَنِ

قَرَنَهَا بَايدَ كَهْ تَا ازْ پُشتِ آدم نُطْفَهَ

بُوالوْفَا مِيْ كُردَه گُرَدَه يَا شُودَه وِيسِيْ قَرَنِ

سَالَهَا بَايدَ كَهْ تَا يِكْ سَنَگِيْ اصْلَى زَ آفَتَابِ

لَعْلَه گُرَدَه در بَدْخَشَانِ يَا عَقِيقَه اندر یَمِنِ

صِدقَه و إِخْلَاصَه و دُرْسَتَه بَايدَه و عُمَرِه درَازِ

تَا قَرَنِهِنِ حق شُودَه صَاحِبَقَرَنَهِ در قَرَنِ

Iqbāl has also said :

هزارون سال نرگیس اپنی بے نوری په روئی هے

بڑی مشکل سے ہوتا ہے چمن میں دیدہ ور پیدا

—بانگ درا

and he, sometime before his death, as it were, corroborates Sanā'i in this line :

سر آمد رُوزگارِ این فقیرے دُگرِ دانے راز آید که ناید

## II.—By Kashmiri Pandits.

According to the *Bahār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmīr*, the book dealing with Kashmīrī Pandit poets, Kashmīrī Pandits had acquired proficiency in Persian during the reign of Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn Qutb (781 A.H.=1379 A.C. to 796 A.H.=1393 A.C.), the contemporary of Mīr Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī. This is just about a few years before the invasion of India by Amīr Timūr in 1398 A.C. But the *Ta’rīkh-i-Baihaqī* (Volume II, Calcutta, p. 503) talks of Tilak, the son of a barber, “having studied in Kashmīr, and coming to Qāzī Abu'l Hasan of Shīrāz, and knowing eloquent Persian”. Tilak flourished at Mahmūd’s court as an interpreter of Hindi and Persian. This happened two centuries before Timūr. It would be a serious omission if *Kashīr* took no notice of the great contribution made to Persian poetry by the Pandits of the Valley, who can proudly point to Pandit Nārāyan Kaul ‘Ājīz, Chandra Bhān Brahman, Lachchman Rām Surūr, Nārāyan Dās Zamīr, Bhawānidās Kāchru Nīkū, Rāj Kaul ‘Arz Begī Dairī (from dair, the place of idols), Shankar Jeo Akhūn Girāmī, Tābah Rām Turkī and others as great intellectual worthies of their motherland. What Musalmān can beat Rāi Khwāja Pandit Chandra Bhān Brahman who flourished under Shāh Jahān, Aurangzib ‘Ālamgīr and Dārā Shukūh, and wrote :—

مسجد

شہنشاہِ زمانی مسجدے ساخت که گوئی بر زمین طرح نو انداخت  
ذ رفعت آسمان یک پایہ او مه و خورشید زیر سائیہ او  
رواقش قبلة اهل یقین است تو گوئی مسجدِ اقصی همین است  
فضایش سجده گاہِ خاص و عام است همانا مسجدِ بیت الحرام است

فلک گردد بی گردن استانش

بود خیلِ ملاٹک پاسبانش

خواجہ برهمن

Brahman's couplets were copied by Sā'ib in his *Bayāz* or note-book, which is indeed a great compliment to him. Brahman is mystic in his poetry.

Would not any Muslim therefore, say—

نشان از پنڈت کشمیر میدارد فضیلتها

[Chandra Bhān lived in the Naulakha quarter of Lāhore. He was the son of Dharamdās and a pupil of 'Allāma 'Abdul Hakīm of Siālkōt (see pp. 377-8). Chandra Bhān had three brothers. One of them, Udaya Bhān, entered the service of 'Āqil Khān whom Shāh Jahān visited at times. It was through 'Āqil Khān that Chandra Bhān, whose *takhallus* was Brāhmaṇ, was introduced to the Emperor. In Shāh Jahān's service, Chandra Bhān's duty was attendance on the Emperor's journeys and recording daily occurrences. The post is described as that of the *Waqā'i-Navīs-i-Huzūr*. He was given an elephant on which he used to ride as he talked to Shāh Jahān on the way. On 9th April, 1556 A.C., Chandra Bhān was honoured with the title of *Rāi*. Later on, he was on the staff of Dārā Shukūh and then served Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr.

In one of his letters in the *Ruqa'āt-i-Brahman*, Chandra Bhān asks his son Tej Bahādur to read the *Akhlaq-i-Nāsirī*, *Akhlaq-i-Jalālī* and the *Kulliyāt-i-Sā'dī*.

Rieu (*Catalogue*, Vol. I, p. 398) is wrong in recording his death in A.H. 1073=A.C. 1662, as Chandra Bhān was alive till at least six years after the accession of Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr, viz., A.H. 1075=A.C. 1664.—Dr. Iqbāl Husain, *Islamic Culture*, April 1945, p. 117. Chandra Bhān wrote Urdu *ghazal* in the pre-Vali style in Northern India.]

The Kāyasth of Hindustān has a considerable contribution to Persian to his credit, but he cannot compete with the Kashmīrī Pandit in respect of the advantage of environment with which fortune favoured the latter for Persian poetry. The Kāyasts have not, perhaps, produced as many poets in Persian as the Pandits of the Valley and outside.

Pandit Bhawānidās Kāchru *Nīkū* and Pandit Rāj Kaul 'Arz Begī, *Dairī*, are poets of eminence who have left a mark on Persian literature in Kashmīr. The one flourished during Afghān rule and the other in the reign of Ranbir Singh. Extracts from *Nīkū*'s work were included in Persian texts prescribed for pupils of Persian. Irānians, entering Kashmīr would love to delight themselves by meeting *Dairī*. The *Bahr-i-Tawīl* of *Nīkū* is a classic. That the Kashmīrī Pandits had made Persian their own, perhaps as Tāgore, Surendranāth Banerjea and

Sarojinī Naidu and others have made English their own medium of expression, was demonstrated by a strong protest when the late Mahārājā Pratāp Singh changed the channel of official correspondence from Persian to Urdu. There had been a tradition in some families that, on the marriage of a Kashmīrī Pandit youth, he, or someone on his behalf, had to prove to the assembly the bridegroom's fitness to marry by composing a *sīhrā*, or the nuptial poem, in Persian on the occasion, and it was obligatory that the reply should also be in fine Persian verse from the side of the bride.

#### PROFICIENCY IN PERSIAN PAID THE PANDIT.

Under the Shāh Mīrī Sultāns, the Chak Pādshāhs, the Mughuls, the Afghāns, the Sikhs and the early Dogrās, the Kashmīrī Pandit had risen to high posts in State service, and high rank in the social scale on account of his proficiency in Persian. Therefore, he would not let it go without toil and tears during Mahārājā Pratāp's period. The *Gulāb-nāma* can rank, though not with Wassāf and Zuhūrī, but with any really fine piece of Persian literature. An average type of Munshī Fāzil or one holding the title of Honours in Persian, or a Master of Art in that language, will not find it easy to run through the pages of the *Gulāb-nāma* of Dīwān Kripā Rām. Extracts from some of the poetical works of Kashmīrī Pandits will give the reader an idea of the beauty of thought and expression, and the level of achievement of the Pandit of Kashmir in Persian poetry. He distinguished himself in Sanskrit and won the proud title of *Pandit* in the early history of India. He made a name in Persian in mediaeval India. He is not behind others in English in modern India. He has thus won laurels in all the three allied Āryan languages of the world at different times in the cultural development of India. No doubt, it was most interesting to me to hear from a leading member of the Dar family of Srīnagar that Birbal Dar consulted the *Dīvān-i-Hāfiż* on his way to Lāhore to meet Mahārājā Ranjit Singh against the Afghān governor Sardar 'Azim Khān and felt assured of success when he read the couplet ending—

بِشَّهْرِ خُودِ دُوْم و شَهْرِ يَارِ خُودِ باشْمَ

[To my own city shall I go and be myself a ruler!]

Extracts from the Persian poetry of a few Kashmiri Pandits.†

[NOTE.—As these extracts have been specially selected for the beauty of their delicate expression in Persian, it is not easy to reproduce that beauty in translation, and no English rendering is consequently presented as has been the case in the text, too, on such occasions.]

آں خدائے کے خود بکیتائے      خالی مومن است و ترائے  
 چہ پس مسجد چہ خانقاہ و چہ دیر      نور پاکش بے جلوہ آبرائے  
 کفرو دیں را بھم در اندازو      ہر یکے را ہبھو خود رائے  
 کفر را گہ دھد تو نائے      گہ پس مسجد شرف دہر ز سجود  
 خود تماشا و خود تماشا نائے      دیہہ معرفت چو گردد باز  
 طالبا رستگاریت ہو شست      ساز کارے کے سازگارائے

پنڈت بیریلی کا چھوڑواڑتہ

*Corrigenda* :—Read **ئی** instead of **ئے** at the end of every couplet.  
 Insert **mad** on the last word to read **ائی**

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تبریزم اللہ بعگر بر سر دیوان ما      ہست ایں طغرا شجیہ اب روئے جانن ما  
 آب آتش تو شعراء فنائے عاشق است      شمع سوزو ز آو گرم و دیدہ گریان ما  
 پنڈت زندہ رام ٹوبہ آجہ

†Selected from the *Tazkira Shu'arāi Kashmīri Panditān* known as the *Bāhār-i-Gulshan-i-Kashmīr* by Pandit Brij Kishn Kaul *Bikhabar* and Pandit Jagmohan Nath Raina *Shauq*. Two volumes. Indian Press Limited, Allāhābād, U.P., 1931.

# تاریخ ترمیم مندر بیر و از پنڈت بیربل کاچرو وارستہ

ساخت جنیل از سر صدق و حفا مندر پر نور بیرو جانفزا  
 خاتم از درگه خاص اکال سمتوت ترمیم ایں عالی پنا  
 داده زیب تختہ باش نیں هاتھ فر نو دباتاچ طلا

مد شیشه شراب بہ بزم طرب شکست  
 رُفِ توگشتہ است گرفقا بیچ قتاب  
 ایں دل که ناز کیش فزوں تر ز شیشه بود  
 دلماں صبح پُر زگل فیض ایزدا است  
 دلماز دست مُختب بے ادب شکست  
 از سرکشی چرا دل من بے ادب شکست  
 سنگ جفاۓ یار بزنگ عجب شکست  
 اے دل در آستین تو دست طلب شکست  
 در بزم کاسہ بر سرینت الغب شکست

شد چین میکده ناز مگرداد ضمیر  
 غنچہ رادریں تبیم لمب میخوار کے

ہول بلائیست کہ من می دام  
 چاک پیراں آں آفت جاں  
 دلکشاٹیست کہ من می دام  
 پنڈت رائی داس اوکھل دہلوی ہمیر

ہر پارہ دل بیین جُد اگانہ سو خیم  
 نے آشانے ما شُدہ لکچیں نبا غایل  
 جشن است و صد چرانغ بیک خانہ سو خیم  
 زیں باغ ہمچو سر زہ بیگانہ سو خیم  
 پنڈت بھوانی داس کاچرو نیکو

# مناجات

خُدایا نیامد زمِن پُوز شے      نه سُندگرم مہنگائے سُوز شے  
 زعیر تو برسینه داغے نه سُوخت      دلم را به بالیں چرانغے بسوخت  
 نه چشم نیا مدد گھر ریزئیے      بگلزارِ عجم بس اے نماز  
 بگلزارِ عجم بس اے نماز      سرم پانج گردیده در راه تو  
 نه شد روئے من شوئے درگاه قتو      نه دستم نیا مدد چو اپر گھر  
 نه اشکے نه آہے نه سُوز جگر      بر کارت نه پرداختم ساعتے  
 نه کرم بخفت شخفه طاعتے      شدم گرم عصیان بگفت و شنود  
 سیب کاری از من برآور دو دو      هم خرمن عُسر برپا درفت  
 مرا لُوش راه از یاد رفت      عقوبت مکن، انفعالم بس است  
 مرا لُوش آن زعامل بس است      پیش که نالم ز عصیان خویش  
 پیشان خویشم پیشان خویش      خُدایا توئی خلق راچاره ساز  
 نداری بناز کے رانیاز      به دگا و تو ناما میدی کیاست  
 کریا نگر انکار مرا      گرامید بیتاب دارد بجاست  
 زخُن ائه فیض در انتظار  
 بیده یک دو ساغر که چشم است چار

پنڈت تاب رام، ترکی

In the second hemistich of the second couplet from above, read  
**بسوخت** for **نه سُوخت**

بِرْ دَاشْتِي زَچْهَرَةَ گَلْگُولُ نِقَابَ رَا  
 بِيَ پَرْ دَه سَاخْتِي بَخْدَآ نِقَابَ رَا  
 هَگْزَگْشَ نَكْرَ دَفْنَوْنَاهَ سَارِمِي درْ حَشْمَ مَا كَسْبَتْ بَگُونَيدْ خَوَابَ رَا  
 فَرَخَ حَيَاتَ نِقَشَ بَرَآبَ سَتْ ہُوشَدَا چَشْنَے كَشَآ پَعْبَرَتْ وَنَگَرَخَبَ رَا  
 پَنْدَتْ رَاجَهَ كَاكَ درْ فَرَخ

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### از گیک نامہ می صنفہ پنڈت ٹیکارا م جو آخون

چو گیک شمع نورانی بصـنـاز ز کو چـرـخـ کـرـدـهـ آـغاـزـ  
 اـسـیـاـہـیـ بـیـلـ آـسـاـپـرـزـ دـاـزـبـاغـ حـاـصـلـ سـرـشـیدـ اـزـبـیـعـةـ تـرـاغـ  
 بـرـوـوـنـ زـوـطـوـعـیـ گـرـوـوـنـ بـیـابـ نـزـوـرـشـیدـ وـشـقـ نـوـرـےـ وـرـخـابـ  
 چـوـرـوـسـےـ بـثـاـبـاـزـ بـرـتـوـانـمـازـ زـداـزـخـطـ شـعـائـیـ بـالـ پـواـزـ

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Among poets outside Kashmir who have made a mark in the literary world of India, Dayā Shankar Nasīm, Ratan Nāth Sarshār, Brij Nārāyan Chakbast and Brij Mohan Datātrya Kaifi hold very high position.

This section would fittingly be closed by a prayer from Pandit Dīnā Nāth Mast who voices the innermost feelings of every patriotic Kashmiri—

تَنَاهَيْهَ وَطَنَ كَوْپَهْ عُرْجَ وَأَوْجَ پَرْ دِيَكِهُوْنَ ستاره اس کا رخشاں صورت شرس و قدر دیکھوں  
 كَنْيَزَآ سَارَهَ گَوارَهَ جَنْبَانَ وَطَنَ رَاحَتَ كھڑی ہو شادمانی ہاتھ باندھئے میں جب دیکھوں

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## Medicine in Kashmir

All the different systems of medicine among the various races of mankind from the Indus to the Atlantic, says Dr. T. A. Wise, in his *Commentary of the Hindu System of Medicine*, have a common source, being originally derived from the family of Hippocrates, who first explained the nature and treatment of disease, and reduced to principles the various phenomena of the human body. Indian scholars, however, believe Charaka to have been a contemporary or ahead of the Greek founder of medicine. The Greek philosophers were assisted by the Egyptian sages, who appear to have obtained much of their knowledge from some mysterious nation of the East. Egypt, after having had her institutions destroyed by the sword of the conqueror, became the seat of Greek learning, which was afterwards transferred to the East. Under the fostering care of the Caliphs of Baghdād, who were inspired by the words of the Prophet :—"Science is twofold, the science of religion and the science of organisms: Theology and Medicine,"—medicine was cultivated with diligence and success. It received still further additions from the East, and, continues Dr. Wise, thus improved, it was conveyed by the Muslim conquerors into Spain where it flourished for a long time, and produced a long roll of illustrious surgeons and physicians. From Spain, it was communicated to other parts of Europe, where it has exercised the genius of many great men with so much advantage to suffering humanity.

Among the sacred records of the Hindus, there is a system of medicine, prepared at a very early period, that appears to form, says Wise, no part of medical science, and is not supposed to have enlightened the other nations of the earth : a system for which the Hindus claim an antiquity far beyond the period to which the history of the heroic age is supposed to extend. "Insulated in their position and residing in a rich and fruitful country, the Hindus appear to have been satisfied with the knowledge and power which they had acquired at a very early period and, affectionately attached to their own country, they retained for ages, their own opinions and practices, amidst various revolutions." The system is known as the Āyurvedic or the 'first born.' Etymologically, it means the knowledge of life, from *Āyur* life, and *Vēd* knowledge. In the time of Buddha, Indian medicine is said to have received the greatest support and

stimulus, but surgery was allowed to languish, for Buddha and his followers would not permit the dissection of animals. It is noteworthy that *Punjrāpōls* (animal hospitals) owe their origin to Buddha or rather Aṣoka, the Constantine of Buddhism. The physicians in India continued to be more or less encouraged by the ruling chiefs in several parts of the country. But, with the advent of Islam in India, Āyurvedic medicine seems to have received a setback, even as in modern times both the Indian and the Greek or Yūnāni systems of medicine received a setback on the introduction of the European system, when native medicine came to be discarded in favour of ready made preparations imported from Europe. This naturally overshadowed Indian pharmacy. The *Hakīm* supplanted the *Vaid*. There were introduced into India, said the late Sir Bhagvat Singh Jee, M. D., Mahārājā of Gondal,<sup>1</sup> new drugs from Arabia, Irān and Afghānistān. Opium, for instance, appears to be a native of Western Asia. It was imported into India from Arabia, and "is believed to have been favoured on account of the prohibition of wine among the Muslims." Some other drugs which were introduced into India during Muslim rule were:— "*Ālu*<sup>2</sup> used in bilious affections and fevers ; *Bādyān*,<sup>3</sup> an Irānian drug, the oil of which is applied to the joints in rheumatism; *Banafsha*,<sup>4</sup> or violet flower, employed in bilious affections and constipation ; *Gāozabān*<sup>5</sup> (Macrotomia Benthami) used in diseases of the tongue and throat, fever, leprosy, hypochondriasis and syphilis ; *Gul-i-Dā'ūdī* (Chrysanthemum indicum or coronarium) prescribed as a demulcent in gonorrhoea ; *Kahrubā* (amber or Oriental anime) used as anti-spasmodic and stimulant ; *Kharjura*<sup>6</sup> nutritive used as a dessert."<sup>7</sup>

1. *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, 1896, page 126.

2. 'Ālu Bukhāra or 'Ālucha is prune or dried plum.

3. Dill seed.

4. Banafsha is found everywhere in Kashmīr in moist and shady woods over 5,000 feet above the sea level. The flowers are used as a cooling agent and diaphoretic. The Sanskrit word *Vanas-pushpa* 'the wild-flower or the flower of the forest' indicates the possible Indian origin of *banafsha* though the Sanskrit word, it is pointed out, does not specifically mean *banafsha* but any flower of the forest. At any rate, the use of the drug for the above ailments is Irānian, according to the author of *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*.

5. Gāozabān grows above 10,000 feet extensively in Gurēz, Kashmīr.

6. Probably *khajūr* (from Sanskrit, *kharjura*, meaning a date).

7. *A Short History of Aryan Medical Science*, 1896, page 127.

The hakims were extraordinarily quick and intelligent. They made use of some of the best and most effective Indian drugs, and incorporated them in their works. Among the important works written by hakims may be mentioned *Alfāz-ul-Adviyah* by Nūr-ud-Dīn Muhammed ‘Abdullāh Shīrāzī, personal physician to the Emperor Shāh Jahān. This work gives the names and properties of drugs sold in Indian bāzārs. The *Ma’dan-us-Shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhī*<sup>1</sup> and the *Tuhfat-ul-Mu’mīnīn* by Muhammed Mu’min are well-known works. Muhammed Akbar Arzānī, court physician to Aurangzib Ālamgīr wrote the *Qarābādīn-i-Qādirī*.

Kashmīr seems to have enjoyed a great reputation as the home of Āyurvedic medicine. Dṛḍhavala, one of its ancient physicians, revised the great work of Charaka, known as *Agniveṣṭa Smhitā*. Charaka was the court physician of Kanishka. “But whether this Charaka is identical with Charak-āchārya, the redactor of *Agniveṣṭa Samhitā*, is a difficult problem in history,” wrote Dr. G. N. Mukerjee, M.D., the author of the *History of Indian Medicine*, to me in a letter, “and still awaits solution.” Dr. Mukerjee was good enough to give me his notes on two Āyurvedic physicians who, according to him, flourished during Muslim rule, namely, Narahari Pandit, the celebrated author of *Rājnaighantu* and Madanāṅga Sūrī, the Jain physician. There is a difference of opinion about the exact identity of Narahari Pandit, as he is claimed as a Dakhanī Brāhmaṇ by some scholars. The Pandit is said to have flourished during the reigns of Simhadeva and Shāh Mir. Narahari is also known as Narasiṁha, and was the son of İçvara Sūrī, a Brahman of Kashmīr. Narahari is the author of the *Nirghantrāja*, which is a dictionary of *materia medica*. Madanāṅga Sūrī was the other physician. He was a Jain priest who flourished in 1387 A.C. His work *Rasāyana Prakarana* treats of pharmaceutical preparations and uses of mineral and metallic substances.

I have come across a manuscript entitled the *Shifā-ul-Maraz* by Shihāb-ud-Dīn ibn ‘Abdul Karīm, now in possession of a hakīm<sup>2</sup> in Srinagar. It is dated 790 A.H.=1388 A.C., as the following lines at the end of the MS. shew :

1. *The Ma’dan-us-Shifā-i-Sikandar Shāhī* or the *Tibb-i-Sikandarī* is the treatise on Indian medicine by Miyān Bhuvah or Bhūvah son of Khavās Khān and one of the greatest Amīrs of the reign of Sikandar Shāh Lodi (894 to 923 A.H., or 1488 to 1517 A.C.). It was written in 918 A.H.=1512 A.C. Miyān Bhuvah died in 925 A.H.=1519 A.C.

2. Sayyid Muhammed Shāh Musavī ibn Sayyid Haidar Shāh Munawwarābādī, Habba Kadal, Srinagar.

بفضل خداوند و سعی شهاب مرتقب شد ابواب هذا الكتاب  
ز هفتصد زیاده نود سال بود دهم روز از ماه شوال بود

which means that this book was written in Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn's reign, 182 folios of this MS. are in Persian verse, 34 in Punjābī, and 35-56 in Persian prose. It describes diseases, gives symptoms, and prescribes remedies in Persian verse. It is, however, not easy to vouch for the genuineness of the manuscripts.

### *Under Bad Shāh.*

According to Abu'l Fazl,\* Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn often personally administered medicinal remedies. Firishta says that for the encouragement of the study of medicine, Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had employed Āriyabhattā, an eminent physician who enjoyed the special favour of the Sultān. Āriyabhattā was a resident of Nau-shahr, wherein stood the royal palaces of Bad Shāh. The locality where his house existed is still known as Āriyabhattun-Wān or Dukān (Āriyabhattā's dispensary or establishment). The ruins of this Wān are pointed at in Mahalla Haval, Sangīn Darwāza, Srinagar, to this day.

In Dr. Charles Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. II, page 470b, the *Kifāyah-i-Mujāhidīyya* is noticed. Of this MS. the author is stated to be Mansūr bin Muhammad bin Ahmad bin Yūsuf bin Ilyās. The work has been lithographed, with the title *Kifāya-i-Mansūrī* in Lucknow, A.H. 1290=A.C. 1873. In the preface, the author dedicates the manual to a sovereign to whose court he had been attracted by the widespread fame of his justice and liberty. The proper name of this sovereign in the lithographed edition is :— جاء بالسلطنة والدين سلطان زین الدین Dr. Rieu thinks that Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn of Kashmīr is meant here, since Bad Shāh was the contemporary of Mirzā Pīr Muhammad, second son of Mirzā Jahāngīr, the eldest son of Timūr. Bad Shāh's conquest of Tibet and the Punjāb is also mentioned, and on that account he is called Sikandar-i-Sānī, or Alexander II.

### *Under the Mughuls.*

Following this, there is another interval, till we come to the Mughul period. Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ghāzī, a native of Kashmīr, acquired medical knowledge under Hakīm Dānish-

\**The Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, volume II, page 288.

mand Khān of Delhī. Khwāja 'Abdullāh, after completion of his medical studies, distinguished himself as a great diagnostician, wrote books on medicine, and had several old medical manuscripts re-copied for general public use. His annotations of the *Mūjiz*, the *Aqsarāī* and the *Qānūn*, well-known books on medicine, were used by students of the art of healing. Bābā Majnūn Narvarī, a resident of Mahalla Narvar, near the 'Idgāh in Srinagar, studied medicine from Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ghāzī, after having had his general education under Mullā Abu'l Qāsim ibn Akhund Mullā Jamal-ud-Dīn of Siālkōt. He gave free consultation, free medicine and free tuition to all who came to him. Bābā Majnūn was the son of Bābā Muhammad Hājī, and the grandson of Shaikh Mas'ūd Narvarī, who was one of the well-known *mashā'ikh* (spiritual leaders) of his age. Hakīm Muhammad Sharīf Ganāī, and Hakīm 'Abdur Rahīm Ashā'ī took pride in being his pupils. Bābā Majnūn died in 1060 A.H.=1650 A.C.

Hakīm 'Abdul Qādir Ganāī, who wrote a commentary on the *Tibb-i-Nabawī*, was also a pupil of Bābā Majnūn, and had his residence in Mahalla Jamālatta, near Naukadal, Srinagar. Hakīm 'Ināyatullāh Ganāī, who began his practice in Kashmīr during the last days of Aurangzīb, was the son of Hakim Muhammad Sharīf Ganāī. He was a great *nabbāz*, pulse expert, and had friendly relations with Ja'far Khān, the governor of Kashmīr. 'Ināyatullāh died in 1125 A.H.=1712-13 A.C. during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. He was also a student of astronomy and astrology.

#### *Under the Afghāns.*

Perhaps the best known hakīm of the Afghān period was Muhammad Jawād. There is a curious tradition which says that he happened to meet a Pandit, who had painted the *tilak* or vermilion mark on his forehead in the morning, which had not dried up even though it was nearly noon. The hakīm directed the Pandit to return home at once, telling him that he was wanted there immediately. Strange to say, it is added, the Pandit died of heart failure on arriving home. This tradition is cited as a proof of the hakīm's ability to diagnose serious cases at sight.

#### *Under the Sikhs.*

Hakīm Muhammad Jawād's son, Hakīm Muhammad 'Azīm, rose to the position of the chief physician of Mahārājē

Ranjit Singh at Lāhore. The hakīm was a great scholar of Arabic and a poet. Like his father, there is a curious tradition about him also. It is said that, while going in a boat, he saw a man bathing at a *ghāt* on the river, and perceived that he was suffering from a certain disease of which the man himself seemed quite ignorant. The hakīm stopped his boat, and warned the man that he would have serious trouble if he did not immediately rub fresh cow-dung on his body, and then sit in the sun till the cow-dung dried up completely, and fell off his body. The man obeyed the hakīm, and when the dried cow-dung fell off his body, it was found full of lice.

Hakīm 'Alī Naqī was a well-known Shī'a physician, who was equally popular both with the Shī'as and the Sunnis of his time on account of his skill. He died in 1198 A.H.=1783 A.C. He is said to have cured a patient suffering from double pneumonia, who had been given up as hopeless by an English doctor. Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn Rainawārī belonged to Pāmpar. His family was a family of physicians, and had produced several noted hakīms. Mullā 'Abdul Quddūs was Nūr-ud-Dīn's teacher. The grandfather of the poet Mu'min of Delhi, Hakīm Nāmdār Khān, and his brother Hakīm Kāmdār Khān migrated from Kashmīr, and were appointed royal physicians at the court of Delhi.

Hakīm Dīndār Shāh was appointed as his personal physician by Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, the governor of Kashmīr under the Sikhs, on account of his skill in the healing art. His two sons, Maqbūl Shāh and Mustafā Shāh, were popular hakīms of their time.

#### *Under the Dogrās.*

Coming to Dogrā rule, we find that the most respected and the most learned hakīm was Muhammad Bāqir, chief hakīm to Mahārājā Ranbir Singh. He had the title of *Afsar-ul-Atibbā'*. He had charge of the translation bureau established by the Mahārājā for the translation of *Tibb-i-Ūnānī* from Arabic and Latin into Persian and Dogrī. It is related of him that he once cured a paralytic patient by applying living wasps to the parts of his body that suffered from paralysis. In this connexion, it will not be without interest to state that mosquito bites for infecting patients with malaria as part of the treatment for general paralysis in the insane were tried in September 1927 in several cases at the London County Mental Hospital at Horton. A very large majority of patients recovered. Strange though these

stories about hakims are, they serve to show that these physicians of Kashmīr were credited with great ingenuity to diagnose, and ability to cure, disease.

[Information in the above three sections was collected for the author by the late Khān Bahādur Āghā Sayyid Husain, Thākur, Home Member, Jammu and Kashmīr State.]

It appears that the course of instruction of a hakim during Muslim rule was the same as in Indo-Pākistān. Students of medicine studied the texts from learned scholars of Arabic, and acquired practical knowledge under the guidance of well-known hakims. In modern terminology, we may say theory came in by way of lectures from scholars, and practice by way of attendance at the clinics of practising hakims. The hakim's residential quarters were used for the preparation of medicine, and neighbouring houses were utilized for patients who required continuous attention from the hakim. This is not unlike the custom of old Ūnānī hakims in Lāhore, Delhī and Lucknow.

Now a word about the condition of Ūnānī medicine in Kashmīr during the last century. In Srīnagar and other larger towns, Kashmīris usually resorted to hakims, many of whom, says Lawrence, were men of considerable ability and experience, and were said to number 300, in 1895, in Kashmīr. As a rule, the profession is hereditary. Mrs. Hervey wrote in 1853 that the hakims still adhered to the system essentially belonging to Galen and Hippocrates, and they certainly still classified diseases as 'hot' and 'cold,' 'moist' and 'dry,' distinguishing remedies in the same manner.\* 'Hot' and 'cold' still continues. The hakims, according to Lawrence, have a considerable knowledge of herbs, and their herb-collectors are shepherds, who spend the summer on the high mountains where the most valued plants are found. The visiting fee of the hakims is a very small one, though he makes some money, like his Indian prototype, by compounding medicine. He, however, does not practise surgery. *Chūb-i-Chīn*, a kind of root brought from China, and administered locally, used to be the hakim's sovereign remedy for a number of ailments ! A funny description of the patient who tries the *Chūb-i-Chīn* for blood purification will be found in Baron Schönberg's *Travels*, Volume II, pages 129-30.

\**The Adventures of a Lady*, 1853, volume I, page 255.

What Lawrence wrote over fifty years ago about herbs being collected by shepherds for the hakīms of those days has undergone a great change. Herbs are now no longer left to the shepherds alone. A regular industry is being set up for the preparation of drugs in Kashmir which has herbal resources of a vast variety and description. Indeed there is no other area of similar size in India which can claim to be the repository of such different and important medicinal plants used for the amelioration of human suffering, says Sir R. N. Chopra.<sup>1</sup> "Nearly three-fourths of the drugs used in the pharmacopœas of the world grow there in a state of nature, and the standard of their quality is excellent." The conspicuous advantage which the West Himalayan ranges of Kashmir possess over the East Himalayan ranges and other parts of India is that they are not affected by incessant downpours of rain. Therefore, climatic as also edaphic and altitudinal variations of the Valley help her in such growth.

The root of the *koth*, old form *kustha*, a plant 5' to 7' high, grown at an elevation of eight to twelve thousand feet, is an important medicine having many properties, 'tonic, aromatic and stimulant.'<sup>2</sup> It is used as an ingredient in a stimulating mixture for cholera, and is applied in cases of toothache and rheumatism. It is useful in cough, fever, dyspepsia and skin diseases. In Kashmir it is used for purifying water in wells, and also as a preservative of woollen fabrics. At the School of Tropical Medicine, Calcutta,<sup>3</sup> *kōth* or *kuth* has been found as a specific for asthma. *Kuth* is called *Kashmīrjā* by the ancients meaning Kashmir-born, as it is found exclusively in this country, and is a source of large income to the State. The root of the *koth* or *chūb-i-koth* finds its way to China via Calcutta as a return for *Chūb-i-Chīn*, and via Bombay through the Red Sea for Europe and America. In 1837 nearly 7,000 maunds of *kuth* were exported from Calcutta to China. The *Hand* (dandelion root), common everywhere in meadows throughout the

1. *Jammu and Kashmir Information*, November-December, 1944, page 5, under the heading "Drug Research Laboratories in Jammu and Kashmir," by Brevet Colonel Sir R. N. Chopra, Kt., C.I.E., I.M.S. (Retired), M.A., M.D., Sc. D. (Cantab), F.R.C.P. (London), Director, Drug Research Laboratories. See also the issue for March 1947, pp. 16-26.

2. *Forest Products of Jammu and Kashmir*, compiled by the late S. N. Kaul, M.F., Conservator of Forests, Kashmir, Pratāp Steam Press, Srinagar, 1928.

3. *Ibid.*, page viii.

Valley, is useful in dyspepsia, chronic hepatic affection and jaundice, and is much used in liver complaints. Green leaves are boiled and eaten with great relish as a vegetable. Large quantities of leaves are collected early in the spring and dried up for winter use. These are specially given to mothers for some days just after child-birth. In Holland the extract of dandelion is a common remedy for intermittent fevers, and ague so prevalent in that marshy country. In Germany the roots are cut into pieces, roasted and used as a substitute for coffee. A kind of beer is obtained by fermenting the plant in Canada.\*

The reader interested in the forest products of accepted usefulness for purposes of medicine may refer to the late Pandit S. N. Kaul's book, *Forest Products of Jammu and Kashmir*.

According to a press note published in the *Hamdard* of Srinagar on Wednesday, 4th September, 1946, the Government of His Highness Mahārāja Sir Hari Singh was reported to have entered into a contract with Messrs. Tātā Company Limited of Bombay in establishing a pharmacy in the Valley, of which probably the existing State Drug Laboratory at Srinagar would be the nucleus. As a result, it is expected that by exploiting, for this purpose, the herbs, shrubs, plants, flowers, fruits, etc., found in the Valley, Kashmīr may become a leading centre of pharmaceutical industry.

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\**Forest Products of Jammu and Kashmir*, pages 34-45.

## APPENDIX TO CHAPTER VIII

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[ *Addenda to Page 414* ]

### ‘Abdul Ahad “Azad”

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[*This note is based on information collected by Mirzā Ghulām Hasan Beg ‘Ārif, M.Sc. (Alig.), Assistant Director of Sericulture, Srinagar, from the late ‘Abdul Ahad Āzād himself.*]

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‘Abdul Ahad Āzād was born of poor parents in a village called Rāngar, situated in Tahsil Badgām, Kashmir, in 1960 Bikramī=1903 A.C.=1321 A.H. His father belonged to a Dār family of a pure Kashmiri descent. His father was a follower of Sayyid Jamā‘at ‘Alī Shāh of Alipur Sayyidān, Punjab. A good Sūfī himself, Āzād’s father wished his son to follow in his footsteps.

‘Abdul Ahad was brought up, like other village lads, and was taught the Qur’ān and a few books in Persian. Urdu he studied later, but acquired no knowledge of English. His brother, ‘Abdul ‘Ali, started a *maktab* in 1973 Bikramī=1915 A.C., where ‘Abdul Ahad studied Urdu and Persian. His proficiency in Urdu is due solely to his own application.

‘Abdul Ahad was much influenced by his father’s mysticism in his early youth. He would sing songs and recite verses from the *Mathnawī* of Maulānā Rūm, and the father would also sing with the son. Influenced thus, Āzād began composing verses at the early age of 15.

His penname, till 1988 Bikramī=1931 A.C.=1350 A.H., was either *Ahad*, or *Jānbāz*. In that year he was transferred to the middle school at Trāl, further up Avantipōr.

At Trāl ‘Abdul Ahad visited the shrine of Shāh Hamadān. It is there that, for the first time, he adopted Āzād as his permanent penname.

Āzād got his early compositions corrected by Pīrzāda Ghulām Ahmad *Mahjūr*, and followed him for years in writing *ghazals* only. For some years past, he deviated from *Mahjūr*’s path, and devoted himself to other spheres of poetry. Āzād translates his feelings into words, without caring whether singers and musicians like them or not. He spurns the very idea of passionate poetry now.

*Azād* is a progressive poet. Mosques and temples bear the brunt of his fury. He would smash all idols of religion, which do not stand for unity of, and service to, humanity. Pride of birth and belief in fate have hampered the progress of nations. *Azād* condemns both these, and wishes young men to go ahead by dint of merit.

*Azād* does not spare even God from criticism. Satan complains of injustice at His hand. Be it a *ghazal* or a poem on any subject, *Azād* cannot restrain himself from bringing in the theme of suffering humanity, even in his "Ābshār."

*Azād* has versatility. His researches in Kashmīri literature are valuable. Even for petty information about old poets in Kashmīri, *Azād* has had to go long distances into the interior of the Valley. A poorly paid school teacher as he was, his literary trips involved a lot of expense. Unaided and unsupported, *Azād* had to draw upon his own meagre income. Very often, hardly laid up pennies, and sometime his small rare travelling allowances were used in going about in search of forgotten and moth-eaten literary pieces.

*Azād* continued his poetic and critical pursuits enthusiastically. But recent news from Srinagar says he died in the State Hospital there in 1948 at the comparatively young age of 45. And so a life of great promise is suddenly cut short. It is, therefore, rather early in the day to evaluate his work. But he had, no doubt, in him the makings of a great poet of Kashmir.

'Abdul Ahad *Azād* was a good critic of Kashmīri poetry. He wrote some volumes in Urdu on many old Kashmīri poets. Some extracts out of these have been printed in local Urdu papers, but have not appeared in book form. I am grateful to him for helping me in choosing Kashmīri couplets from his manuscripts.

[*Addenda to page 414.*]

#### KHWAJA MUHAMMAD ISMA'IL NAMI.

The late Khwāja Muhammad Ismā'il Nāmī stands out among the present-day Kashmīri poets as the reputed author of two well-known works : the *Maghāzi'n-Nabi* and *Shirin Khusrav* in the Kashmīri language. A strong literary tradition persisted in his family. His father and grandfather were well-known *Munshīs*. He moved about the frontier districts of Kashmir with his father. This and other journeys gave him a fund of experiences which were reflected in the abundance of imagery in his poems. He was a scholar of Persian and Urdu. His poetic merit was recognized during his own time.

*The Maghāzi'n-Nabī* is a biography of the Prophet though the name connotes the *Prophet's Struggles*, as Shaikh Ya'qūb Sarfī wrote before him in Persian (see page 364). Many a passage of this poem is pathetic; for instance, the Prophet's march to Medina, and the death of his foster-mother are on the lips of village minstrels in the countryside of Kashmīr.

*The Shīrīn Khusrāv* is a powerful poem in Kashmīrī. With inimitable poetic skill *Nāmī* describes the gay and happy life of Khusrav as a prince, how gradually the canker of love saps his happiness, and how complex circumstances gradually produced the great tragedy of the two lovers.

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[*Addenda to the top paragraph of page 398.*]

A resident of long-standing in Srinagar gives the approximate proportion of words from other languages used in Kashmīrī as follows :—Persian 40, Arabic 10, Samskr̥t 25, Hindi 15, and Tibetan (Dardic) 10.—*Kashmir* by Dr. Satya Kirti Atri, B.A., M.B.B.S., 1st edition, page 32.

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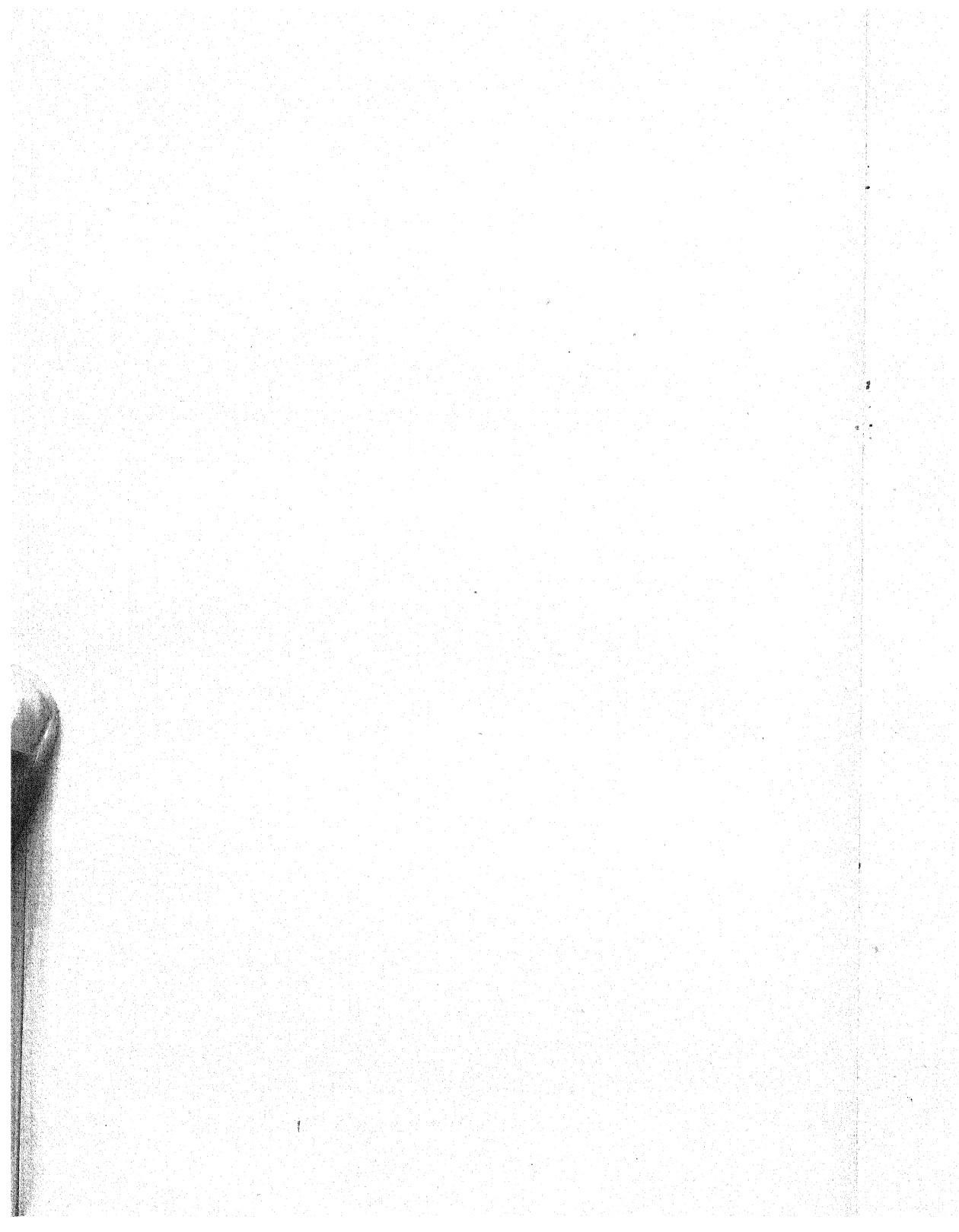
[*Addenda to page 417.*]

It is interesting to observe, as Sir George Grierson points out, that in spite of the influence of Samskr̥t, modern Kashmīrī has abandoned Indian metres. The metres used are all Irānian, and may be called the heroic metre of the language, employed even in Hindu epics like the *Rāmāvatāra-charita*, called the *Bahr-i-Hazaj*.—*Linguistic Survey of India*, Vol. VIII, Part II, page 250.

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#### Note.

*As the Index was completed before the foregoing paragraphs of this Appendix to Chapter VIII were inserted in "Kashir," the names occurring in them do not appear in the Index to Volume II.*



# CHAPTER IX

## ARTS AND CRAFTS IN KASHMIR UNDER MUSLIM RULE

Introductory—Architecture including the Wooden Architecture of Kashmir p. 503 Bridges p. 521. Sculpture p. 522. Gardens p. 524 Music p. 546. Painting p. 553 Calligraphy p. 557. Industries p. 560. Shawls p. 561. Embroidery p. 563. The Gastra p. 569. Carpets p. 571. Silk p. 572. Paper p. 576. Papier mache p. 577. Book-binding p. 579. Jewellery p. 581. Silver-work p. 583. Copper-work p. 584. Enamels p. 585. Woodwork p. 585. The Khatam-band p. 586. Boat-making, the House-boat and the Hanji p. 586. Mat-making, etc. p. 589. The Kangri p. 589. Leather p. 591. Furs p. 592. Arms p. 592. Transport of Arts and Crafts in Kashmir p. 593.

Within about ninety years after the death of Muhammad in 632 A.C., the followers of his religion, in the slightly modified words of Dr. Vincent A. Smith,\* reigned over Arabia, Irān, Syria, Western Turkistān, Sind, Egypt, North Africa, and Southern Spain, the marvellously rapid extension of Muslim power having been rendered possible by the barbarism and weakness of the subjugated kingdoms in Asia, Africa and Europe. The first contact with Islam, as MM. Le Bon and Henri Saladin observe, was stimulating to what remained alive of the older forms of civilization. Muslim armies, recruited in Irān, Syria and Egypt, carried crowds of skilled craftsmen, who introduced everywhere the arts of Asia, and modified the various local forms of arts so as to suit the needs of the new faith, and satisfy the luxurious tastes of magnificent courts. The Arabs, although possessing little art of their own, points out Smith, succeeded in impressing upon the local styles, which they utilized for Muslim purposes, a general character of uniformity, which is now recognized as a feature of Muslim art. The genius of Islamic art lies in the manner in which the process of assimilation was accomplished.

\**A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, page 391.

Kashmīr was not affected immediately. It was left for the days when the glories of Samarcand and Bukhārā were sung all over the Muslim world, and the arts and crafts of those places penetrated every corner of Central Asia—that Kashmīr received the most powerful impact from the beneficent forces of Islam, and came into almost direct contact with the stage of culture Muslims had then evolved. And the slumbering genius of the people of the Happy Valley was awakened to a degree that excited the admiration of the world, particularly when Zain-ul-Ābidīn gave a new life to the arts and crafts of the land.

### *Different Phases of Kashmīr Art.*

The arts and crafts of Kashmīr—like the arts of any people—are a profound expression of the emotional life of the Kashmīris. Their study has been far too much neglected up to the present time. For, it is obvious that changes during the many centuries of the history of Kashmīr—the constant development, the ups and downs in their standards of life, the various religious movements that swept across the Valley, and all the hopes, successes, failures and frustrations of the various periods—must, somehow, be reflected in their art.

So much may be stated with some certainty that Buddhism, with its teaching of loving-kindness and gentleness, is clearly reflected in the soft, romantic terra-cotta sculpture that once adorned the monastery of King Lalitāditya at Bārāmūla or in the early works at the monastery at Hārvan. A gradual decline, a tendency to repetition and lack of originality can be traced in the 10th-12th century Hindu works, whereas the earliest Muslim buildings testify to a revival of strength, of simple force, of a renewal of artistic endeavour in a different field.

The creative urge of the Kashmīri varied thus at different periods. The tendency to over-decorate, to elaborate too much, to cover every inch with ornamental devices is always a test of late periods, when good taste fails and simplicity is gone. The simple nobility of the pillared hall of the Jāmi' Masjid, on the other hand, stands as a proof of elemental strength : for early periods know what late periods forget, that is, that too much decoration, too much ornamentation affects the structural appearance, and directs the eye to the small detail, instead of allowing it to take in the tectonic whole.

Both shawls and carpets manifest, as it were, the allegorical language of the passions and the virtues of the people of Kashmīr. Some of the productions tell the story of the lives of famous personages, others depict historical episodes, poetic fantasies or religious and philosophic themes. All these emanated from the mind of the designer, or the *naqqāsh*, whose free-hand drawing was astonishingly accurate. He was inspired by Nature, which was his tutor. Since art in human society is social expression, the *naqqāsh* did not merely let out his individual mood or idiosyncrasy, but he elaborated, with loving aesthetic precision, in the very universal language of art, what he felt worthy of reproduction in his environment, and to this went a wealth of care and imagination. Though patronized by the ruler, and encouraged by the nobility of the time, the true artist worked "under the pressure of his own creative urge." The *naqqāsh* did not express "the diluted average but the concentrated aspiration" of the society in which he lived, moved and had his being. A masterpiece of Kashmīrī carpets once so charmed Ranjit Singh that he involuntarily rolled himself on it in great joy. The Īrānian masterpiece, the most celebrated Ardabil\* Mosque Carpet, made in 942 A.H. or 1536 A.C. by the artist Maqsūd of Kāshān for the Ardabil Mosque, and worth \$12,500 and now owned by the South Kensington Museum in London, was reproduced in Kashmīr in 1902.

\***Ardabil**, now having a population of 10,000, is a town in the Soviet Republic of Āzərbāijān. In the 16th century A.C., it became, for a time, the capital of the whole of Īrān under the newly founded dynasty of the Safawids—the most famous and glorious native dynasty of Īrān since the introduction of Islam—before they removed first to Tabriz and afterwards to Isfahān. It was in Ardabil that the Turkish *condottiere*, Nādir, was crowned king of Īrān in 1736, after the death of the last Safavid.

The most remarkable monument of the town is the mausoleum of Shaikh Safi-ud-Dīn Is-hāq, the founder of the Dervish order of Safawis, in the chief mosque which became an object of general veneration soon after his death. The floor of the interior is covered with ancient carpets.

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The famous library of Shaikh Safi, once the greatest in all Īrān, was removed to Leningrad in 1827 A.C., and became a part of the then Imperial Library of that city.

What reputation Kashmīr acquired in arts and crafts by its impact with Islam, we shall discuss in the following pages. Let us begin with the queen of arts, namely, architecture, or to be more accurate, what is more commonly known as the wooden architecture of Kashmīr. It may be noted that we shall, in this Chapter, treat of such arts and crafts as were either directly introduced during, or flourished in the course of, Muslim rule in Kashmīr, or are, at present, practised chiefly by Muslims in the Valley. "The Kashmires fabricate the best writing paper of the East, which was formerly an article of extensive traffic as were its lacquer-ware, cutlery, and sugars; and the quality of these manufactures clearly evinces that, were the inhabitants governed by wise and liberal princes, there are few attainments of art which they would not acquire." Thus wrote George Forster in his *Journey* (page 22) in 1783 A.C., when Kashmīr was under Afghān rule.

The Muslim genius took the fullest advantage of the closely housed existence necessitated by the long, severe winters of high altitude that stimulates industries in the home. With a few exceptions, the products naturally are articles of small bulk and large value, adapted to costly mountain transportation. Carved wood, willow baskets, artistic metal-work in silver and copper, carpets, *gabbas*, shawls, *pashmina*, papier-mâché and embroidery are therefore typical, and are classed as Kashmīr's noted cottage industries. They are an integral part of the national economy of Kashmīr and have persisted even in the face of competition of large-scale machine production. The economies of small, integrated units involving but a small capital equipment lead to reduction or elimination of a variety of overhead charges incident to large industries. These small units make use of local raw material and indigenous labour in producing goods incorporating artistic skill in varying patterns, entail a large amount of personal care and supervision and cater generally for quite a moderate market. They have withstood the onslaught of business cycles better than large-scale concerns. The artisans have undergone vicissitudes of fortune, but have, nevertheless, shown flexibility to meet squarely changes in fashion and demand. The interest of cottage industries, it may be noted in passing, is not necessarily antagonistic to that of large industries like the Karan Singh Woollen Mills, Srinagar. Both could really be complementary to each other, and

thus the industrial resources of the Valley could also develop to the maximum extent for the good of the people as a whole.

It would not be inappropriate, here, to seek reference to conditions in an advanced land. Where large factories in industrial England in 1946 are seen running on up-to-date lines, side by side with them, there are found units, in this same year, which stick to comparatively older methods, and produce quality goods on a small scale as remarked by my friend and neighbour, Mr. Morārjī Jādavjī Vaidya, B. Com. (Bom.), Secretary, Millowners' Association, Vaidya Mansion, Cuffe Parade, Bombay, after his recent (1947) visit to England. A very interesting instance is that of the branch of the Ford Factory of Detroit, U.S.A., installed in Dagenham near London, and the Rolls Royce Factory of Derby. At the Ford Factory, near London, assembly lines run into ten miles and things are done automatically, a machine, for example, bores 91 holes simultaneously. In the Rolls Royce Factory there are small stands with wheels on which engines are mounted, and each engine is attended to separately by a group of workers. Parts are tested individually and fitted according to the individual skill of the worker. Consequently the Rolls Royce car is, for the Britisher, something to be proud of. Not so the Ford car. To give another instance, steel factories in Sheffield turn out ordinary as well as stainless steel. A few hundred yards from an up-to-date factory, there, Joseph Rodgers still works in the good old way, like his grandfather did years ago, by attending to the fashioning of every knife and fork. Despite mechanical developments fostered by the stress of the World War No. II, craftsmanship still has its value in present-day England. Mass production in large factories, therefore, should not do much harm to our cottage industries, only if they showed craftsmanship and efficiency coupled with rational adaptability to changing conditions. It is true, however, that scope for cottage industries does become limited as compared with large-scale factories, but there will always be quite a number of people to appreciate art and craft, and that of Kashmir, in particular, for its intrinsic value and the tradition and prestige behind it. Probably the cottage industry will use simple machinery, and thus continue to maintain its position. o

### Architecture

Muslim architecture in Kashmīr must be pronounced as rather disappointing in comparison with the grand edifices of Hindu rule like the temples at Mārtāṇḍ, Avantīpōr, Parihasapōr, Paṭan, Tāpar, etc. Even for an ordinary hill fort on the Hari-parbat, Akbar had to import a large number of masons from India, as one can see from the inscription on the Kāthī Darwāza (gate) of the fort. The art of masonry seems to have died long before the death of Hindu rule in the Valley : but the wooden architecture of Kashmīr, that commands our admiration to this day, originated, in its present form, with, or rather was popularized by, the Muslims,

as Buddhists, too, had a wooden style of their own, or perhaps there was some prototype anterior to the advent of Buddhism. The temple was meant for the individual and the mosque for the masses, which, as it were, meant the "democratization" of worship. And it appears that the Hindu Kashmīri mason of old had his re-birth in the Muslim carpenter of latter-day rule. Muslim architecture in Kashmīr, broadly speaking, as Mr. W. H. Nicholls<sup>1</sup> says, falls under three heads, the pre-Mughul masonry style, the wooden style, and the pure Mughul style. Of the first, the two most notable examples are the tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen or Zain-ul-'Abidin's mother, and the tomb of Sayyid Muhammad Madanī, both in Srinagar.

### *The Tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen.*

The structure of the tomb of Sultān Sikandar's Queen is said to have been raised on the plinth of a Buddhist or Brāhmanical temple. Its general appearance, so far as its central dome with four cupolas around it is concerned, marks it out as the forerunner of the style of architecture in India which, later on, developed into the Tāj Mahall at Āgra. The principal features of this tomb are "the glazed and moulded blue bricks, which are studded, at intervals, in the exterior walls, the semi-circular brick projections on the drum of the main dome, and the moulded brick string courses and sunk panels on the drums of the cupolas." Age has brought decay to the tomb. But the building was partly renovated in 1944-45 by the Government of Mahārājā Hari Singh.

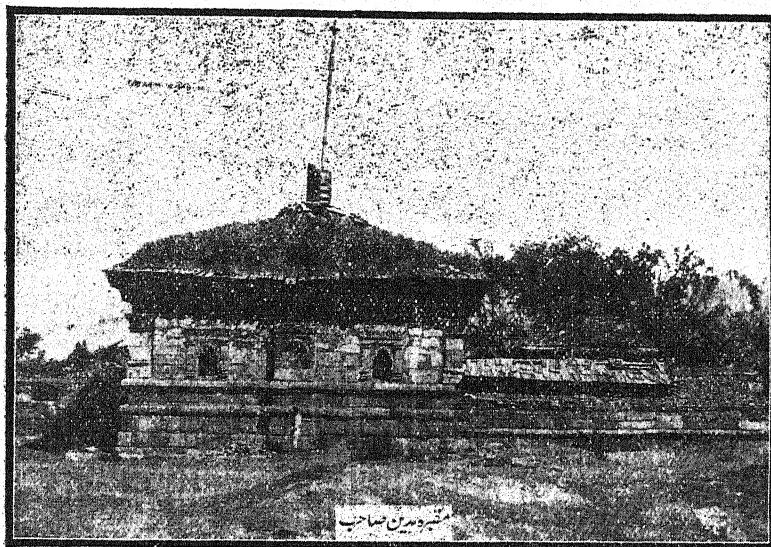
### *Sayyid Muhammad Madanī's Tomb.*

The tomb of Madanī is a small building in Mahalla Adalāt Masjid, below Shazgiripōr, and a quarter of a mile above Nau Shahr towards the city. It is quite neglected and very dilapidated. Yet it possesses, says Mr. Nicholls,<sup>2</sup> a feature of extraordinary value and interest in its coloured tilework, fragments of which are still found on its walls. This tilework is made in squares with various brilliant colours in contact with each other on the same piece of tile. But its great interest lies in the subject of a strange beast, which is represented in the southern half of the spandrel of the great archway in the east façade. From this, it is evident that

1. *Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report, 1906-7*, p. 161.

2. *Ibid.*, page 162.

tilework was used on masonry buildings in Kashmīr before Mughul days, though Sir John Marshall considers this tilework to be a later restoration of the Mughul period



The Tomb of Madyan Sāhib, the envoy to the Court of Sultān Zain-ul-‘Abidīn.

The tomb was built about 1444 A.C., in the reign of Zain-ul-‘Abidīn. Jahāngīr bears testimony to the remains of Zain-ul-‘Abidīn's other buildings, which were still to be seen in Kashmīr during that emperor's visits. Sir John Marshall in his Note, written in 1908 on archæological work in Kashmīr, says : "Mr. Nicholls seems to have been curiously misled in regard to the figure in the spandrel outside ; it is certainly not a Chinese dragon, but plainly a centaur with drawn bow, the yellow body being draped in green." Sir John remarks : "The whole place has been shockingly neglected and is now a mass of dirt and rubbish" (page 34). "The tilework is very valuable—one of the most valuable antiquities which Kashmīr possesses, and it is pathetic to see it trampled on and defaced or destroyed by the villagers. There are only three monuments that I know of in India where such tiles can be found" (page 35). The example of the Hydarābād State, in preserving her ancient monuments at Ellora and Ajanta, where lakhs upon lakhs have been spent in rehabilitating old and dim frescoes, is, therefore, in contrast, worthy of very great praise.

### The Wooden Architecture of Kashmir

The wooden architecture of Kashmīr presents a very distinctive style of which not much is known to the outside world. Fergusson, the historian of Indian architecture, was of the opinion that the wooden architecture of Kashmīr was deserving of full investigation. Cunningham and Cole, in their accounts of the antiquities of Kashmīr, dealt almost exclusively with Hindu and Buddhist monuments, and left the wooden style practically unnoticed.

The latest in the field is Mr. Percy Brown,\* who says : "The type of architecture associated principally with the Islamic domination of Kashmīr is that constructed almost entirely of wood, and which assumed a singularly distinctive form " (page 82). "This typical wooden architecture of Kashmīr takes the form of either a mosque or a tomb" (page 83).

"The similarity of this form of Kashmīr architecture to the timber construction of the mountainous countries," points out Percy Brown, "cannot be overlooked, particularly its likeness to that of Scandinavia, and also to the regions of the Alps. In the wooden churches (Stavekirke) of Norway of the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, there are the sloping roofs rising in tiers so as to form a kind of pyramid, with gables and overhanging eaves, each surface waterproofed with layers of birch-bark, every feature of which has the counterpart in the wooden shrines or *Ziarats* of Kashmīr. Then the chalets of the Austrian Tyrol with projecting upper stories, balconies with carved railings and casement windows bear a familiar resemblance to the old houses of Srinagar. But these analogies of style in such widely separated countries are obviously not due to any common origin, they have been brought about by each people having to cope with similar climatic conditions, and being provided with the same class of materials for this purpose" (page 83).

"The mosque of Shāh Hamadān in Srinagar is an example of the wooden architecture of the country," adds Percy Brown. "Standing on the right bank of the Jhelum river on an irregular masonry foundation composed of ancient temple materials, this building with its surroundings and background of distant, snowy mountains presents an enchanting spectacle. On the day of a festival with a gaily

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\**Indian Architecture (The Islamic Period)* by Percy Brown, Tāra-porevāla Sons & Co., Hornby Road, Bombay, 1943.

coloured crowd clustered about its water-front and the picturesque cantilever bridge in the slow-flowing river is a sight to be remembered" (page 83).

This wooden style, as already stated, owed its origin to Muslims. One ingenious suggestion is that mass conversions to Islam necessitated the hasty construction of buildings for public worship on a much larger scale than had been required by Hindu ritual.<sup>1</sup> Wood was abundant and could be easily worked. And this explains its substitution for stone. The fashion, having once set in, continued to spread. Moreover, cold stone temples were not used so frequently by Hindus as was the warm wooden structure by the Muslims, who had to say prayers five times a day. The consistent use of Saracenic detail, and the application of the style to Muslim tombs and mosques, and not to Hindu structures, is, in itself, a proof as to who originally introduced it or, at any rate, gave it its distinctive breadth and spaciousness. And in the words of Sir John Marshall, the well-finished timber work of the walls with its pleasing diaper of headers and stretchers, the magnificent pillars of deodār in the larger halls, and the delicate open work tracerries of window screens and balustrades, skilfully put together out of innumerable small pieces of wood, all help to enhance the charm and accentuate the stylishness of this architecture. As a protection against the heavy rain and snows of Kashmīr, continues Sir John, the use of birch bark nailed in multiple layers above the roofs and overspread, in turn, with turf and flowers, could hardly have been improved upon ; and the planting of irises and tulips on the roofs was a singularly happy inspiration, not only because of their own intrinsic beauty, but because their tenacious roots gave added strength to the fabric of the roof covering.

#### *Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's Palaces.*

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn made a palace, all of wood,<sup>2</sup> in Zaina-nagar called Nau Shahr. Mīrzā Haidar,<sup>3</sup> in his *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashīdī*, describes the *Zaina-lānk* or the Lake Palace on the Wular and the *Rājdān* in Nau Shahr in the following words :—

"Sultān Zāin-ul-'Ābidīn erected a palace in the middle of the Wular lake. First of all, he emptied a quantity of

1. "The Architecture of Kashmīr" by S. Growse, I.C.S., *Selections from the Calcutta Review*, Volume I, February-May 1894, containing articles from July 1870 to April 1872, page 407.

2. *Archaeological Survey of India—Annual Report*, 1866-7, p. 165.

3. The English Translation by Elias and Ross, 1895, p. 428.

stones into the lake, and on those constructed a foundation or floor of closely-fitting stones meaning two hundred square *gaz* (yards) in extent, and ten *gaz* in height. Hereupon, he built a charming palace, and planted pleasant groves of trees, so that there can be but few more agreeable places in the world.” It is to the discredit of the Archaeological Department of the State that no effort should have been made to rescue this palace from utter ruin. The Mosque near it, standing but forty years ago, is also gradually falling down uncared for by this Department. Mīrzā Haidar then refers to Bad Shāh’s Rājdān : “He then built himself a palace (named after him, Zaina Dab) in his town of Nau Shahr which in the dialect of Kashmīr is called *Rājdān* (The Seat of Government). It has twelve storeys some of which contain fifty rooms, halls and corridors. The whole of this lofty structure is built of wood. Among the vast Kiosks of the world are :—in Tabriz, the Hasht Bihisht Kiosk of Sultān Ya‘qūb ; in Herāt, the Bāgh-i-Khān, the Bāgh-i-Safid, and the Bāgh-i-Shahr ; and in Samarcand, the Kūk Sarāy and the Aq Sarāy, the Bāgh-i-Dilkushā, and the Bāgh-i-Buldi. Though the *Rājdān* is more lofty and contains more rooms than all these, yet it has not their elegance and style. It is, nevertheless, a more wonderful structure.”

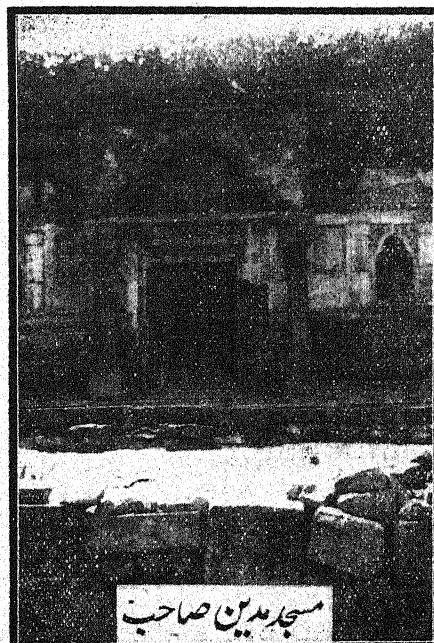
Crivara (J. C. Dutt’s *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 138) gives the following description of this palace : “In Shri Jainanagar, a new lofty palace was built in the year 15 on the Devagaha ; the king built a new palace near it of bricks and wood in the year 40 ; and the top of the palace was adorned by a bright and beauteous golden dome like a lotus thrown down by the renowned Indra. Men were employed at the gate of the palace, serving in various ways according to the directions of the king. The king left his capital and lived here till the end of his life. The swans in the lakes of this palace drew near the singers as they sang, attracted by the sweetness of their voice, and seemed to praise their song by their twitter. It was here that the king, now that his foes had been quelled, enjoyed, like Indra, the pleasant songs of the singers all day long. Within his palace was the audience hall, adorned with the three-cornered throne, and wide spacious walls lined with glass ; and here were many columns of victory in the palace, and here the breezes blew pleasantly in the morning.”

Mīrzā Haidar,\* in another place, in somewhat florid style, adds :—“In the town, there are many lofty buildings con-

structed of fresh-cut pine. Most of these are, at least, five storeys high ; each storey contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers. The beauty of their exterior defies description, and all who behold them for the first time, bite the finger of astonishment with the teeth of admiration."

Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidin also built a three-storeyed house on a small island in the Dal, called Suna (golden) Lānk. The house tumbled down in an earthquake. Jahāngīr built a cottage here, but that too has vanished. The Suna Lānk can be seen from the Nasim Bāgh, and lies in the centre of the Dal. It was raised by the Sultān in 1421 A.C., in order to give shelter to boats in distress. Ropa (silver) Lānk or the Chār Chinār on the Isle of Chinārs, opposite the Nasim Bāgh, was built by Sultān Hasan Shāh in the Dal. Nūr Jahān took a fancy to it during her stay in after years. Bernier in 1663, Forster in 1786, Moorcroft and his companions in 1823, Jacquemont in 1831, Wolff in 1832, and Hügel, Henderson and Vigne in 1835, have their names inscribed here as testimony to their visits to the Valley in these years.

*The Mosque of Madanī or Madyan Sāhib.*



The Mosque of Madyan Sāhib or Sayyid Muhammad Madani, the envoy to the court of Bad Shāh. It is situated in Mahalla Madyan, Zādībal, Srinagar, and was built in 848 A.H. (1444 A.C.).

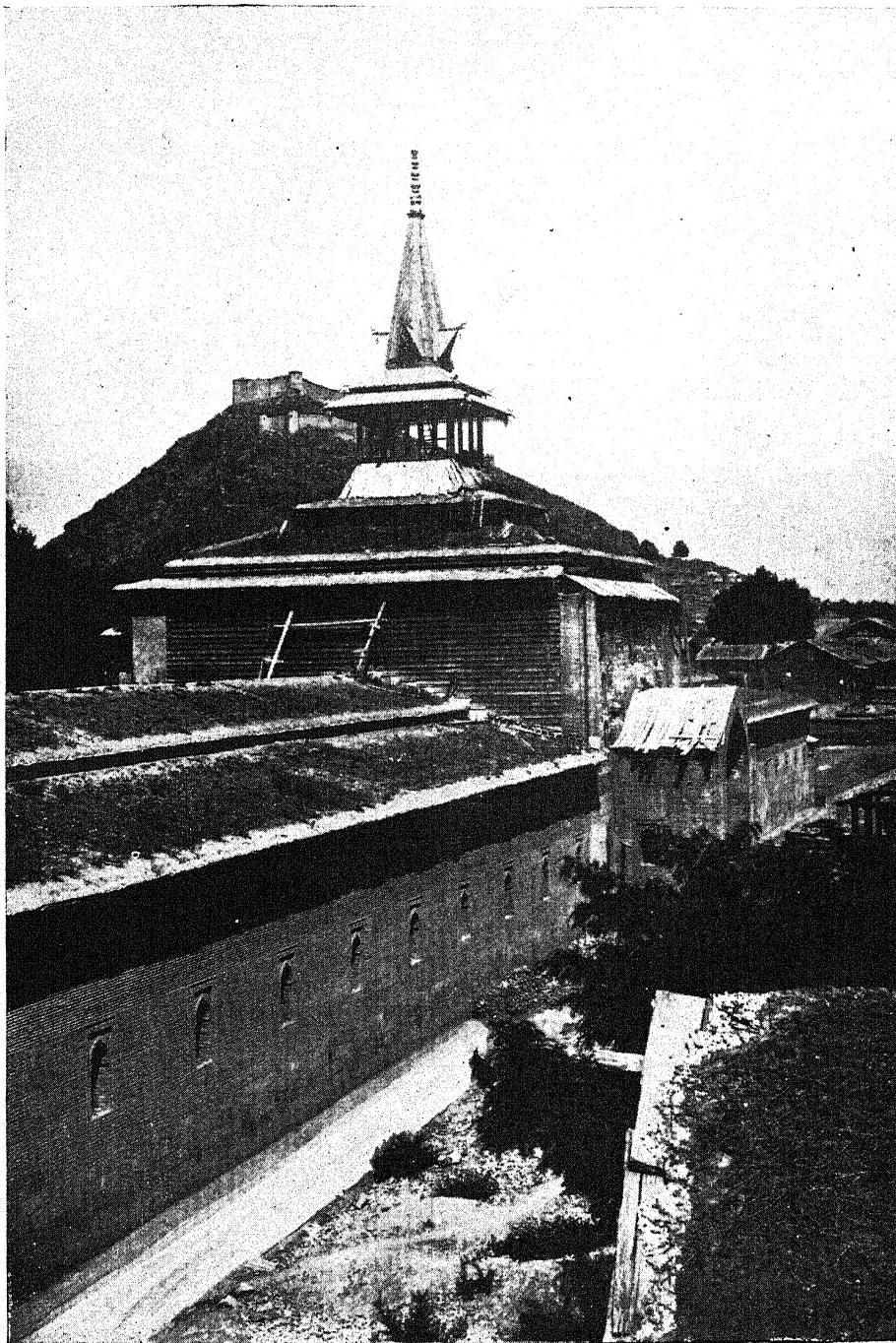
An early genuine example of the wooden style in Srinagar is the mosque of Madani or Madyan Sāhib, close to his tomb, built about 1444 A.C. Sayyid Muhammad Madanī first came as an envoy from Madīna during the reign of Sikandar.

### *The Jāmi' Masjid of Srinagar.*

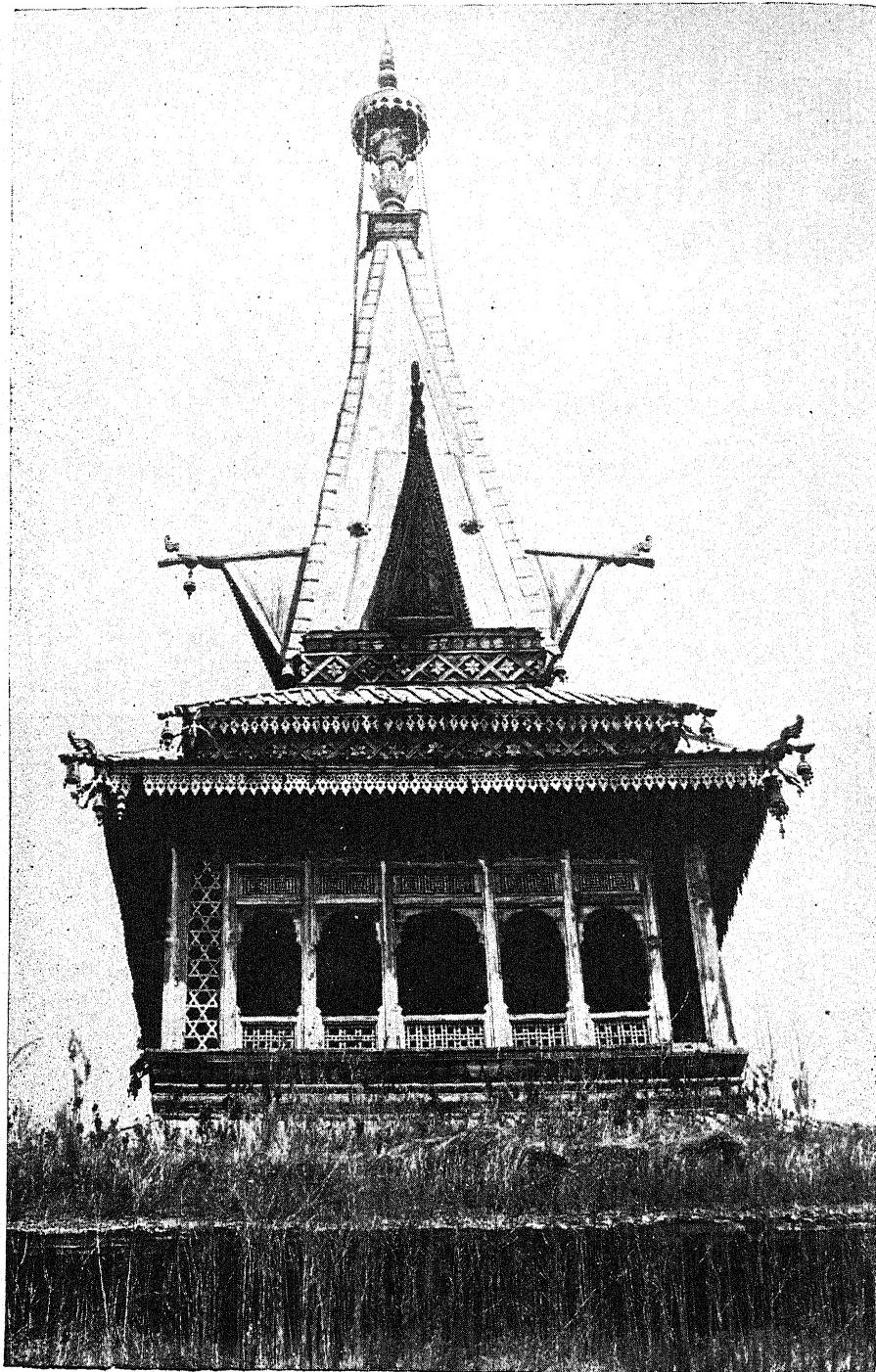
The Jāmi' Masjid of Srinagar, another instance of the wooden style, has a history of its own. Lawrence says that, according to one account, the ground on which the mosque stands was sacred to the Buddhists, and men from Ladākh, in his days, spoke of it by its old name, Tsitsung Tsublak Kang.<sup>1</sup> The ground was holy to the Hindus subsequently as it had been to the Buddhists before. Apparently this is an error. From the Tibetan Notes of A.H. Franck,<sup>2</sup> the fact appears to be that the *masjid* in question is the one known as Bodo Masjid and not the Jāmi' Masjid. "That it was formerly a Buddhist temple is shown by the fact that behind the whitewash on the walls the pictures of Buddhist saints are to be found. This Bodo Masjid is "below the castle hill of Srinagar." Today it is known as Boṭa Masjid. In Kashmīrī *Boṭa* means Lāmaic or Buddhistic, and is the same as Bhotta applying to Baltistān and Ladākh.

Verses on the door of the Jāmi' Masjid tell us that the mosque was originally built by Sultān Sikandar in 801 A.H.<sup>3</sup> =1398 A.C., and completed in 804 A.H.=1401 A.C., that it was rebuilt by Sultān Hasan Shāh, the grandson of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin, and that it was finally so shaped by Ibrāhim and Ahmad Māgre. In 909 A.H., the mosque was burnt down, then rebuilt. In 1029 A.H.=1620 A.C. it was again destroyed by fire during the time of Jahāngīr, just on the day of the 'Id-i-Ramazān, when the Emperor, who was then in Kashmīr, himself took part in extinguishing the flames. Jahāngīr ordered its re-construction, which was carried out in 17 years, under the supervision of the historian Ra'is-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik of Chādura. This the reader may have already read in the note on Malik Haidar Chādura on pages 257-9. In 1084 A.H.=1674 A.C., the mosque was burnt down during the reign of Aurangzib 'Alamgīr and rebuilt. That there might be no recurrence of fire, houses all around the mosque were pulled

1. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, pp. 291-2. *The Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 37, July 1898, pp. 192-3. A suggested chronogram is جامع مسجد کشمیری ride Shaikh Maqbūl Husain Qidwā'i's *Masjid-i-Jāmi'*; 1916, page 3.

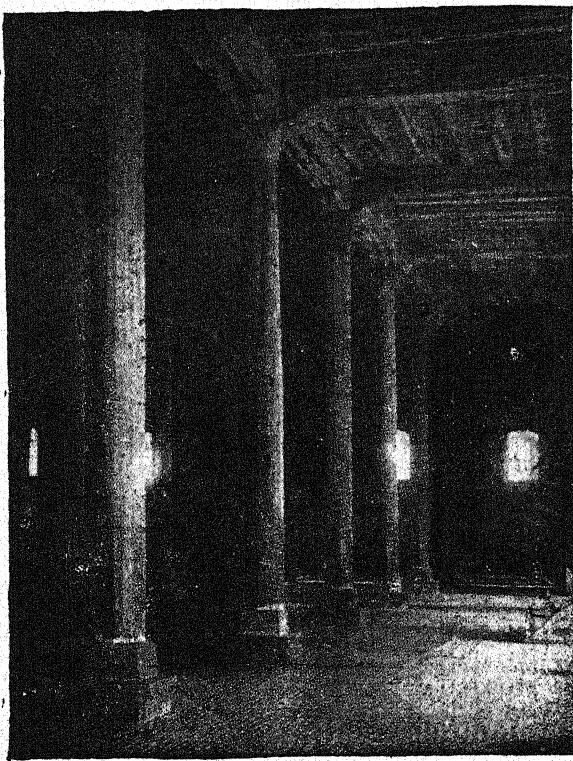


The Jami' Masjid, Srinagar.



The Spire of the Jāmi' Masjid, Srinagar.

down. During Afghān rule the mosque was twice repaired : once by Haji Karīm-dād Khān in 1190 A.H., and the second time by Sardār Āzād Khān in 1203 A.H. In the time of the Sikhs, the mosque was closed under the orders of Dīwān Motī Rām in 1820 A.C., and remained so for twenty-five years until the time of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, a governor under Sikh rule. It had fallen into disrepair, but thanks to the efforts of the late Shaikh Maqbūl Husain Qidwāī, formerly Revenue Minister of the State, it was restored by subscriptions raised among the *zamīndārs* of the Valley and on technical advice from the Archaeological Department of the Government of India. Sir John Marshall\* gives credit for Jāmi' Masjid repairs to Colonel H.A.D. Fraser, then State engineer, and to Mr. Thad Avery, the contractor.



The Cloisters of the Jāmi' Masjid, Srinagar.

The grandeur of the Jāmi' Masjid lies in its four cloisters, each about 120 yards in length, supported by pillars of

\*Sir John Marshall's Note, dated 2nd June, 1922, filed in the Department of Archaeology, Srinagar.

deodār wood of great height, and in its spacious quadrangle. "The effect of this winter forest of tall bare pines is unquestionably striking," wrote Mr. Growse in January 1892. And whatever beauty it possesses "is due not to art, but to the natural grandeur of the forest, which has been simply trimmed and transplanted from the mountain side to its present position."\* "The lofty pillars in the propylons, the details of the spires, and the uniformity of the whole design prove that the builders knew what they were about from plinth to finial—that they were reproducing forms of which they were masters."

Sultān Sikandar had constructed a grand seminary to the north of the mosque, under the principalship of Qāzī Mīr Muhammad 'Alī Bukhārī.

### *The Shāh Hamadān Mosque.*

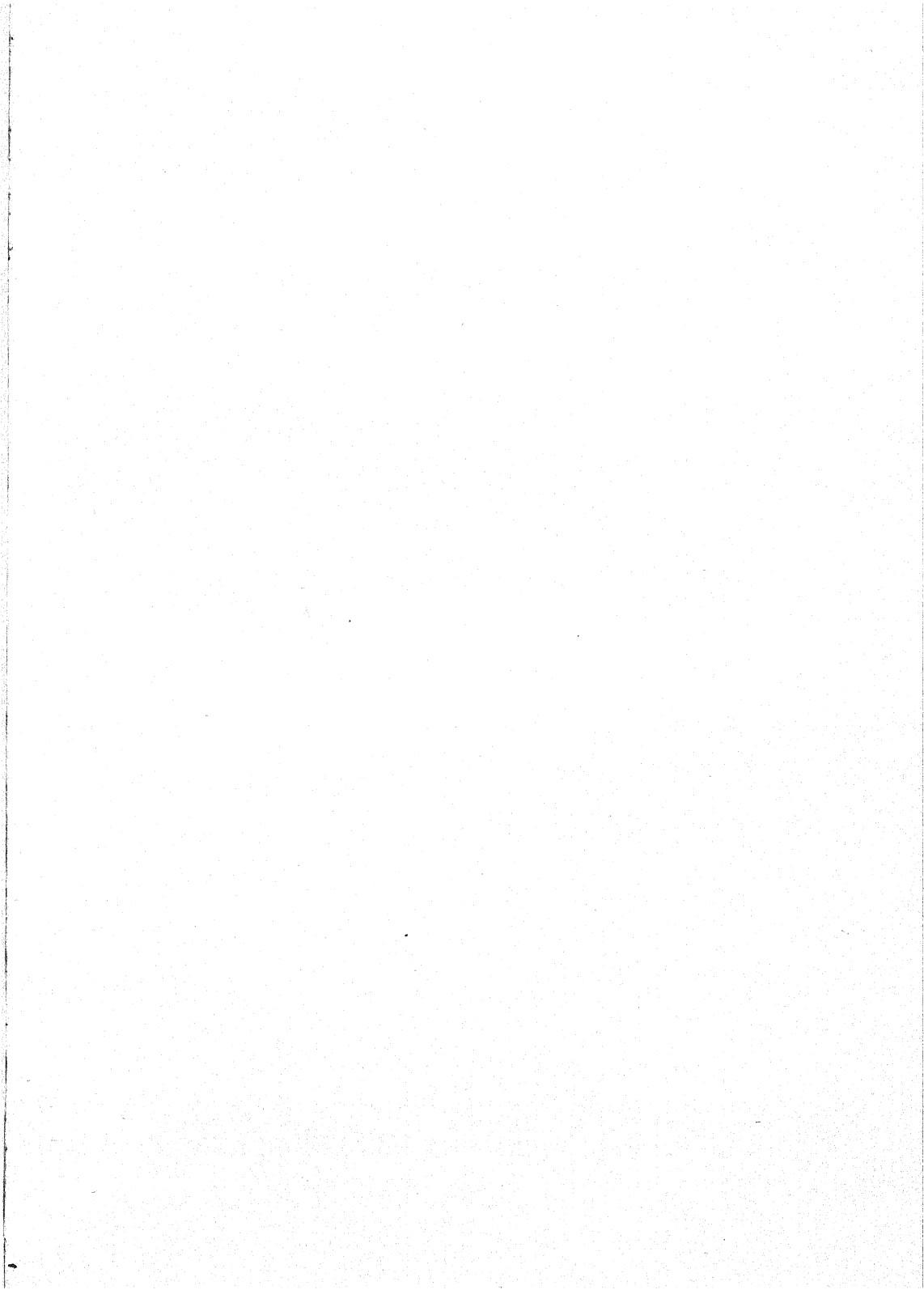
The heavy corbelled cornice at Shāh Hamadān's Mosque bears a strong resemblance to that of the mosque of Madanī, and a similar little mosque at Pāmpar, which go to confirm the view that the mosque of Shāh Hamadān is a true example of the style of wooden architecture of Kashmīr. Some travellers suggest that this wooden style indicates a Chinese origin, but, according to Mr. Nicholls, it would not be unreasonable to suspect that the wooden style of Kashmīr owes much of its character to influence from Ghaznī.

### *The Tomb of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī.*

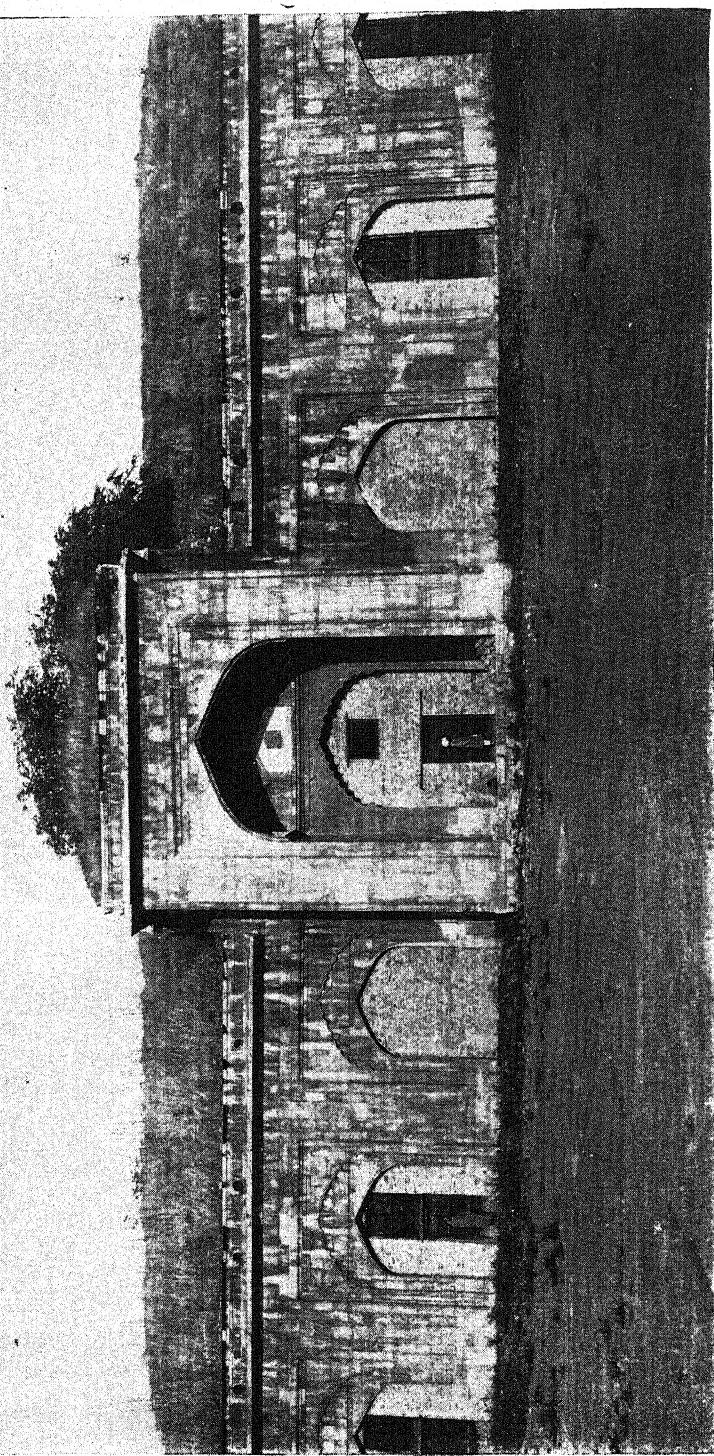
The tomb of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī, the patron-saint of Kashmīr, at Tsrār or Chrār, 20 miles from Srinagar, is of the usual form, but is perhaps better proportioned and contains more elaborate carving than any other in the Valley. It is said to have been built, in its present form, in the reign of Akbar. The adjoining mosque is stated to have been constructed in the time of 'Atā Muhammad Khān, an Afghān governor, who had unusual esteem for the saint. The mosque consists of a large oblong building with a wing at either end. It is built of hewn timber, placed transversely and raised on a plinth of brick-work. The building looks as if it is double-storeyed. The centre chambers measure about 80 feet by 60 feet; the elevation is about 30 feet. The roof, which rises in tiers, is

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\*Selections from the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. I, February-May, 1894, containing articles from July 1870 to April 1872, p. 407.



The Patthar or Shahi Masjid of the Empress Nur Jahan. Its construction was supervised by the historian and notable official Ra'is-ul-Mulk Haidar Malik of Chādura.



supported by four pillars of hewn timber each having been formed of the single trunk of a deodār tree. The interior is plain. The massive wood-work is neither stained nor varnished. The windows are filled with trellis-work.

### *The Jāmi' Masjid of Shupiyān.*

The picturesque mosque at Shupiyān, about 29 miles south of Srinagar, is interesting. Various influences can be discerned as in other Muslim buildings of the Valley. The general outline is not unlike that of a Chinese pagoda. Saracenic influence is noticeable in arches and cornices, windows and doors, which have rich lattice-worked panels. It was, however, being re-built in 1944-45 on the model of the Jāmi' Masjid, Srinagar, at a cost of about eighty thousand rupees. The Khānqāh at Trāl, seven miles from Avantipōr, is an example of the old style.

### *The Mughul Architecture of Kashmir.*

The Mughul style, as represented by buildings in Kashmīr, is practically the same as that of the buildings at Delhi and Agra, with the difference that marble has not been employed in Kashmīr buildings on account of difficulties of transport. The Nau or Patthar Masjid or Masjid-i-Sangīn (the Stone Mosque, in contradistinction to the indigenous wooden mosque of the Valley), built by Nūr Jahān in 1622 A.C., now known also as the Shāhī Masjid, the mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh, built later, and the large *bāradari*\* in Shālāmār are, says Mr. Nicholls, unsurpassed in purity of style and perfection of detail by any buildings in Agra or Delhi. The earliest Mughul building in Srinagar is the outer wall round the Hāri-parbat (Hāra-parvat), which was built by Akbar in 1596 A.C., as already noticed on page 248.

### *The Nau (New) or Patthar (Sangīn) or Shāhī (Royal) Masjid.*

The façade of the Nau or Patthar or Shāhī Masjid consists of nine arches including the large central arched portico. "The arched openings are enclosed in shallow decorative cusped arches, which in their turn are enclosed in rectangular frames. The horizontal construction of these arches is remarkable. The half-attached "bedpost"

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\**Bārahdarī*, pronounced *bāradari*, and literally "having twelve doors," is ordinarily a square or rectangular pavilion with three doorways on each of its four sides. It is generally a summer-house in a garden.

columns in the two outer angles of the jambs of the entrance are noteworthy. The plinth is surmounted by a lotus-leaf coping. The frieze between the projecting cornice and the eaves is decorated with a series of large lotus leaves, carved in relief, some of which have been pierced and thus made to serve the purpose of ventilation apertures. A flight of steps in each jamb of the entrance gives access to the roof which is sloping except in the centre where there was originally a dome, later dismantled by the Sikhs. The roof is supported internally on eighteen extraordinarily massive square columns having projections on two sides. The enclosure wall is built of brick masonry with a coat of lime plaster adorned by a range of shallow arched niches.”<sup>1</sup>

There is a curious tradition about the Patthar Masjid. Being questioned about the cost of this mosque, Nūr Jahān is said to have pointed to her jewelled slippers and replied : “ As much as that.” The jest, on being reported to the ‘Ulamā,’ called forth the denunciation that it was not fit for religious use. Hence it is that the mosque was not popular for some time. It was practically closed during Sikh rule and also under Dogrā rule till recently. The construction of the Mujāhid Manzil, opposite the mosque, has led to its active use by Muslim congregations. A part of the western wall above the arch has given way, and will fall if neglected much longer by Kashmir Archaeology.

### *The Pari Mahall.*

The ruined Pari Mahall (or Fairy Palace) also called Quñtilon, on a spur of the Zebanwan mountain, is a memorial of the Mughul love for letters. It was a residential school of Sūfiism built by Prince Dārā Shukūh at the instance of his tutor, Akhund Mullā Muhammad Shāh Badakhshānī, as already stated on pages 350-1 in Chapter VIII. Despite its dilapidated condition it is easy to determine its principal features, writes the author of the *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*.<sup>2</sup> It has six terraces. In the uppermost terrace are the ruins of two structures, a *bāradarī* facing the lake, and a water reservoir built against the mountain side. In the middle of the second terrace exactly in front of the *bāradarī* is a large tank built of bricks. The façade of the retaining wall is ornamented with a series of twenty-one arches including two of the side-stairs. The arches are

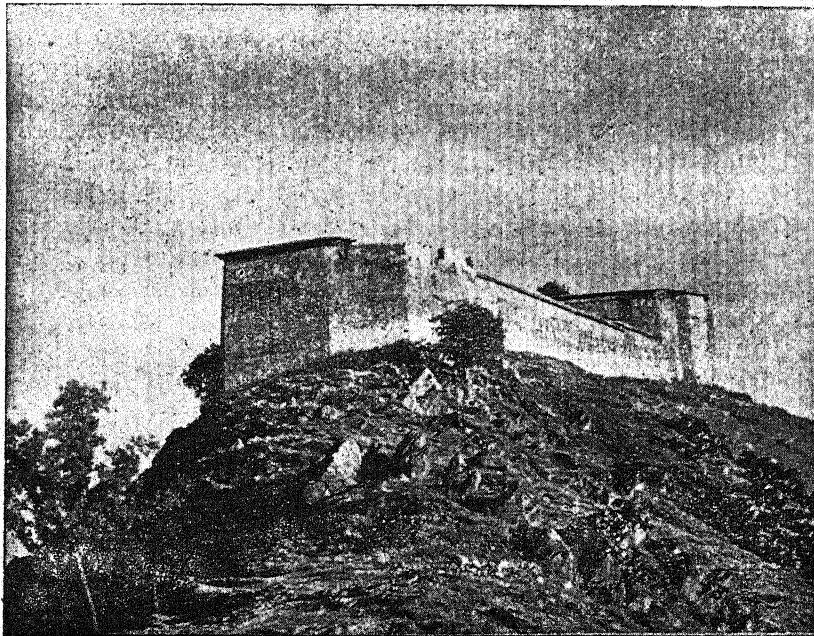
1. Pandit Rām Chandra Kāk’s *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir*, page 80.

2. *Ibid.*, page 96.

built in descending order of height from the centre. Each of them is surrounded by a niche the height of which increases in proportion as it decreases in the height of the arch. The central arch is covered with a coat of fine painted plaster. A parapet wall screens this terrace. The third terrace is architecturally the most interesting. The entrance is arched in front and behind with a central domed chamber. It is covered with plaster. On either side of it are a series of spacious rooms. The fourth terrace has the ruins of a tank. In the fifth terrace the arcade is double, the upper row of arches faces a corridor running on both sides of the plinth of the *bāradarī*. The sixth terrace has a rectangular tank in the middle and octagonal bastions at the ends.

#### *The Hari-parbat.*

The fort of Hari-parbat is a commonplace structure. As at present, it was built by Sardar 'Atā Muhammad Khān, governor of Kashmīr during Afghān rule. Akbar's rampart enclosing the hill is nearly three miles in circumference. The Darshani Bāgh or 'The Garden of Audience' was part of Akbar's palace at the foot of Hari-parbat. The following inscription carries the date of Akbar's construction :—



The Kūh-i-Mārān or the Hari-parbat Fort built by Sardār 'Atā Muhammad Khān, Governor of Kashmīr during Afghān rule. The lower wall known as

بنای قلعه ناگر نکو گوت بحکم پادشاه داد گسترن  
 کمود و ده لک از مخزن فروستان دو صد استاد هندی چله چاکز  
 نه کرده هیچ کس بیگار آنجا تمامی یافتد از مخزنش زر  
 چهل چار از ظهور پادشاهی هزار و شش ز قاریانچ پیغمبر

1006 A.H.=1597 A.C.

The Kāthi Darwāza and the Sangīn Darwāza are two of its gates.

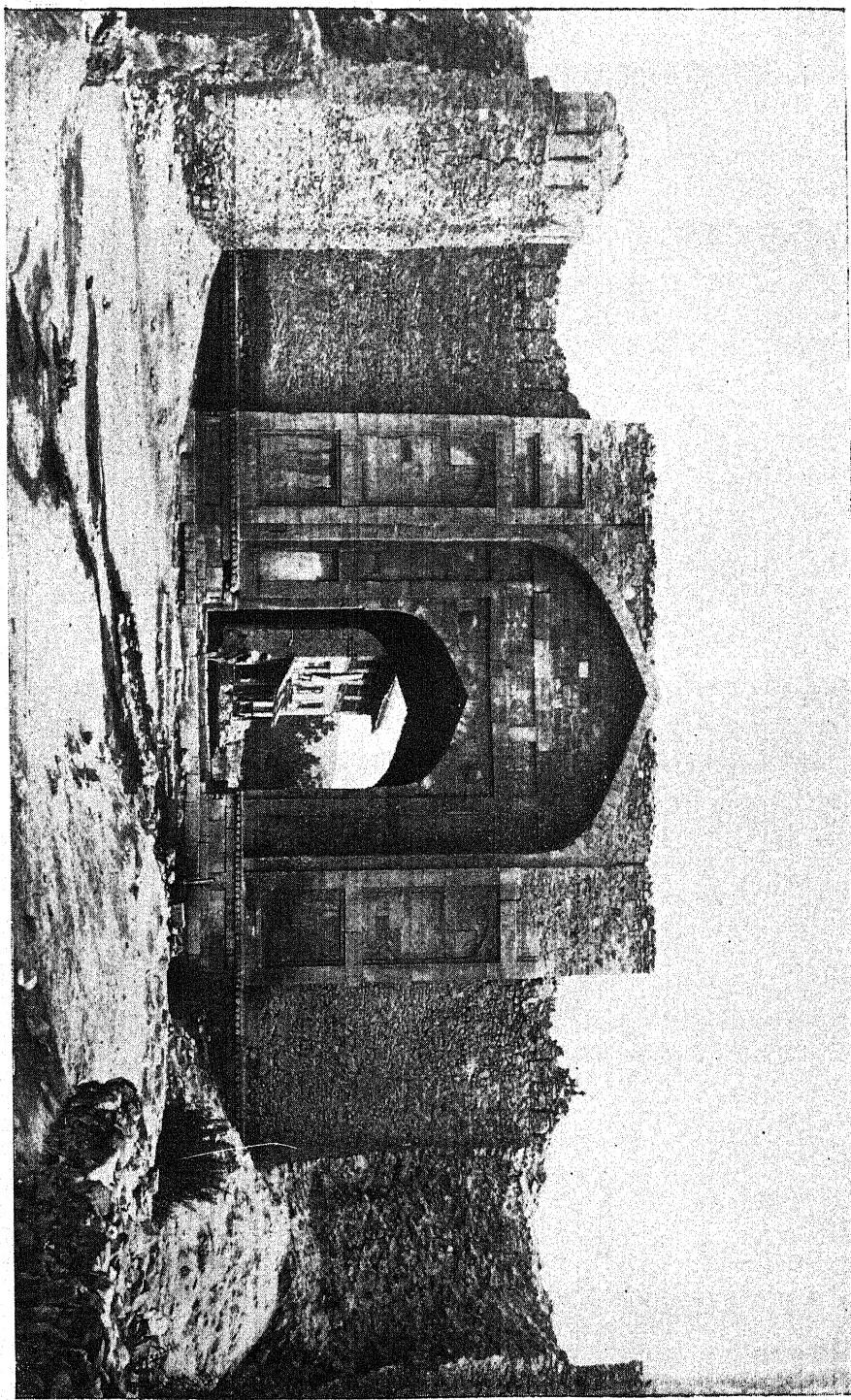
"This morning" (viz., 19th July, 1847), writes Lieutenant Taylor,\* "I went to look at the Hurree Purbut Fort. Passed through the southern gate of the old exterior wall, which is now much dilapidated and in some places completely broken down. It runs or used to run, all round the foot of the hill on which the fort is situated and generally at a distance of about one hundred yards from the base. At present, it is worse than useless, being indefensible by the garrison, and affording considerable shelter to an attacking enemy. After passing through the gateway, the path leads away to the north-west, and after ascending for about a hundred yards, turns abruptly to the north-east, opposite the mosque of Akhoon Moolah Shāh, a massive building with a stone pentroof, a thing I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. The whole ascent by the pathway, from the foot of the hill to the walls of the fort, may amount to 500 yards, and at about 40 yards short of the summit there is a small detached boorj, in which a guard is situated . . .

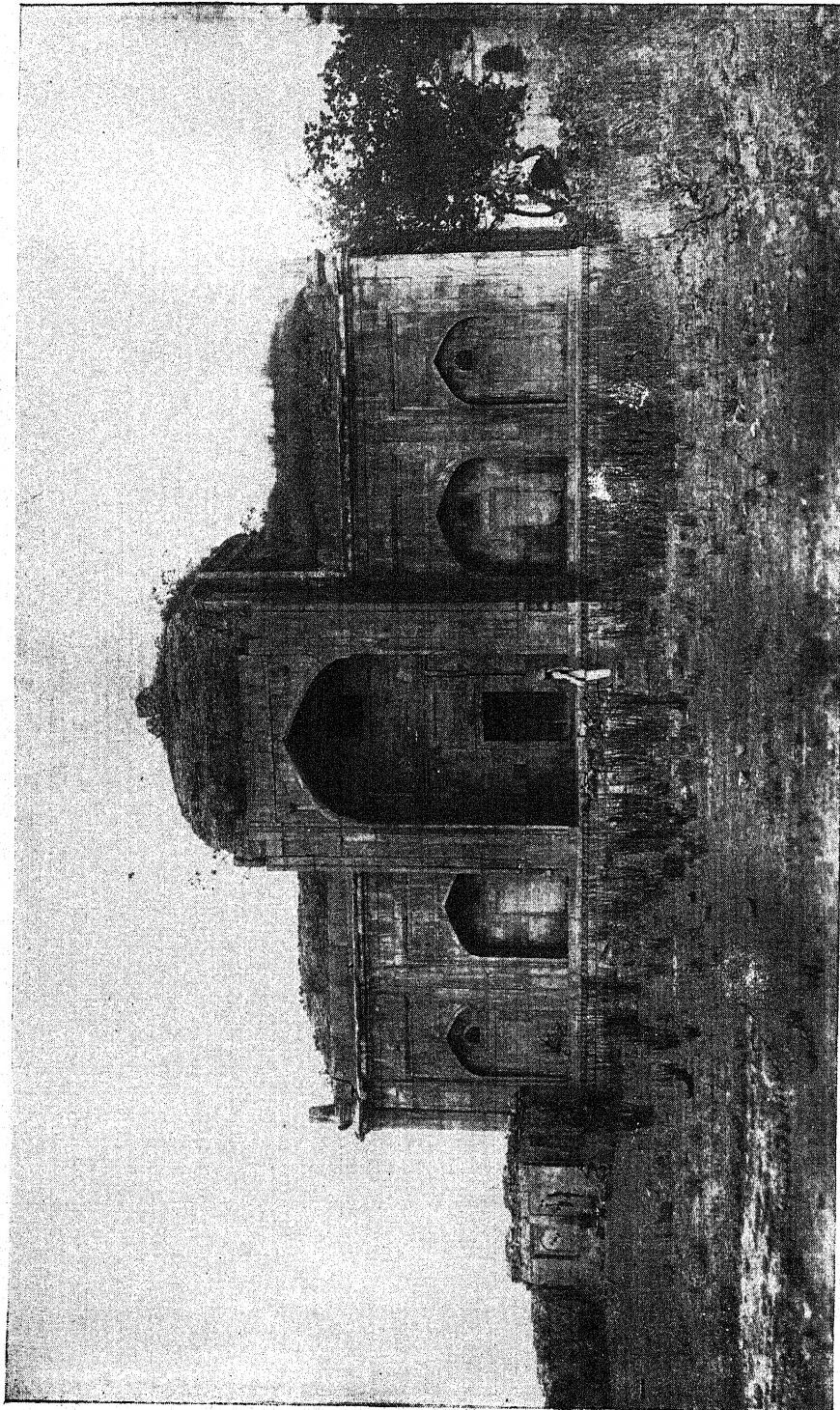
. . . . . I passed through another massive gateway into the centre square, a parallelogram of about 40 yards in length by 15 in breadth. In this area, there is a large reservoir supplied by rain water and manual labour. Eighteen men are employed daily on this duty at the rate of 5 mussucks per man. There are two other reservoirs of the same fort, one in each of the lower divisions of the fort.

. . . . . The magazine is in the lower range of buildings on the northern side of the main square. There are only a few barrels of powder, some pigs of lead and loose shot in it now. . . . . The grain store is ill-placed, being in the lowest division of the fort, which might be cut

\*Lahore Political Diaries, 1847-49, Vol. VI, pages 62-63.

The Kathi Darwāza, the principal entrance to the Hariparbat Fort, Srinagar, built by Akbar.





The grey limestone Mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh Badakhs̄āni, the spiritual tutor of Prince Dārā Shukūh, who built it on the Hariparbat or the Kūh-i-Mārān for the Mullā.

off from the main squares. The strength of the present garrison is properly 500 men, but 150 are at present on duty in the district. I should say that the fort would hold 3,000 men, but water would soon fail them. . . . On the western side of the fort there is an exterior bastion unconnected with the fort and commanding the town."

### *The Mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh Badakhshānī.*

The nearby mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh was built of a beautiful grey limestone by Dārā Shukūh in 1059 A.H. = 1649 A.C., as also the *hammām*. The chronogram is :

یک جائے وضو آمد و یک جائے نماز

[Ablution in one place and prayer in another.]

The Dārā Mahall of Prince Dārā Shukūh on the Hari-parbat was glimmering in a flood of light in its own days in 1603 A.C. Mullā Wafā has a couplet on this Kūh-i-Mārān :

ندان کوہ ماران سبز چون شد      کہ بے نسبت بُود مار و زمرد

[The reader may be interested to know that the Kūh-i-Mārān is also the name of a hill in Sarwān country in the Qallāt State of Baluchistān, the peak of which is 10,730 feet high.

Similarly, it may be of interest to note that Īrānis call the grass-grown plateau, which is the site of the capital of Cyrus the Great, (who died in 529 B.C.), 'The Throne of Solomon.' The tomb of Cyrus is called by the Īrānis 'The Mosque of Solomon's Mother,' on the portal of which childless women now hang amulets. A celebrated Buddhist relic in Farghāna in Turkistān, U.S.S.R., is also known as the Takht-i-Sulaimān.]

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The summer-house of Jahāngīr at Vēr-nāg is now a heap of ruins, though the *bāradarī* at Achabal is in existence.

### *The Shrine at Hazrat-bal.*

The Shrine at Hazrat-bal is beautifully situated on the shores of the Dal on the site of one of the early Mughul gardens known as Sādiq-ābād, built in Shāh Jahān's reign. Hazrat-bal is about 5 miles from Srinagar, approachable both by the Dal and by road. The sanctity of Hazrat-bal is derived from the Prophet's hair brought to Bijāpur from Madina by Sayyid 'Abdullāh in 1111 A.H. (1699 A.C.), during Mughul rule. Sayyid 'Abdullāh, who claimed to be an ex-Mutawalli of the Prophet's Tomb at Madina, made it over for one lakh of rupees to Khwāja Nūr-ud-Din Ishbārī Kashmīrī, a merchant, who owned a factory at Delī too.

The Khwāja brought it to Srīnagar. Hazrat-bal is naturally the most popular shrine in the Valley. The Nawwāb of Dacca, originally a Kashmīrī magnate, built a *hammām* and pilgrims' lodging. The frontispiece of *Kashir* shows the Hazrat-bal. *Bal*, in Kashmīrī, means a place and is applied to a bank, or a landing place.

### *Mughul Rest-Houses.*

"The rest-houses built by the Mughuls on their imperial route from the Punjāb to Kashmīr comprise two square courts placed side by side. The mural decoration of these edifices consists chiefly of panelled stucco plaster, with a beautifully painted and glazed surface. The best surviving example of this ornamentation is the exquisite little mosque on the *nālah* opposite the town of Bhimbar, about 150 miles from Srīnagar (see p. 251). The dado is divided into panels which have a dark-red background fringed with a border of flowers. The upper surface of the wall is decorated with cypresses, palm-trees and various kinds of conventional herbage. The general effect of this decoration is extremely pretty."—*The Kashmīr Archaeological Report* for 1920, page 3.

In the courtyard of the sarāi at Chingas (see p. 262), on the old Mughul route from the Punjāb to Kashmīr there is a sepulchre which is said to enshrine a part of the earthly remains of the Emperor Jahāngīr, like his own grandson Aurangzib Ālamgīr's at Ahmadnagar. Tradition reports<sup>1</sup> that Jahāngīr breathed his last here on his return journey from Kashmīr. Nūr Jahān, fearing the too rapid decomposition of the corpse, had the entrails taken out and buried here. The tomb, which is an ordinary tumulus, has since become an "object of sanctity both to the Hindus and Muhammadans who ascribe many magical virtues to it." The visitor to the graves of Shāh Jahān and his Mumtāz Mahall in the Tāj at Āgra may have also noticed the same practice by villagers of the neighbourhood.

A curious memento of the Emperor Jahāngīr is a couple of gigantic stone elephants below the summit of the Hāthī-nala pass. A stroke of lightning has shattered both of them. One is shorn of its rump and head, and the other of part of its head and the *mahāwat* or the keeper. It is probable that they were erected as memorials<sup>2</sup> to two

1. *The Kashmīr Archaeological Report* for 1920, page 4.  
2. *Ibid.*, page 4.

of the Emperor's favourite elephants who succumbed here to the extraordinary difficulties of the rugged mountain route.

Lawrence mentions in his *Valley* (page 161) : "I have seen curious mosques built in a style, unlike the present, of wooden beams with stones between, mostly raised by Aurangzeb. He built religious edifices." It is not clear what Lawrence had in mind when he wrote this.

### The Hammām or the Turkish Bath

The *hammām* or the Turkish bath has been a great institution in Kashmīr and was introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt.<sup>1</sup> As Kalhana in his first Tarang (line 40) mentions 'hot baths' or 'warm bath-houses' in Kashmīr, we can suppose that the present structure of the *hammām* may have been due to the Turkish bath of Mīrzā Haidar. The Turkish bath is really a misnomer, as the association with the Turks came after their conquest of Constantinople. The Greek-cum-Roman bath is the origin of the *hammām* of the entire Near East. Even today one can see an example in the ruins of these baths in Pompeii, Italy.

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### Bridges

Srinagar has, at present, seven bridges across the Jhelum. "These bridges," wrote Baron Hügel in 1835 A.C., "were found already laid across the river by the Mohammedans which gives them an antiquity of at least 500 years. Since the dominion of the last Hindu sovereign, or more correctly, of the last queen of Kashmīr, Rani Kotadevi, which, according to the Ayin Akbari, terminated in 1364, the last partial restoration was undertaken by the governor Ali Mardan Khan, in the reign of the Emperor Jehangir (Shāh Jahān?)" (*Travels*, page 117). The number of these bridges, says Stein,<sup>2</sup> has remained unchanged for, at least, five hundred years. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn constructed the first<sup>3</sup> permanent bridge over the river named, after him, Zaina-kadal. *Kadal* in Kashmīrī means a bridge, as stated before. It was made of wood, and showed the same peculiar cantilever construction which is observed in Kashmīr bridges of our day, and has attracted the attention of all modern travellers. It is curious

1. *The Ta'rikh-i-Hasan*, page 160.

2. *Rājatrayinī*, English Translation, Volume 2, page 449.

3. *Ibid.*, page 449. Some say that 'Alī Kadal was the first bridge, built by 'Alī Shāh, the predecessor of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. Boat-bridges perhaps, may have been the means of intercommunication in earlier times.

that none of these bridges can be traced back beyond<sup>1</sup> the time of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn. The explanation may be in the fact that stone architecture, in which the engineers of the Hindu period were so proficient, did not permit of the construction of bridges with sufficient span. For their Muslim successors, working chiefly in wood, it was easier to overcome this difficulty. Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes<sup>2</sup> thinks it probable that the system of cantilever bridges was invented in the heart of Asia. (See Dr. Elmslie's *Kashmiri Vocabulary* for the mode of making bridges in Kashmīr).

In Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's time, the waters of the Dal flowed into the Jhelum past the Haba Kadāl. But the Sultān closed this channel, and forced the water into the Nāla-i-Mār which he spanned with seven bridges of masonry. He also raised a grand causeway from Andarkōt to Sopōr.

The bridges of Kashmīr, says Lawrence,<sup>3</sup> are cheap, effective, picturesque and, in their construction, ingenious. The secret of their stability may perhaps be attributed to the skeleton piers, offering little or no resistance to the large volume of water brought down at flood-time.

### Sculpture

On account of the prohibition of images, sculpture in the sense in which it is ordinarily understood, does not find a place in the scheme of Muslim fine arts. It is true that the prohibition, though generally respected, has been occasionally disregarded. But that hardly calls for serious attention. In Muslim India, the examples of sculpture or of high relief are consequently very few, but decorative reliefs may be seen anywhere. The Arabic alphabet, in its various forms, as used for writing both in the Arabic and Persian scripts, is so well-adapted for ornamental purposes, that almost every Muslim building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the Qur'ān or other inscriptions, arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural design.

Musālmān figure sculpture in the round, says Vincent A. Smith,<sup>4</sup> has slight artistic value and is interesting chiefly

1. *Rājatarangiṇī*, English Translation, Volume 2, page 449.

2. His paper entitled *The Heart of Asia and the Roof of the World*, read before the Royal Society of Arts (Indian Section) reproduced by the Lahore *Muslim Outlook*, Sunday, 19th July, 1925.

3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, pages 37 and 38.

4. *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911 edition, page 428, also second edition, revised by K. de B. Codrington, 1930, page 192.

as a curiosity, but "Musalmān decorative sculpture in bas-relief applied to architecture may fairly claim on its merits to take at least equal rank with first-rate Italian work of the kind." The general absence of all human interest and expression in the infinitely varied patterns is, of course, a great drawback, but, continues Smith, if we are content to regard the work simply as surface decoration intended to please the eye, they cannot be beaten. Among the many varieties of Muslim decorative design, none is more agreeable than the best of those carved in relief on the Mughul buildings from the time of Akbar to that of Shāh Jahān, not to speak of the earliest examples under the Slaves and the Khaljis.

As regard lattices, Smith is of the opinion that Muslim architects developed the art of designing and executing stone lattices to a degree of perfection unknown to other schools. Geometrical patterns, very pleasing to look at, are the most characteristic forms of lattice-work of Muslim workers. The artists used the lattice not only for windows, but also for the panels of doors and for screens or railings round tombs, with excellent effect. Specimens of the three types of carvings discussed above may be seen to this day in Kashmīr. Muhammad Murād and his younger brother Muhammad Muhsin wrote most of the inscriptions in gardens and other buildings during the days of the Mughuls. Lattice-work is still preserved in some of the Mughul gardens, and Kashmīr cemeteries testify to the Kashmīri's sculptural skill in the preparation of tombstones, though the more ordinary ones are somewhat clumsy. The usual custom of having a *qalamdān*, or a pen-box, sculptured on top of men's cenotaphs, and a *takhtī*, or a slab, on those of women's is observed in Kashmīr also.

The central *mihrāb* (niche) of the Jāmi' Masjid, re-constructed in recent years, provided the present-day Kashmīri sculptor with an opportunity for the display of his craftsmanship in black stone, and the *mihrāb* is a work of great beauty, dignity and grace.

#### The Lapidary's Work

Under sculpture, we must not omit to mention the lapidary (hakkāk) of Srinagar, who possesses very great skill in polishing precious stones and is also proficient as a seal-engraver. He imports all his more valuable stones such as agate, bloodstone, carnelian, cat's-eye, garnet, lapis-lazuli, onyx, opal, rock crystal, and turquoise from Badakhshān, Bukhārā, and Yārqand. There are,

however, certain local stones which are used for ornaments and buttons. These are soft and incapable of a high polish. Among the more common, Lawrence mentions Sang-i-Sulaimān black with white streaks, Sang-i-Mūsā (black colour), Billaur (bilaur or bulūr or crystal beryl), Sang-i-Sumāq (prophyry), Sang-i-Shālāmār (of green colour,) Sang-i-Ratel (chocolate colour), and Sang-i-Nādīd (of dark coffee colour). Besides these, a kind of jade which used to be employed for flint locks, is brought from the Wustarwan hill near Avantipōr, and from the same locality a kind of moss agate is procured. Cups and plates are made of a stone known as Sang-i-Nalchān. The stone is so soft that it can be cut like wood. It is a kind of soapstone, grey, yellow and green in colour. Sang-i-Dālam (Fuller-earth) is obtained from a place near Vēr-nāg, and is used by goldsmiths. Sang-i-Baswatrī is a yellow stone used in medicine.

### Gardens

It has been aptly said that it is in its gardens that the history of a country finds a true and living reflection. "The gardens symbolize the artistic and cultural ideals of a nation more picturesquely and in more subtle manner than is ever possible in the case of its architectural movements." The Gardens of Kashmir mirror the outlook and taste of their builders in a truly elegant style.

Flowers and plants have been admired and cultivated in India from very early times. There are many references to gardens in the old Buddhist literature and the Sanskrit plays. The sacred groves round the Buddhist shrines were probably among the earliest forms of gardening. But it was from the north, from Central Asia and Irān, says Mrs. Stuart,<sup>1</sup> that the splendid garden traditions, as also the rose, or the *gulāb*, were introduced into India, and encouraged under the various Muslim conquerors, and later developed into a native style which culminated in the beautiful Kashmir gardens built by Jahāngīr and Nūr Jahān. "I may venture to class," says George Forster,<sup>2</sup> despite his being an Englishman, who takes pride in producing in England the finest roses of the world, "in the first rank of vegetable produce, the rose of Kashmire, which, for its brilliancy and delicacy of odour, has long been proverbial in the East; and its essential oil or ottar is held

1. Mrs. C. M. V. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London, 1913, page 4.

2. *Journey*, Vol. II, page 17.

in universal estimation. The season, when the rose (the almond tree?) first opens into blossom, is celebrated with much festivity by the Kashmirians, who resort in crowds to the adjacent gardens, and enter into scenes of gaiety and pleasure, rarely known among other Asiatic nations." And yet Aldous Huxley finds the gardens of Kashmir disappointingly inferior to any of the more or less contemporary gardens of Italy!

The Turks in India, sometimes erroneously called Pathāns, showed themselves magnificent builders, as their massive forts and mosques still attest. Some of the grandest and most beautiful buildings in India belong to the period of their sovereignty, but their gardens have nearly all disappeared through neglect and decay. Wars and quarrels left little of the peace and leisure that garden-craft demands. Still the peaceful reign of Firūz Shāh, Tughluq (another variant of Tughluq is Taglik in U.S.S.R.) from 1351 to 1358 A.C., gave Delhi a hundred gardens which he built round his capital at Firūzābād. A couple of centuries later, Bābur built on the banks of the Jamuna, in Āgra, Mughul gardens traces of which exist to this day. As a matter of fact, Bābur did not erect a triumphal arch or other monument to his victory over Ibrāhīm Lodi at Pānīpat in 1526, but a large garden called the Kābul Bāgh, near the existing Kābul Masjid of Pānīpat.

In Irān and Turkistān, the art of laying out irrigated gardens was, at that time, very fully developed, and had behind it an ancient history and long unbroken traditions. The writings of Persian poets, so full of evident delight in the flowers and gardens of their day, unmistakably show that the poetic imagery thus inspired was due to these fragrant gardens of the *bulbul* (the nightingale) and the rose. Intense appreciation of flowers seems to have been very general all over Central Asia, and may be traced to the two great influences which underlie all national arts—climate and religion. What is a paradise after all? Is it not a highly refined and luxurious garden?

The spirit of the garden-paradises of Europe\* is said to be hidden in the flowers, the grass, the trees, but that of an Eastern garden lies in none of these: rather is it centred in the running water, the heart, from which its other beauties blossom forth. The poem overleaf, in Urdu, *The Queen of the Hillside*, illustrates this:

\*Mrs. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, page 10.

# ملکاء کھسار

جنگلکوں میں بستیوں میں ناچتی گاتی ہوں میں  
 کوہ زادی ہوں ہیں میرے پاساں جیل و چنار  
 مجسیں ہوں ملکاء کوہ سار کسلاتی ہوں میں  
 آکے بر فانی پھاڑوں سے بہنہ سیم تن  
 شرم کے مالے پھل کر آب تجویز جاتی ہوں میں  
 میرے پھلوں میں نہاں ہے اک دل پر ضطراب  
 اس کو اک گواڑہ سنگیں میں بلالتی ہوں میں  
 دل جی دل میں اک خلش حسوس کرتی ہوں ضرور  
 سنگریزوں سے برابر سر کوٹکراتی ہوں میں  
 ہے مری اقتادگی میں سر بلندی کا مقام  
 اوڑھ کر اک چادر فوارہ اڑاتی ہوں میں  
 ہارون میں نغمہ ریزی ہے میری فردوسِ کوش  
 مل کے دھقان زادیوں سے لوریاں گاتی ہوں میں  
 گاؤں میں ہنگامہ ہائے زیر و بم میرے بلند  
 پستیوں میں جا کے پھر خاموش ہو جاتی ہوں میں  
 محفل آرائی ہے میری باغِ شلاماریں  
 جو باروں لالہزاروں میں نظر آتی ہوں میں  
 آرہی ہوں آبشاروں کا لئے تار و بباب  
 اپنے نعمتوں سے ہر کاک محل گوگر ماتی ہوں میں  
 چوتھی ہے ہر کلی رخسارِ محجک محجک کر رے  
 سبزہ خوابینہ سے آکر پٹ جانی ہوں میں  
 یچوانی ہے مری خالص فسونِ چیچ و خم  
 مست ناکن کی طرح دن رات بل کھانی ہوں میں  
 اس جگہ اے ملکاء ہندوستانِ اور جہاں  
 تیری صحبت یاد آتی ہے تو گھبراتی ہوں میں  
 جھیل ڈل کے بیکراں بانی سے مل جاتی ہوں میں  
 جھاڑیوں میں سے گزر کر کشت ہتھاں سنج کر  
 باغِ آصف سے اچھل کر دل میر کھو جاتی ہوں میں

شیدا

[Corrigenda to the above poem.—Read کوہ سار for کھسار in the second line of the poem. Read میری instead of مری in the 7th line. Delete اے in the 8th line. Delete اے and read بی in the second hemistich of the 9th line.]

Love of running water was very strong with the Muslim rulers of India. A love of such water is characteristic of

Muslim design, whether it be of royal, or of a more modest domestic interior, or of a formal garden around tomb or shrine. In this respect, Muslim taste is in sharp contrast with the Hindu preference for expanses of still water as exemplified by the tanks and wells in India built by Hindus. This fondness for ornamental water is one of the most pleasing conventions in Saracenic architecture in garden planning. A Muslim garden-planner, by means of this decorative water, has often succeeded in creating delightful sequestered oases of refreshment in the most unpromising corners of a parched and thirsty land.

The vivid description of Mughul gardens by Mrs. Stuart is well worth reproduction. The Mughul gardens copied from the earliest gardens of Turkistān and Irān, she says,\* are generally square or rectangular in shape, their area being divided into a series of smaller square parterres. "The water runs in trim stone- or brick-edged canal down the whole length, falling from level to level in smooth cascade, or rushing in tumult of white foam over carved water chutes (*chaddars*). Below many of these waterfalls, the canal flows into a larger or smaller tank, called a *hauz*, usually studded with numerous small fountains. The principal pavilion is often placed, in the centre of the largest of those sheets of water, forming a cool, airy retreat from the rays of the midday sun, where the inmates of the garden might be lulled to sleep by the roar of the cascades, while the misty spray of the fountains, drifting in through the arches of the building, tempered the heat of a burning noontide." There are shady walks, pergolas of vines and flowers, here and there open squares of turf shaded by large trees planted at the corners or having one central *chinār* (plane tree) surrounded by a raised platform of masonry or grass which forms a free space for feasts and fêtes. Here one could "recline at ease on the soft turf, or seated on brilliant carpets enjoy the charm of conversation, and the *hooka*" or the smoking pipe of the East, and "indulge in musical parties, while away the cool evenings with recitations from the favourite Persian poets, or by chanting rhymes of one's own making."

دلِ نظار گیان مست بُوئے لاه، و گل

دماغِ محاسیل تازه از نبیند و عصیر—فخی

1. Mrs. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, pages 13, 14, 15 and 16.

There are three flower festivals observed every year in Kashmir. The first of these is the lilac viewing. The festival of the roses follows. Lotus time comes in July.

Lawrence says that Zain-ul-Ābidīn planted gardens wherever he went. Four of his gardens were, however, well known : Bāgh-i-Zaina-gīr, Bāgh-i-Zaina-dāb in Nau Shahr, Bāgh-i-Zaina-pōr, and Bāgh-i-Zaina-kōt. But it is difficult to trace them now. The same is the case with the gardens of the Chaks, namely Bāgh-i-Husain Shāh and Bāgh-i-Yūsuf Shāh. We have, therefore, to turn to Akbar, who was the first Mughul emperor to enter Kashmir. His Bāgh-i-Nagīn (collet) is in ruins now. The Nasīm Bāgh (The Garden of Breeze), laid out by Shāh Jahān in 1045 A.H.= 1635 A.C., stands in a fine open position, well raised above the Dal, and takes its name from the cool breezes that blow all day long under its trees. Its walls, canals, and fountains have disappeared.

### The Shalamar Garden.

Here was the Versailles of the Mughul emperors. And here in the summer evenings luxurious feasts were given. The branches of the *chinārs* were hung with thousands of coloured lamps. Dancers and musicians entertained the gathered guests.

All around the sides of the Dal there are broken walls and terraces, the remains of early Mughul gardens. The late Justice Shāh Dīn *Humāyūn* addressed the Shālāmār, perhaps as a magnificent representative of these former Mughul glories, thus :—

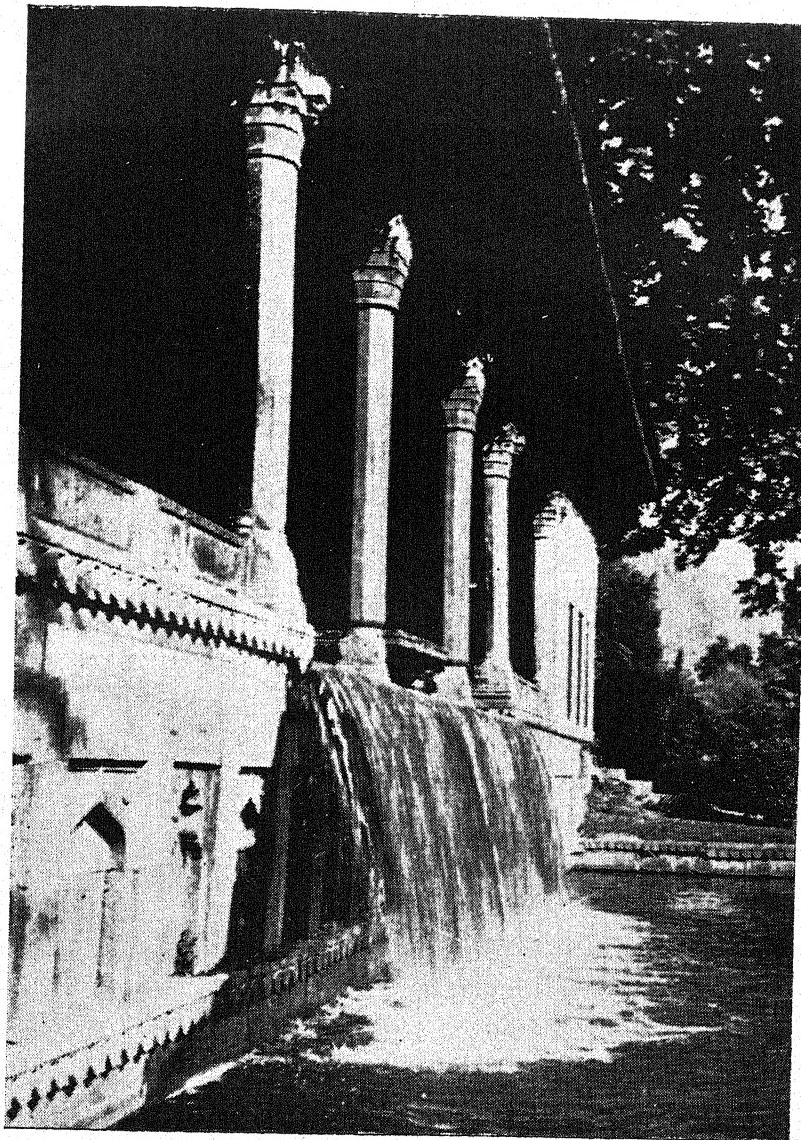
اے باغ! لوگ کہتے ہیں تم شalamar ہو!

اور عظمت گذشہ کی ایک بادگار ہو!

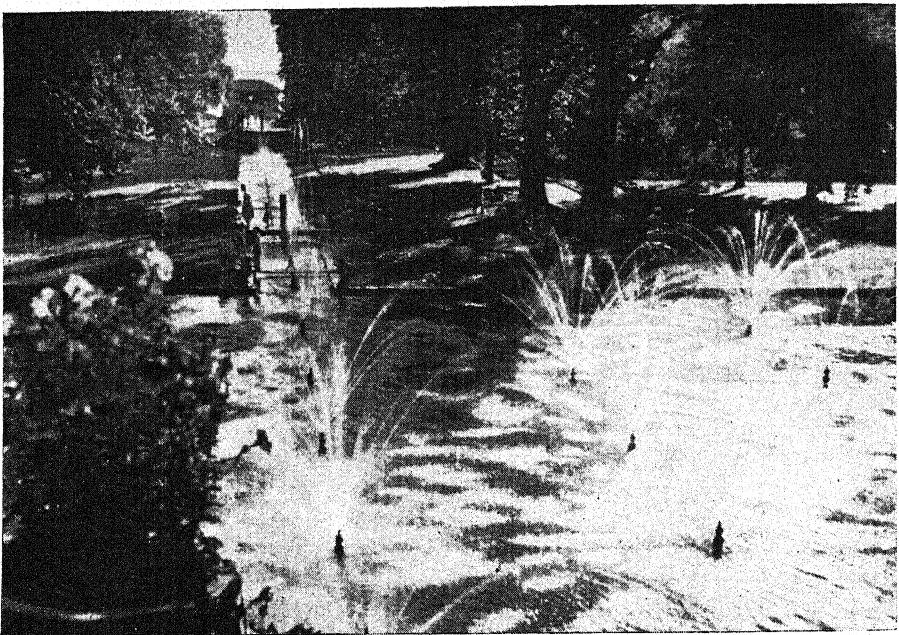
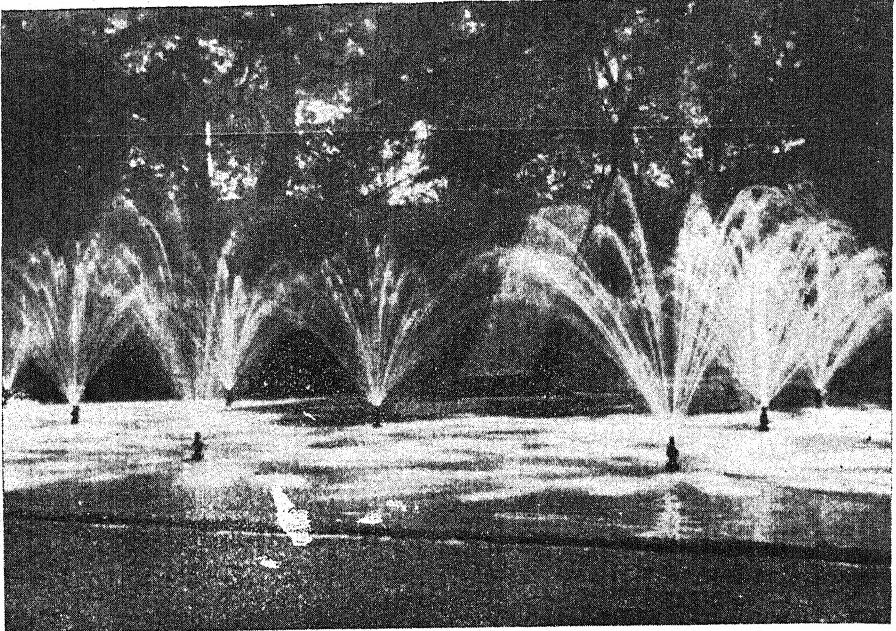
کیا تم ہی زندہ ناموں کے باعث ہو نامور!

کیا تم ہی مردہ سلطنتوں کے منوار ہو؟

NOTE.—Town planning, about which there has been so much talk in the West in recent years, was an art carried out on a grand scale by the great emperors of India and Irān.—Mrs. Stuart's *Gardens of the Great Mughals*, page 23.



**View of a part of the Bāradari, Shālāmār, Srinagar.**



Two different views of the Fountains of the Shalamar Garden, Srinagar.

خاموش کیوں ہو؟ کچھ تو کہو اپنی داستان  
کس سر مر بہ مہر کے م راز دار ہو؟  
فوارہ کی زبان سے کہو کچھ تو اپنا حال  
کیوں روتے زار زار م اسے آشیار ہو؟  
اور تم بناؤ پانی کی نہرو! کہ کس لئے  
مضطہر ہو پیچ کھاتی ہو اور بیقرار ہو؟  
کب سے جل رہا ہے یہ سوز دروں نہیں  
دلادہ کس کی یاد میں تم اسے چنان ہو؟

### *The meaning of the word 'Shälämär.'*

The famous Shälämär (or Shälimär) lies at the far end of the Dal. According to a legend, Pravarasena II, the founder of the city of Srinagar, who reigned in Kashmîr about 580 A.C., had built a villa on the edge of the lake, calling it Shälämära which in Sanskrit, the legend said, means "the abode or hall of love," *Çālā* meaning an abode, and *Mārā* meaning "The God of Love." In course of time, the royal garden vanished, but the village that had sprung up was called Shälämär after it. But it is not so. "Old texts," says Stein,<sup>1</sup> "know nothing of Shälimär." "The first reference to this somewhat overpraised locality," Stein adds a footnote, "I can find is by Abu'l Fazl who mentions the waterfall or rather cascades of Shälämär.... We might reasonably expect that Jonarâja and Çrîvara in their detailed accounts of the Dal would have mentioned the place if it had then claimed any importance." The author of the Urdu history of Kashmîr, entitled the *Nigâristân-i-Kashmîr*, opines that Shälämär is a Turkish word meaning 'a place of amusement' (page 80). Fransû in his *Lughât*,<sup>2</sup> written in Shâh 'Alam's time, also says that Shälämär is a Turkish

1. *Râjatarangîni*, Vol. 2, page 456.

2. Farâsû, or Faransû, or Farâsû Gôtlîb, i.e. Francis Gottlieb, a German born in Poland and educated in India, was in the service of Begam Samrû. He is the author of a history, written in Persian, of the Jât Râjas of Bharatpur from their origin to 1826. He wrote poetry in Persian and Urdu, and is the author of the *Lughât* mentioned above.

word, meaning a place of rest, amusement and luxury. [vide the MS. in the Panjāb University Library.] This, I think, should stop all conjecture on the origin of the word. Stein's reference to Abu'l Fazl (Jarrett, II, p. 361) speaks of a cascade, called Shālimār, which was formed by the waters descending from the ridge of Shāhkōt in the village of Bazwālpōr. Mīrzā Salīm, the poet, in reference to Jahāngīr's visit to the place says:—

چو شد دامان دریا جلوه گاهش بسوئے شلامار افند رادش

Jahāngīr accordingly laid out a garden on this same old site in 1030 A.H.=1620 A.C., and called it *Farah Bakhsh* or 'delightful.'

چو شد آراسه باع فرح بخش بحکم حضرت ظل الہی

شہنشاہ نہان شاہ جہانگیر که مشهور است از مه کا باهی

پی تاریخ این گارار ریحان خرد فرمود، فرحت گاه شاهی

*Farhatgāh-i-Shāhī* gives the date as 1030 A.H. The present enclosure of the garden is 590 yards long and 267 yards broad, divided into three separate parts: the outer garden, the central or emperor's garden, and last and most beautiful of the three, the garden for the special use of the empress and her ladies. This last was an extension by Zafar Khān *Ahsan*, under the orders of Shāh Jahān, in 1042 A.H.=1632 A.C. The name of the extension is *Faiz Bakhsh* and the chronogram is *Massarat-gāh-i-Shāhī*.

چو باع فیض بخش از حکم شاهی برو باع ارم گشته مباهی

فرح بخش از کمال افتخارش چو گل بر غمیق خود داده قرارش

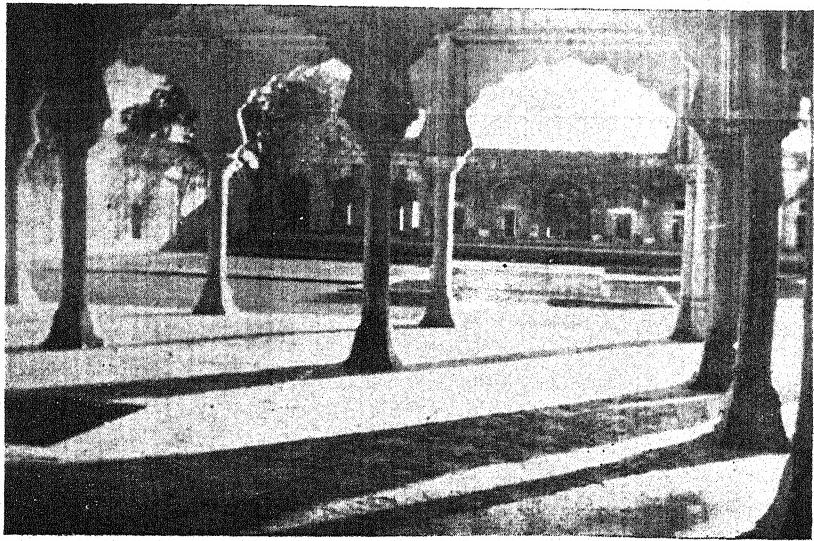
ازین رو کاشم فخر جهان است که در روی گلشن شاہ جهان است

پیش تاریخ سانش صبح گاهی خرد گفتا مسرت گاه شاهی

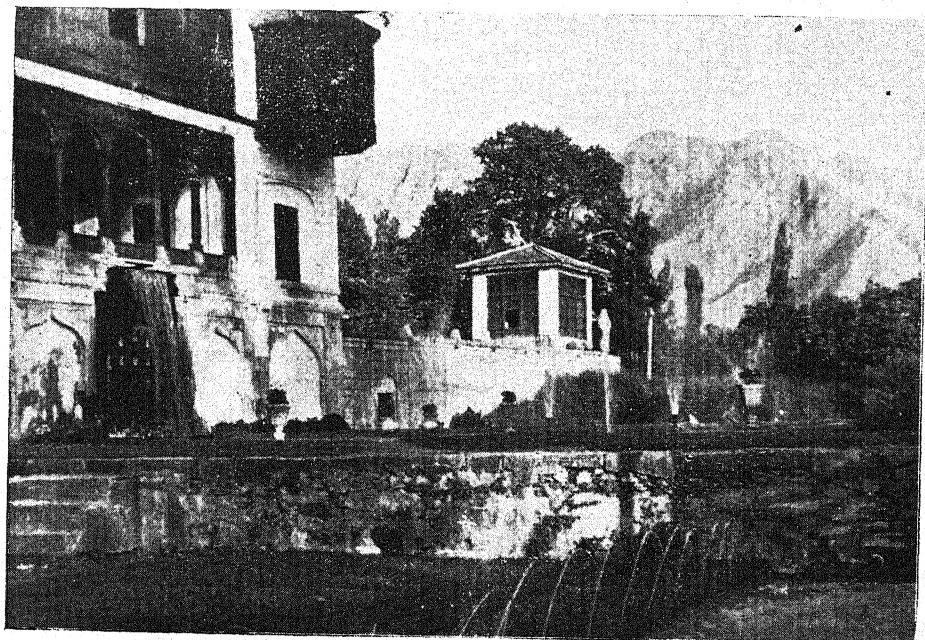
Zafar Khān *Ahsan* uses Shālāmār in respect of this extension in the following couplet:—

بر آورده پُر از شوق نگارش که تا بُوسد کنار شلامارش

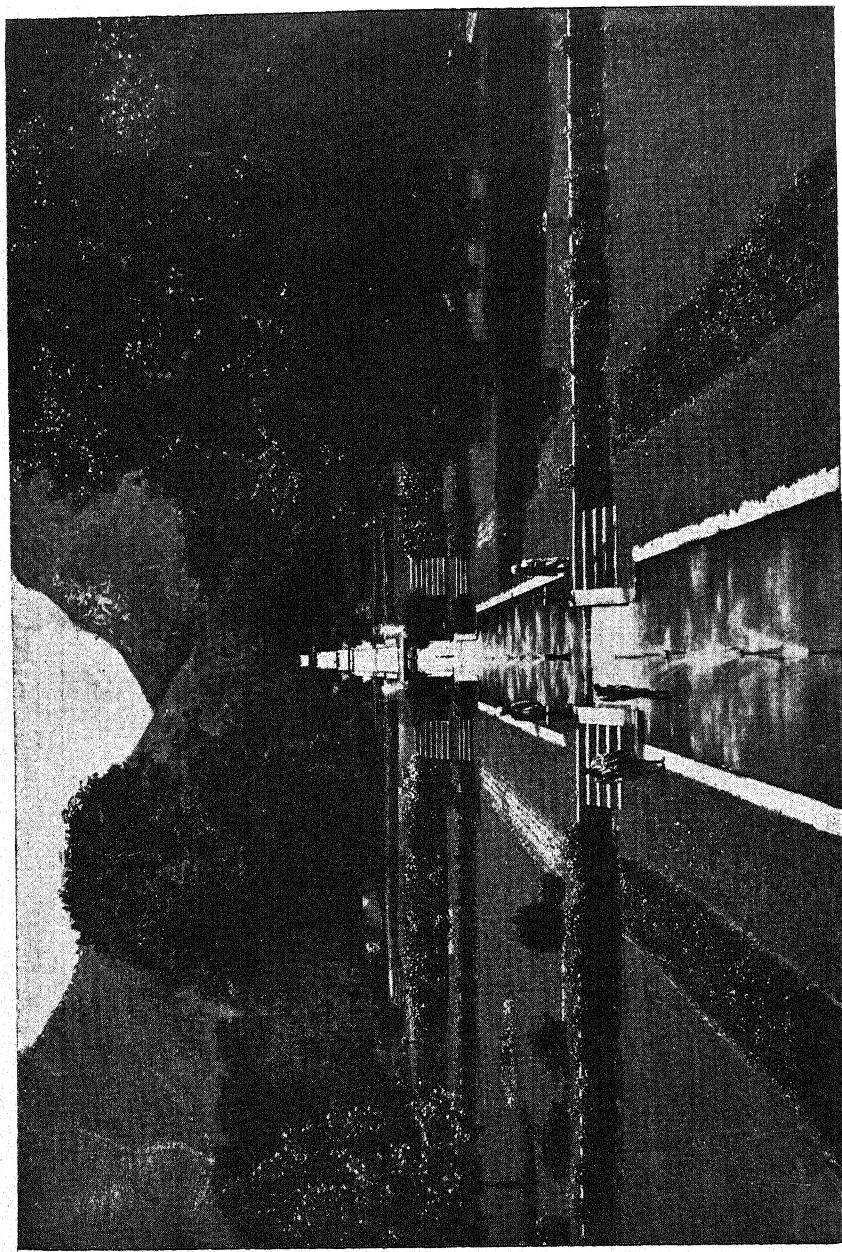
A subtle air of leisure and repose, a romantic indefinable spell, says Mrs. Stuart, pervades the royal Shālāmār: this leafy garden of dim vistas, shallow terraces, smooth sheets



A view of a part of the Shālāmār at Srinagar.



The entrance to the Nashāt or Asaf Khān's 'Garden of Gladness' on the Dal in Srinagar.



The Nashāt Bāgh, Asaf Khān's 'Garden of Gladness' on the Dal in Srinagar.

of falling water, and wide canals, with calm reflections broken only by the stepping stones across the streams. Imagine Nūr Jahān and the ladies of her court, moving about in moonlit nights under the clear skies, the snows silhouetted in soft "moonstone" blues, while the water's silver tinkle alone broke the stillness as the little waterfall splashed over marble and fern grottos.

دیده شوق ہے روشن انہیں نظاروں سے  
بے گمان حُسن برستا ہے یہ فواروں سے  
اسکے پہلو مین جہانگیر کا دل ہے پہنچ  
جس سے آتی ہے صدائُور جہاں! نُور جہاں!  
—جالِ کشمیر از بابو رام شریف

To breathe the air of Shālāmār is to breathe poetry, and cantos could be sung of its charm, colour and majesty in verse. 'Urfī's line fitly applies to Shālāmār—

این سبزہ و این چشمہ و این لالہ و این گل  
آن شرح ندارد کہ بگفتار در آید

This queen of gardens does not look quite so well by day light; but at night "if properly bedecked with torches, and crowned with lamps, you do not mark the ravages time has made in her complexion" since the days of the Mughuls, and "she still has the power to charm."

#### *The design of the Shālāmār.*

Mrs. Stuart (page 148) suggests that the design of the Shālāmār is from the famous carpet called *Chosroes' Spring* in the possession of Chosroes I, the Sāsānian Emperor of Irān (531-579 A.C.). Shāh 'Abbās, the contemporary of Shāh Jahān, used this design for his Safavī palace at Isfahān in Irān.

Though fairly well kept by the Dogrā Government of the day, the poet Hafiz Jällandharī is sad to think of the Mughul past of Shālāmār:—

کرن جانے کس لئے رنگین گل رونے ہیں خون  
اس حسین بارہ دری پر سوگ سا طاری ہے کیوں؟

محور عربت کیوں کھڑے ہیں سنگِ موہی کے سُنُون  
کیوں شکستہ قلب فواروں کو ہے جوشِ جنون

منظراً ہے باغِ کسکے خواب کی تعبیر کا  
ایک پہلو یہ بھی ہے کشمیر کی تصویر کا

تصویرِ کشمیر از ابوالاٹ حفیظ

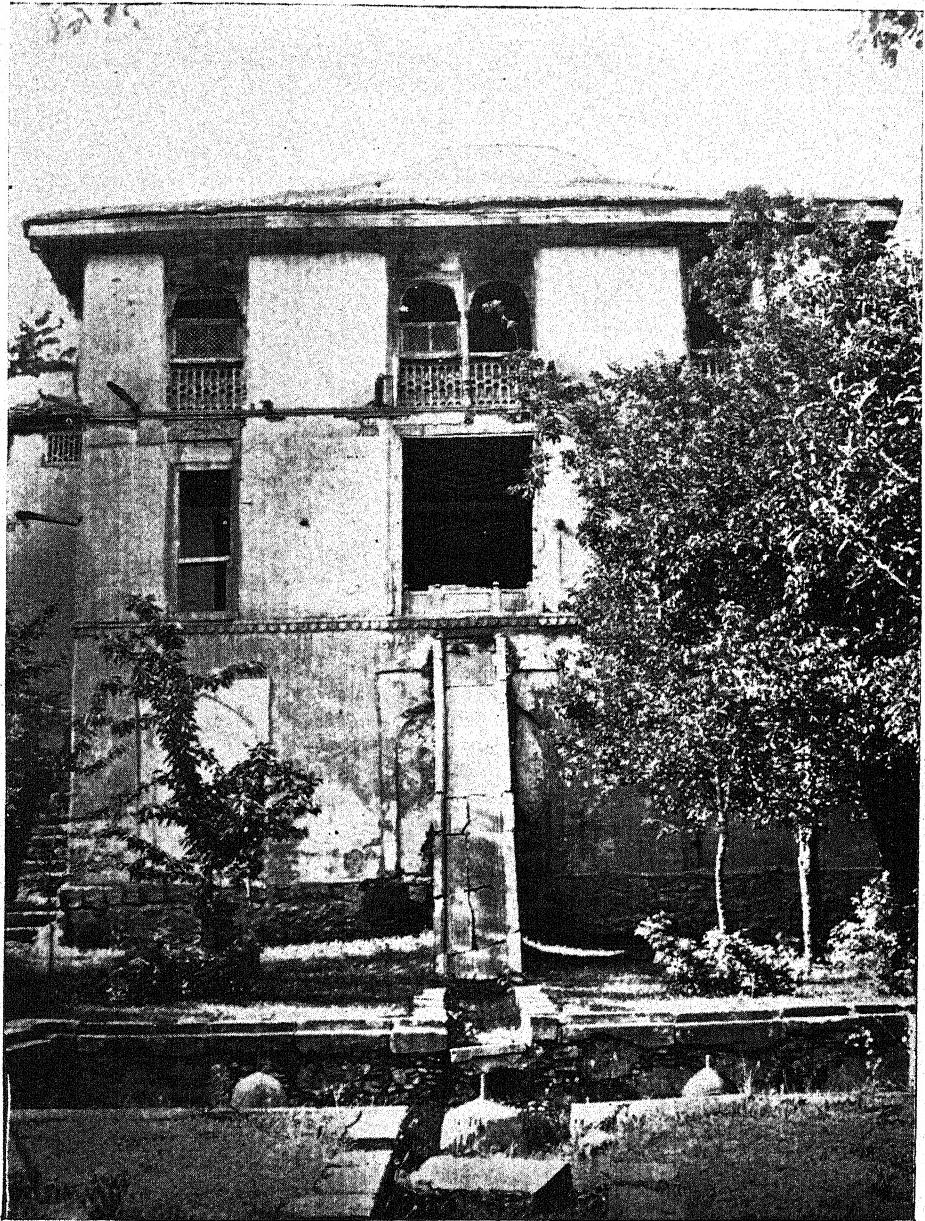
*The Nashāt (commonly mis-spelt as Nishāt).*

A complete contrast is offered by the Nashāt which is an equally beautiful garden on the Dal built by Asaf Khān, Nūr Jahān's brother. Laid out in 1044 A.H.=1634 A.C. it is perhaps the gayest of all Mughul gardens.

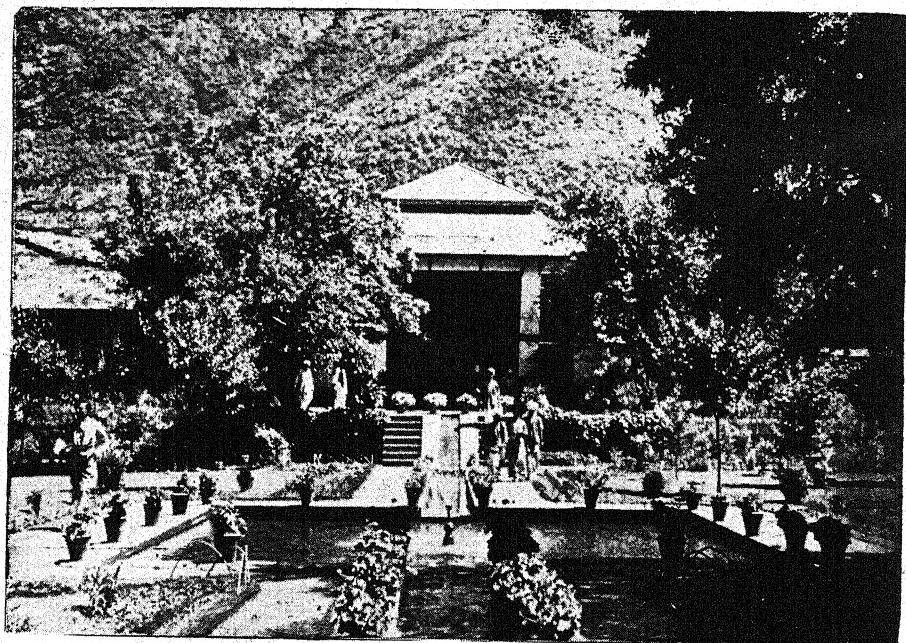
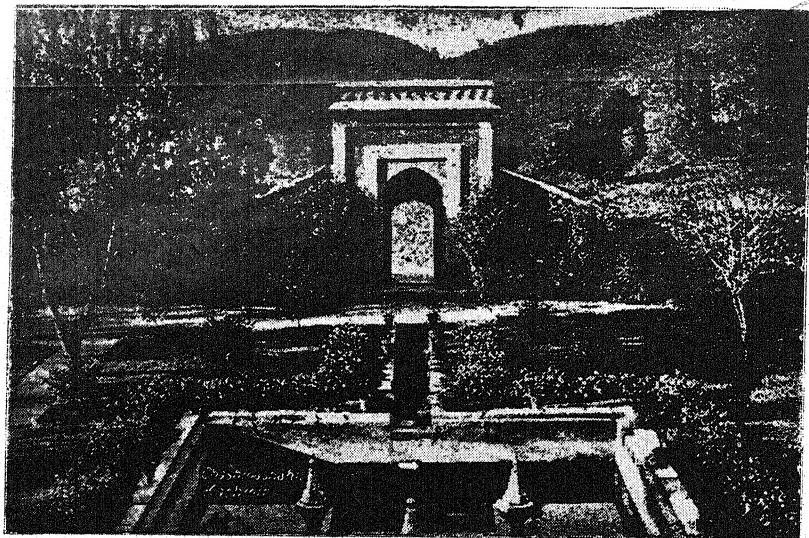
با نیم آواره بُودم در نشاط      شنو از شَمی سرودم در نشاط  
مرغکے می گفت اندر شاخصار      با پیشنه می نیزد این بہار  
لالة رُست و ترگیں شہلا دمید      باد نوروزی گریاش درید

The twelve terraces of the Nashāt, one for each sign of the zodiac, rise dramatically higher up the mountain side from the eastern shore of the lake. The brightest and most fragrant spot in the Nashāt is the second terrace "with its thick groves of Persian lilacs, its high, broad and vertical cascade of sparkling water, and its beds of brilliant pansies. The twenty-three small niches in the arched recess immediately behind the cascade were originally intended for rows of lamps, whose flickering light, reflected and multiplied in the transparent sheet of water behind which they lay, must have presented a singularly pleasing spectacle at night."\* "The stream," says Mrs. Stuart in a graphic description, "tears foaming down the carved cascades, fountains play in every tank and water-course, filling the garden with their joyous life and movement."

اگر این نہرها فرہاد دیدے      بجُونے شیرِ محنت کے گشیدے؟  
—ظفر خان احسن —



The Chashma-i-Shahi Bāradari, Srinagar.



The Chashma-i-Shāhi or the Royal Spring of Shāh-Jahān  
on the Dal, Srinagar  
(Two views)

"The flower beds on those sunny terraces blaze with colour—roses, lilies, geraniums, asters, gorgeous tall-growing zinnias, and feathery cosmos, pink and white."\* Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has truly said :

تو گوی کہ یزدان بہشتِ برین را نہاد است در دامنِ گوہسارے

Mrs. Stuart refers to the old garden saying :

صُبْحٍ در باغِ نَشَاطٍ و شام در باغِ نَسِيمٍ

شالِمَار و لاله زار و سیر کشمیر است و بس

[Morning in the shadow of the Nashāt Bāgh,

Evening in the breezes of the Nasīm,

Shālāmār and its Tulip Fields :

These are the Places of Pleasure in Kashmīr and none else.]

آباؤں تجھکو میں راہ حصولِ انساط شام در باغِ نسیم و صبح در باغِ نشاط

—ابوالاثر حفیظ جاندھری

Bahr-Ārā was the garden on the western arm of the Dal laid out by Nūr Jahān in 1623. There was a palace which gave the fullest view of the Dal on moonlit nights. The site is now a leper asylum ! The locality is now called Bahārāra.

### *The Chashma-i-Shāhī.*

High up in a hollow of the mountain, which overlooks the lotus on the Dal, is the Chashma-i-Shāhī, the little garden of the 'Royal Spring' about five miles from the Srinagar Civil Lines. Very few of the smaller pleasure gardens have survived. But the garden of the Chashma-i-Shāhī shows that a Mughul garden need not necessarily be large to prove attractive. Even a critic like Aldous Huxley calls the Chashma-i-Shāhī "architecturally the most charming of the gardens near Srinagar."

Shāh Jahān built a pavilion and laid out this little garden of the Chashma-i-Shāhī in three terraces with fountains and waterfalls. Here one may still pass a day of enjoyment, and drink of the spring which gushes forth from a lotus basin with the same purity and unfailing abundance as it did in the great Mughul's day. It was laid out by 'Alī Mardān Khān in 1042 A.H.=1632 A.C. *Kausar-i-Shāhī* is its chronogram.

\*For a detailed study of some of the flowers of the Valley, see *Wild Flowers of Kashmir* by B. O. C. Coventry, 1923, London.

دُوش دیلم نشسته بر کوثر شاه مردان علی جم جاهی  
 گفتمنش السلام، گفت عليك گفت بر گو دگر چه میخواهی  
 گفتمنش بہر چشمہ تاریخنے! گفت بر گو که کوثر شاهی

[Yesterday I saw sitting at the Spring of Paradise  
 Shāh Mardān 'Alī of Jamshīd's splendour  
 I accosted him : ' Peace be to you '  
 He replied : ' To You.'  
 He urged : ' Speak out what you want.'  
 I told him : ' A date for the Spring.'  
 He declared : " Say : ' The Royal Spring.' " ]

The medicinal properties of this add to its value and esteem.  
 To this the poet 'Urfī refers—

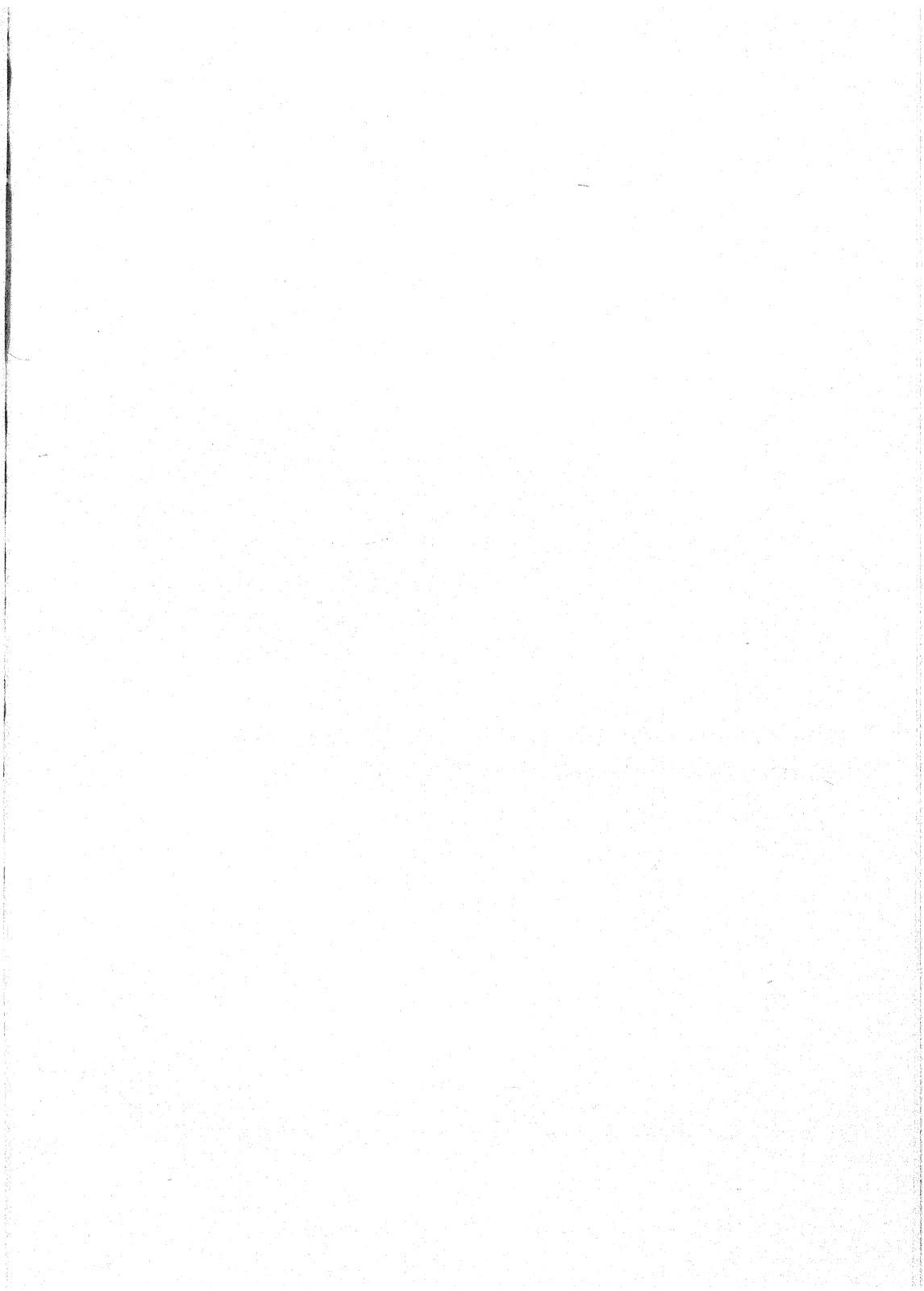
آن چشمہ که رضوان چو رود به سوشن  
 کوثر به سرش تیز تر و تشنہ تو آید  
 — عربی

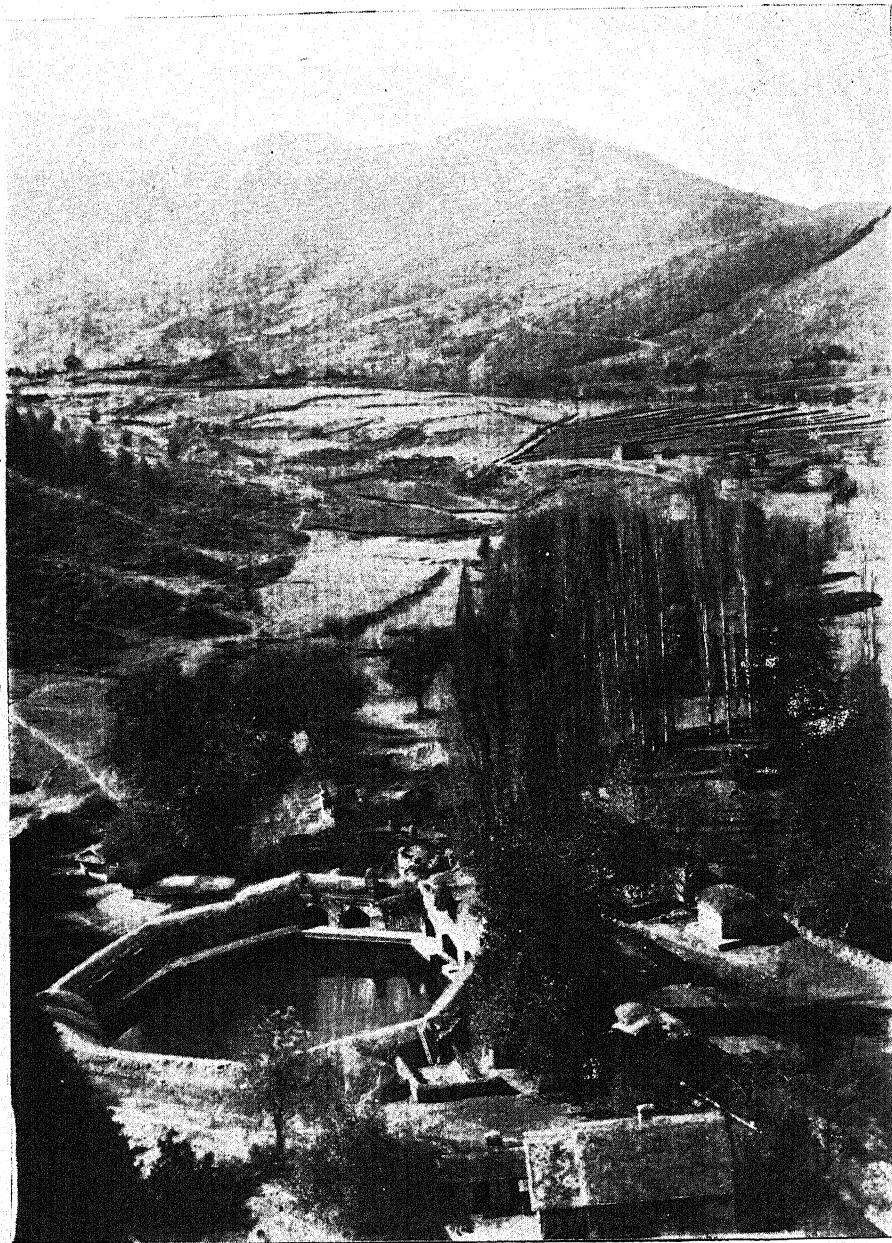
" The present garden," says the Archaeological Report for Samvat 1976 or 1920 A.C., " possesses only a remnant of its original dimensions. Mahārājā Ranbir Singh, assisted by Wazir Punnu, made an attempt to restore it to something of its original beauty."

The Chār Chinār (see p. 511), at the southern bank of the Dal, had a building by Prince Murād when he was governor of Kashmīr in 1641.

**[The Dal.]**—The Dal, having these gardens about it, measures about 4 miles, by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  and 7 to 10 feet deep, and is close to Srinagar. The lake is beautifully clear. The shawls of Kashmīr owe much of their excellence to being washed in its soft waters due to springs which rise within the lake. The background of the Dal is provided by mountain ranges which rise 3,000 to 4,000 feet above the level of the lake. The famous floating gardens form its true features.

The Dal has several distinct parts. The Sōna Lānk or 'the golden isle' is in the part known as Bod (meaning, large) Dal, and the Rōpa Lānk or 'the silver isle' in the part known as Astawhol which is the largest sheet of lake water. The corner of the Dal, known as Gagri-bal, is noted for its calm, clear water and forms an ideal place for bathing. Both the isles of Sōna Lānk and Rōpa Lānk are artificial masses of masonry, the one 40 and the other 50 yards square—built by Mughul emperors. The Arrah river feeds the Dal. The flood-gate, originally constructed by the Afghāns, lets out the lake water.





A general view of the Vērnāg Spring. The 'Nāga of Vēr'—Vēr being the name of the tract—is the traditional source of the Vitastā or the Jhelum.

The origin of the name Dal is uncertain. In Kashmiri, Dal means a lake. In Tibetan, Dal means 'still.' Ārivara calls it Dala. It is said to have been, at one time, an extensive plain called Vitala-marg which was converted into a lake by an ancient Hindu rājā. It is said that the lake is silting up. According to the *Hamdard*, Tuesday, 27th August, 1946, a representation was made by the residents of Mahalla Mir Bahr, Srinagar, that there is considerable bacteria in the Dal water which has affected its taste.]

### *The Vēr-nāg Spring.*

The lover of flowers and running water would find delight in a visit to Vēr-nāg (Shāhābād) and Achabal (Sāhib-ābād) in the Islāmābād or Anantnāg Tahsil. The Ver-nāg spring, not far from the Bānihāl pass, is about three miles from Shāhābād, once a royal town as its name shows, but is now a ruined village.

*En passant* the village Lārikpōr (old Lōkabhavana), seven miles from Islāmābād, was the scene of the incomplete Aurangābād, the garden of Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr. There is a spring also. Dārā Shukūh's garden at Bijbihāra has now some magnificent chinārs only. Pandit Ānand Kaul Bāmizāi notes nine other gardens by Mughul nobles in his *Archaeological Remains in Kashmīr*.

For those who feel the charm of solitude in a beautiful setting, Vēr-nāg,<sup>1</sup> the residence of its imperial founder, is an enchanting place to pass the early summer days. Here a large spring "bubbles up in almost icy coldness beneath a gigantic cliff, fringed with birch and light ash" that—

"Pendent from the brow  
Of yon dim cave in seeming silence make  
A soft eye-music of slow-waving boughs."

Vēr-nāg's deep blue waters give life to the Valley for, here it is that the beautiful Jhelum has its reputed source. Hence, Vēr-nāg is sometime given the meaning of 'Powerful Spring,' though it is really the 'Spring of Vēr' which is the name of the *pargana*, called Shāh-ābād<sup>2</sup> from the days of Shāh Jahān. The spring was originally a shapeless pond and water, oozing out from

1. Vēr-nāg had a population of 2,219 in 1941.

2. Shāhābād, 5,600 ft. high, which was the largest place at the southern end of the Valley, was a ruin at the visit of Vigne (Vol. I, p. 324), and "the palace of the Moguls scarcely worth a remark. The orchards produced the best apples. The wheat grown there was considered the finest in Kashmīr."

different places in it, spread about and formed a little marsh. The Emperor Jahāngīr built round the spring the octagonal tank of sculptured stones. It is 10 feet deep, and was constructed in 1612 A.C. The fine garden with fountains, aqueducts and a cascade, in front of the spring, was laid out in 1619 A.C. Vērnāg is nineteen miles from Islāmābād and fifty miles from Srinagar.

Jahāngīr writes :—“It (Vērnāg) is an octagonal reservoir about 20 yards by 20 yards. Near it are the remains of a place of worship for recluses ; cells cut out of the rock and numerous caves. The water is exceedingly pure . . . the depth was not more than one and a half the height of a man.”\* After his accession, the sides of the spring were built with stone and a garden laid out with a canal. Halls and houses were set up. Vērnāg was consequently not wrongly called Shāh-ābād (The Royal Abode). Jahāngīr’s first inscription is :

از جهانگیر شاه اکبر شاه این بنا سر کشیده بر افلاک

بانی عقل یافت تاریخش قصر آباد و چشمہ ورنگ

[Through Jahāngīr Shāh, the son of Akbar Shāh, this foundation raised its head to the heavens.

The source of wisdom discovered its date (1029 A.H.=1619 A.C.), “May the palace and the spring of Vērnāg endure !”]

Jahāngīr’s second inscription is as follows :—

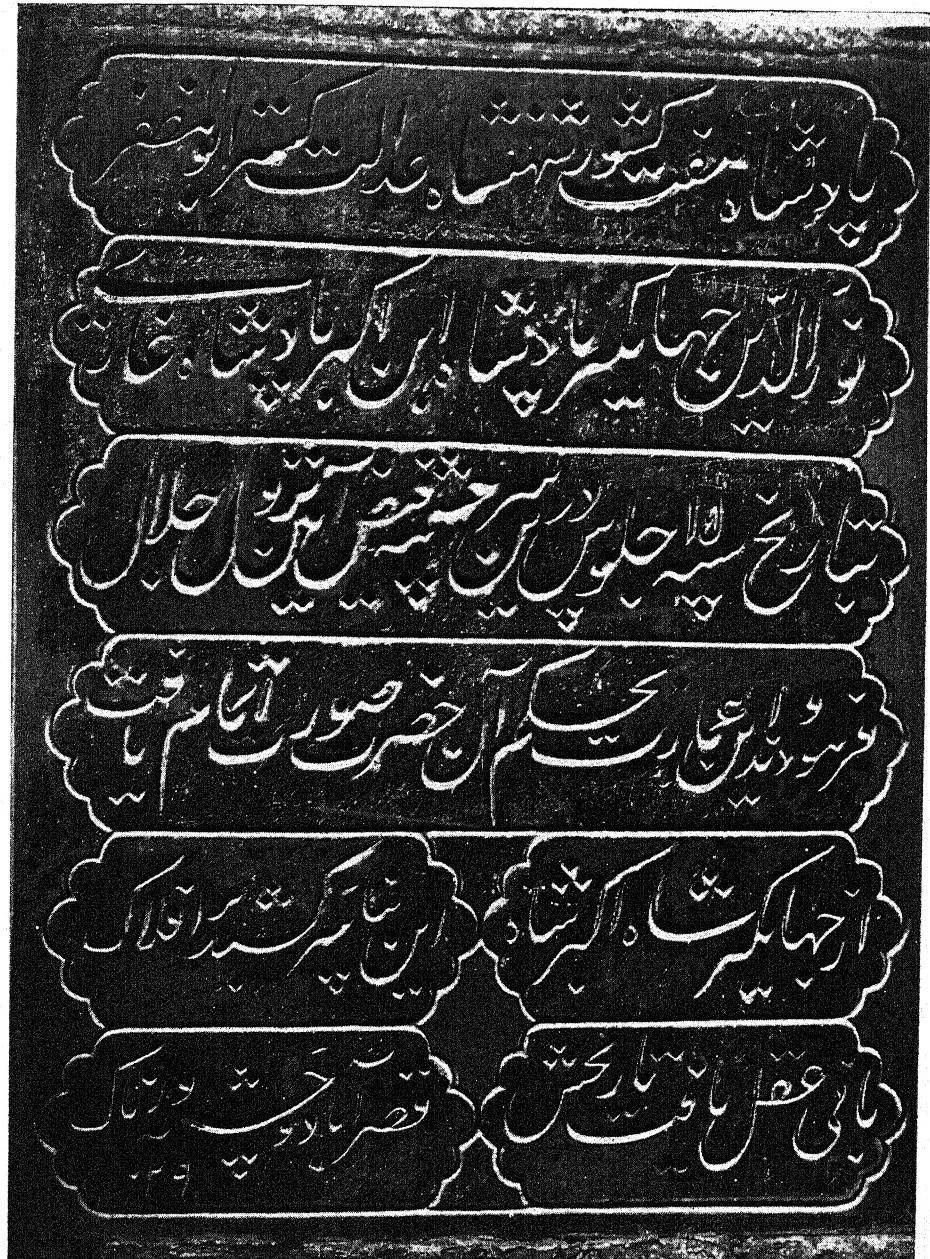
حیدر بحکم شاه جهان پادشاه دهر شکر خدا که ساخت چنین آشار جو  
این جو داده است ز جو بیشت باد زین آشار باغه کشمیر آبرو  
تاریخ جو نئے گفت بگو شم سروش غیب از چشمہ بیشت برون آمد است جو

[The Lord be thanked : Haidar by order of the Shāh-i-Jahān, the monarch of the Universe, constructed such a cascade and such a water-course.

This water-course is reminiscent of the stream that flows in Paradise, and the cascade has brought honour to Kashmir.

The invisible angel whispered the date (1036 A.H.=1626 A.C.) of the water-course in my ear : “This stream has sprung from the fountain of Paradise.”]

\**Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, Rogers and Beveridge, 1909, Vol. I, 1909 page 92.



The Emperor Jahāngīr's inscription at the Vēr-nāg Spring

The second inscription of Jahāngir at the Vēr-nāg Spring erroneously attributed to Shāh Jahān.



The words—*Shāh-i-Jahān*—in the first line of the inscription have given the impression that it is by Shāh Jahān which is not so, since Shāh Jahān had not ascended the throne then, and Jahāngīr died in 1627, a year after this installation.

Jahāngīr prayed with his dying breath to be conveyed to Vēr-nāg to be buried there—

از شاه جهانگیر دم نزع چو پرسند باحیت دل گفت که کشمیر دگر هیچ

**The River Jhelum.**—The Jhelum drains the whole Valley of Kashmir, which coincides with its catchment area. It is the most westerly of the five rivers of the Punjāb.

The source of the Jhelum is in the noble spring of Vernāg or, further aside, the small Vithavutur spring, which is supposed to be its real source. This source lies about 12,000 feet above sea level. The outlet of the Jhelum at the mountain border is 1,300 feet. Its average fall is 43 feet to the mile.

The various names of the river are Jhelum, Bihat, Vihat, or Bihatab—corruption of the Sanskrit name Vitasta (which Alexander's historians graecized into Hydaspes, but Ptolemy more correctly as Bidaspes). The modern Kashmīri name is Vyath, derived apparently from Vithavutur. Vyath, the Kashmīri word for the Jhelum, is the direct phonetic derivative of the ancient Sanskrit Vitasta (*i.e.*, coming through a fissure in the hill meaning a *vitasti* or span). The name Jhelum is apparently of Muslim origin as Abū Raihān al-Birūni calls it Jailam, perhaps derived from *jīl* implying slowness, on the analogy of Kāhil or al-Hādi for the Pacific. Ārvāra, when relating an expedition of Sultān Haidar Shāh into the Punjāb, sanskritizes this name into Jyalami. Another version of the legend connects the river with the place Vitastātra where King Aśoka erected stupas.\* This is the modern Vithavutur, a small village about one mile north-west of Vernāg.

From 15 miles north at Khanabal, near Islāmābād, is the starting point of navigation, which continues to Bārāmūla. At Bārāmūla the river is about 100 yards broad, and ten feet deep on an average. From Srinagar towards Bārāmūla, the Jhelum winding sluggishly across the flat alluvial plains, is compared to the Thames at Kew in breadth.

"From the pass of Baramula at the extremity of the vale of Kashmir to Kohala, the Jhelum descends a deep incline of rocks and forms a continuous series of rapids like those of the St. Lawrence and the Danube, yet surpassing, not in volume but in majestic scenery those noble rivers. At intervals the precipitous rocks that hem in this raging torrent give place to low banks covered with greensward, bright as the lawn of an English garden, and chequered here and there

\*Stein—*The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, page 98.

with large white stones which seem placed as chairs and tables for a picnic party ; gentle undulations lead to closely over-hanging hills dotted with spreading trees or covered to their summits with deodar pines, while above tower the snow-clad mountains and before are the ever-plunging waves of the rapids white with foam—a combination not to be adequately described.”—*Letters from India and Kashmir*, written in 1870, George Bell and Sons, London, 1874, pages 168-69.

“Beneath the shade of Srinagar bridges, whose wooden piers for years four hundred have striven and still strive, to goad that patient stream into fretfulness but in vain—his current flows on calm and placid as ever, unmindful of the interruption their passive resistance causes.”

The distance from Khanabal to Bārāmūla is 102 miles. At the lower end of Srinagar city, it receives the Dūdhagaṅga stream. Below Srinagar at Shādipōr (Shihābuddinpōr) the place of the marriage of the two rivers, the Sind river joins the Jhelum. At Muzaffārābād, the Kishangaṅgā river joins the Jhelum on its right bank, whence the name Domēl or ‘meeting of the two.’ The whole length of the river from its source to Bārāmūla is 150 miles.

Much of the internal commerce of Kashmīr depends on the Jhelum. If Egypt be the gift of the Nile, it is truer, says Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha\* that Kashmīr is the gift of the Jhelum. There is no other instance of a valley of the dimensions of Kashmīr, and at an altitude of five thousand feet above the sea level, having a broad river intersecting it for so long a distance. Before the construction of motor roads between Srinagar and Khanabal and also between Srinagar and Bārāmūla, it was the Jhelum which was the great highway of passenger and goods traffic up and down the Valley.

کرد سیراب خطہ پنجاب آب جہلم نہان کشمیر است

در تن مردگان روان باشد این که آب روان کشمیر است

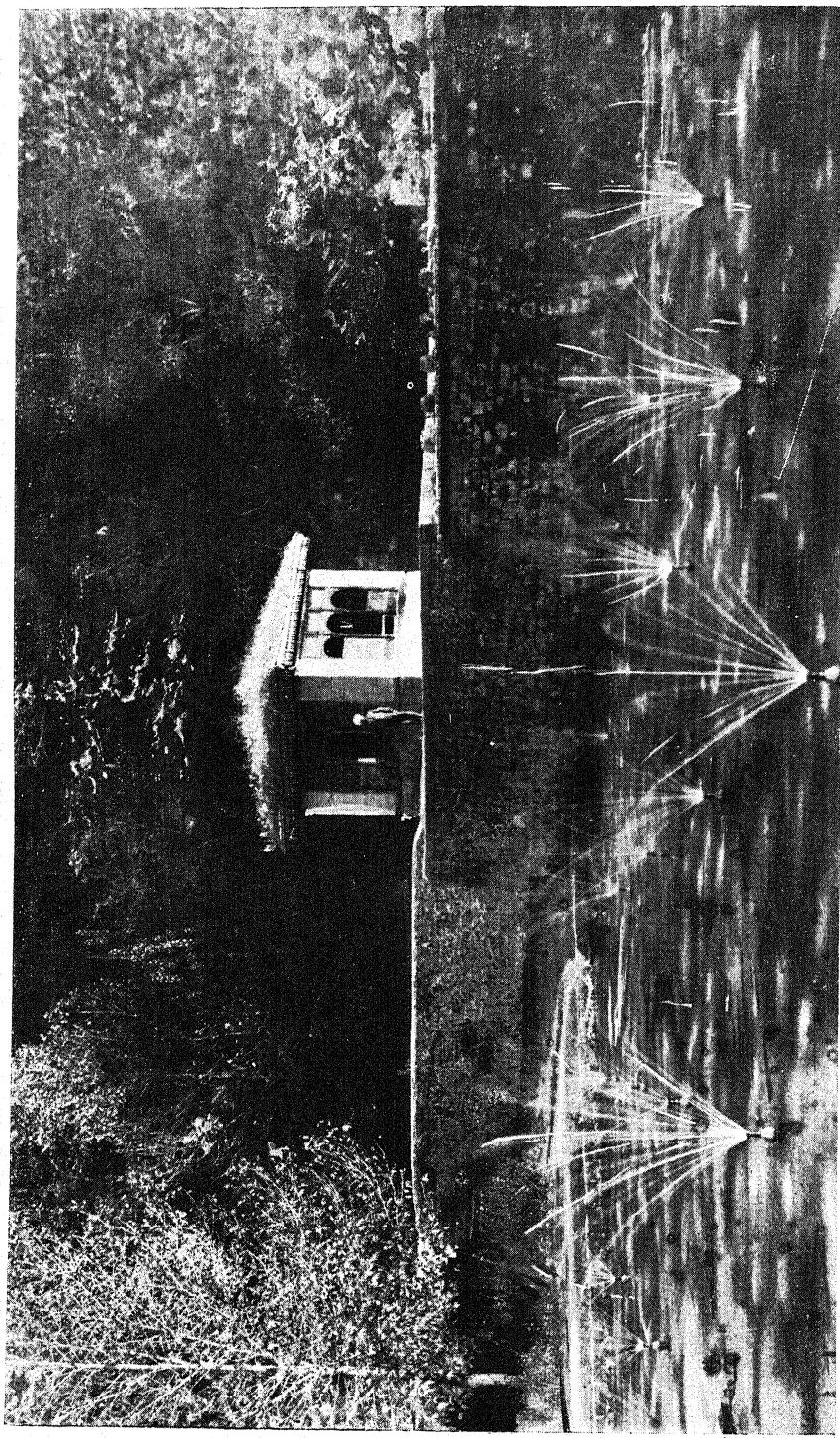
Lakes Wular, Mānasbal, Anchār and Dal lie in the flood plain of the Jhelum, whose broad meanders have cut swampy lowlands out of the Karewa terraces.

Below its junction with Kishangaṅgā, the Jhelum forms the boundary between the Kashmīr State and the Pākistān Districts of Hazāra and Rāwalpindi, and finally joins the Chenāb at Trimmu, 10 miles to the south of Maghiāna, after a total course of not less than 450 miles of which about 200 lies within Pākistān territory.

The Jhelum river has many tributaries in Kashmīr. The chief ones on its right bank are (1) the Liddar (2) the Sind (3) Pohru ; on the left bank : (1) the Vishav (2) the Rembiara (3) the Ramshī (4) Dūdhagaṅgā (5) the Suknāg and (6) the Firūzpur.

\**Kashmir : The Playground of Asia*, First Edition, pages 16-17.





The Spring of Achabal (old name Akṣavala) park around the Spring was a favourite camping ground of the Mughul court.

"The road from Veere Naug" wrote George Forster in April 1783, "exhibiting that store of luxuriant imagery which is produced by a happy disposition of hill, dale, wood and water, and that these rare excellencies of nature might be displayed in their full glory, it was the season of spring when the trees, the apple, pear, the peach, apricot, the cherry and mulberry bore a variegated load of blossom. The clusters also of the red and white rose with an infinite class of flowering shrubs presented a view so gaily decked that no extraordinary warmth of imagination was required to fancy that I stood at least on a province of fairy-land."

### *The Kukar-nāg Spring.*

The copious waters of Kukar-nāg, less than eight miles from Vēr-nāg, and 48 miles from Srinagar, are well worth seeing. The waters gush out in six or seven places from the foot of the lime-stone rock and form a stream. The very sight of milky water and its spray would remove all fatigue and give delight and coolness to the jaded eye. It is rightly given the first place as a source of drinking water. Abu'l Fazl has called its water limpid, cold and wholesome. He says that, should a hungry person drink of it, his hunger will be appeased and the satisfaction it gives will renew desire for it. G. T. Vigne notes that Afghān governors were supplied water from this spring.

### *The Achabal (Sāhib-ābād) Spring.*

Achabal, as Bernier notes, was formerly a country house of the kings of Kashmīr and then of the Mughuls. The ancient name is Akshavala from King Aksha (571—631 A.C.). The Mughul name is Sāhib-ābād after Begam Sāhiba, the title of Shāh Jahān's daughter Jahān-ārā. The beauty of Achabal (Sāhib-ābād), over 6 miles south-east of Islāmābād, lies in its spring, or rather the stream. It flows like a waterfall out of the Sosanwōr hill that intrudes farthest into the plains, and was at once 'enlisted by Jahāngīr in the service of beauty and pleasure.' It is a delicious and remarkable sight. At the head of the spring is the mountain side covered with deodār (Himālayan cedar) forest. Around Achabal, wrote Jahāngīr,\* lofty plane-trees and graceful white poplars, bringing their heads together, have made enchanting places to sit in.

\**Memoirs*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, 1914, page 173.

Jahān-ārā, the daughter of Shāh Jahān, laid out a garden in 1640 A.C. Bernier writes : "The garden is very handsome, laid out in regular walks and full of fruit trees, apple, pear, plum, apricot and cherry . . . there is a lofty cascade which, in its fall, takes the form and colour of a large sheet, thirty or forty paces in length, producing the finest effect imaginable, especially at night, when innumerable lamps fixed in parts of the wall adapted for that purpose, are lighted under this sheet of water." The hammām (bath) of Jahāngīr is in good preservation.

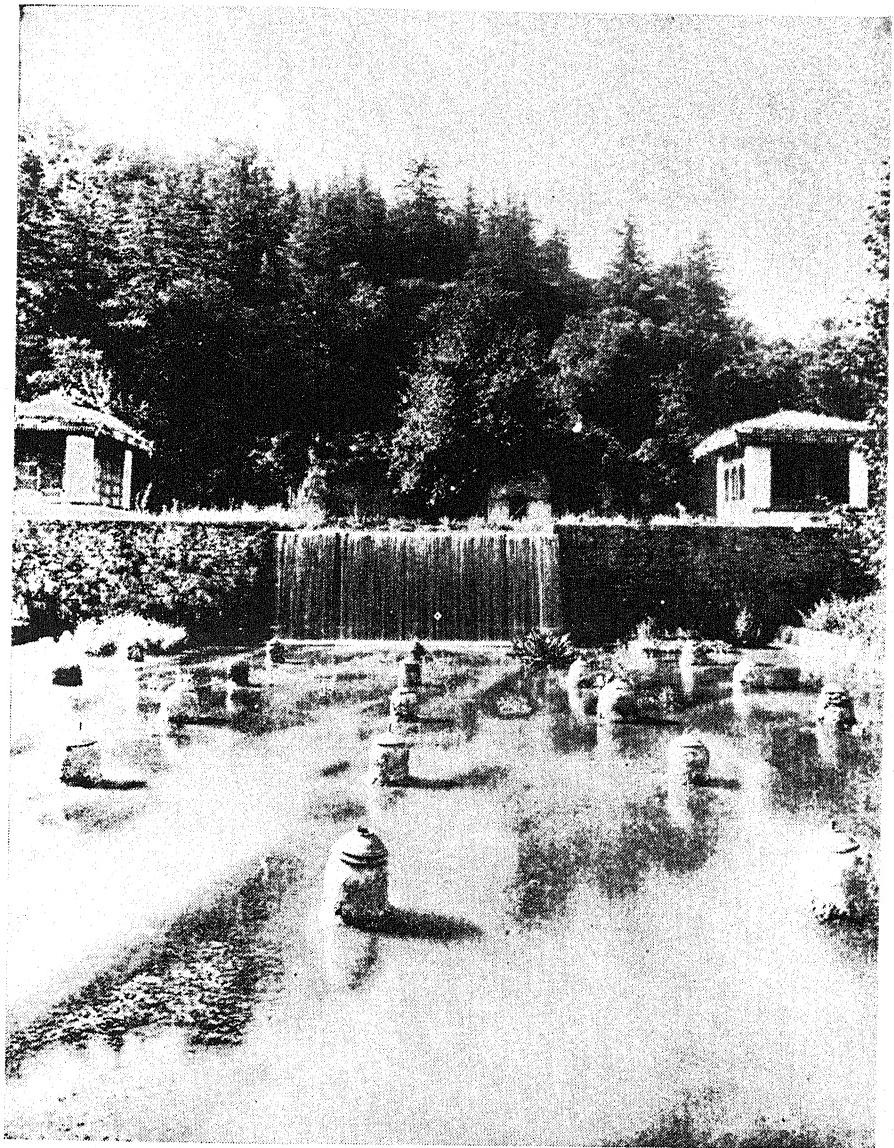
As a contrast to Bernier's description, Col. Torrens' makes sad reading. Col. Torrens visited Achabal in the time of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh when he describes it in the following words : "Uchibal was the scene of many an imperial merry-making in the good old days of Mogul rule, of Shah Jehan and Jehanguire ; now the gardens are desolate and neglected, and tangled desert of weed and briar ; but the stream, like a true philosopher, flows on calmly and contentedly as ever; his low murmurings utter no complaints, no regret for the pomps and vanities that are no more ; they are rather, as it were, the gentle purring of a spirit at peace with itself, and inclined to be the same with all the world ; welcoming the solitude of to-day as a pleasing contrast to the dust and noise, stir and bustle, and all the inconceivable nuisances of the imperial court of yesterday ! It is a lovely spot, the luxuriance of an ever present nature amply consoles the modern traveller (in the year 1862) for the want of the past luxuriousness of Oriental art."\*

A present-day poet, however, gives expression to his feelings on Achabal in this way :

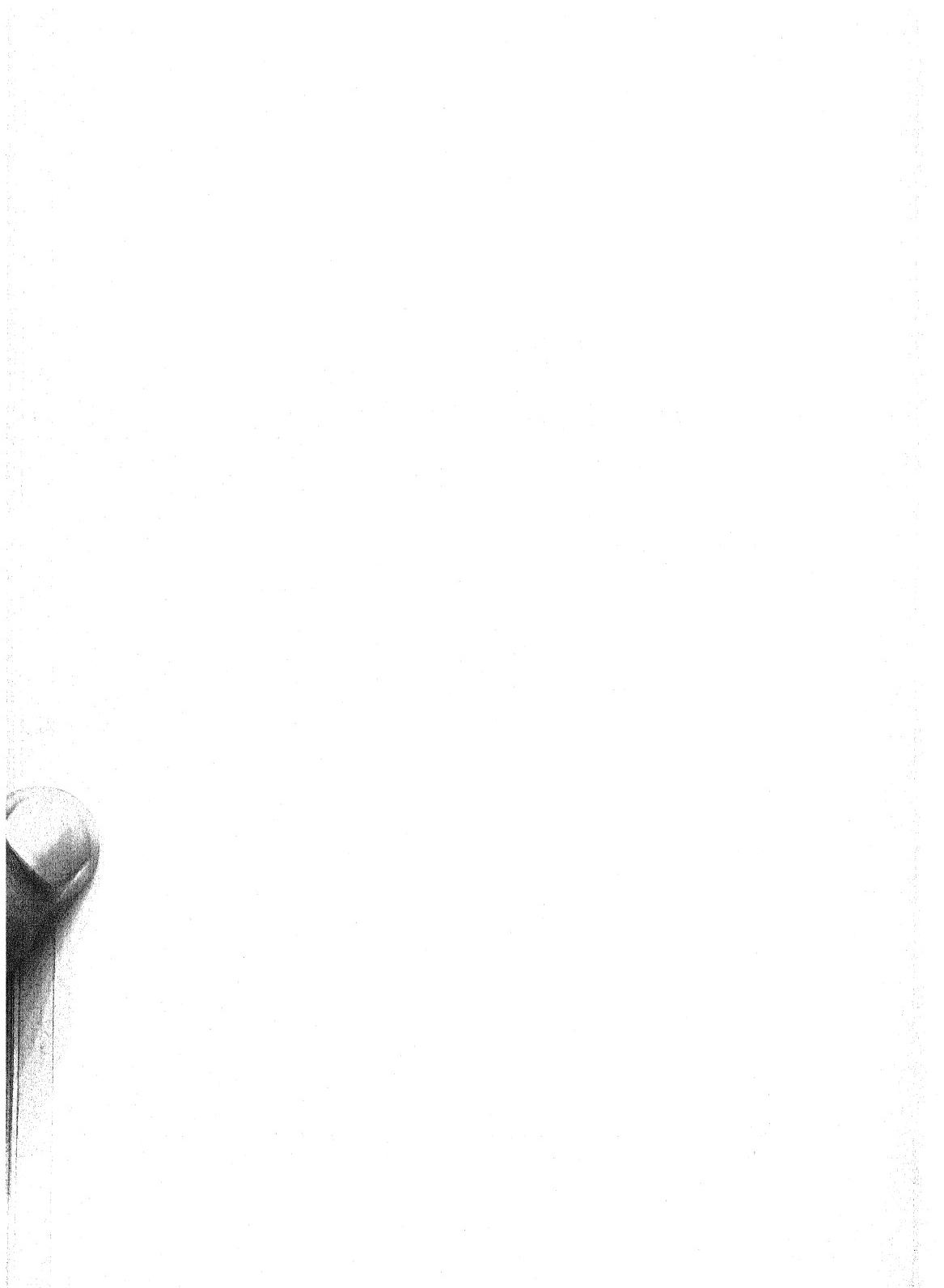
اچھے بل اور کوہسار ہوش رُبا جوشبار  
لالہ و گل بھے شمار - جلوہ گہ حُسین یار  
باغ ہے یہ سحر کار - بلکہ ہے جنت نگار  
جائیگئے انتظار - قُدرت پروردگار

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\*Travels in Ladak, Tartary and Kashmir, 1863, pages 317-8.



Old Akshawala, in Shāh Jahān's and later times Sahibābād, and now Achabal, over six miles south-east of Islāmābād (Anantnāg).



لاله و گُل صاف بھی صاف - ساغر عشرت بکف  
 حُسن کہیں گُل بکف - عشق کہیں دل بکف  
 شور و شغفہ هر طرف - ہُو کا سمان هر طرف  
 ہم نفس چنگ و دف - نغمہ دراج و سار

---

دامن کوہسار میں - ایسے چمن زار میں  
 خوبی رفتار میں - پھول میں هر خار میں  
 خیمه اشجار میں - جلوہ کہ بار میں  
 ہُور ہے عربیان کوئی - یہ تو نہیں جو شبار

---

غلخلمہ آب ہُو - ولوں اندوز ہے  
 اسمین کہیں ساز ہے - اسمین کہیں سوز ہے  
 اهل ہمم کے لئے - حوصلہ افروز ہے  
 تجربہ آموز ہے - اسکی هر ایک گیرو دار

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آب شکن در شکن - پھول چمن در چمن  
 هوش ربا نسترن - سنبل و نسرین سمن  
 لالہ گُل پیرهن - زیب دہ انجمن  
 گُپھہ دهن بر دهن - خواہش بوس و کثار

---

سلسلہ کائنات ہے - مد و جزر حیات  
 اسکو نہیں ہے ثبات - اس سے نہیں ہے نجات  
 چرخ کھن سفلہ ذات - کس سے کرے إنتفاثات  
 اسکو نہیں ہے قیام - اسکو نہیں ہے قرار

میرزا کمال الدین شیدا

Both the Kukar-nāg and Achabal springs have diminished in recent years.

Near the Bachhapōr village, there is an old chinār garden called Bāgh-i-Ilāhī, which was planted by Jahāngīr in 1050 A.H.=1640 A.C. Nūr Jahān and Jahāngīr used to visit it on clear moon-lit nights in a small boat, towed by female rowers, the jingles on whose feet made delicious music.

The Mughuls built a delightful little garden at Rajaurī on their way between Bhimbar and Srinagar. Were it in proper repair, it would not suffer by comparison, with some of the Srinagar gardens, except of course, in dimensions which are rather circumscribed. It is a charming little place, especially in early spring when lilies are in bloom.<sup>1</sup>

#### *Other Mughul Gardens.*

Mullā ‘Abdul Hamid Lāhorī describes in his *Bādshāh-nāma*<sup>2</sup> the following gardens, in addition to those already mentioned above : (1) Bāgh-i-Bahr-Āra that stood near the Jharōka-i-Darshan and had two parts. (2) Bāgh-i-‘Aishābād. (3) Bāgh-i-Nūr Afshān by Nūr Jahān. (4) Bāgh-i-Safā on the Safā-pōr lake. (5) Bāgh-i-Shāhābād built by Muhammad Qulī Turkmān. It was acquired by the Emperor Shāh Jahān when he was the prince. It was later given to Dārā Shukūh. (6) Bāgh-i-Murād, in the Dal, was assigned to Prince Murād. (7) Bāgh-i-Afzalābād of ‘Allāmī Afzal Khān. (8) Bāgh-i-Zafar Khān, also called Bāgh-i-Tūlānī on account of its length, stood on the Khushāl-sar. (9) Bāgh-i-Firūz Khān on the Bahat or the Jhelum. (10) Bāgh-i-Khidmat Khān on the Dal island. Mullā Lāhorī concludes : several other gardens were laid out by nobles and officials of Shāh Jahān.

Vigne<sup>3</sup> notes that Bāgh-i-Dilāwar Khān, named after Jahāngīr's governor, was usually assigned as quarters to Europeans visiting the Valley in the time of the Sikhs. Dr. John Ince<sup>4</sup> notes that Hügel, Vigne, Henderson, and Jacquemont stayed here. It was near the *ghāt* adjoining the Shāh Hamadān, on the Brārinambal, a branch of the Dal. It is now the site of a High School.

According to Lawrence, in the vicinity of the Dal, there were 777 gardens in Mughul times, and the roses and the

1. *The Archaeological Report* for 1920, page 4.

2. Calcutta edition, Volume I, Part II, 1867, pages 26-29.

3. *Travels*, Vol. II, p. 60.

4. *The Kashmir Handbook*, Calcutta, 1872, page 127.

bed-musk brought in a revenue of one lakh of rupees per annum (*The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 194).

There are no other gardens, says Sir John Marshall,\* perhaps in all Asia, round which history and legend have woven so much romance, which nature and men have combined to make so lovely. The gardens of the Tāj at Āgra, of Shālāmār and Shāhdra at Lāhore are beautiful, but they can never hope to rival their sisters in Kashmīr, because they lack entirely the majestic surroundings of mountain, pine forest and snowfield, in which the latter are set ; and because no flowers or grass or tree can ever attain the same perfection in the plains of India as they can in the highlands of Kashmīr.

### *The Alapathar.*

The blue lagoon, the Alapathar, 12,600 feet above the sea-level, set below the snowy leaning ridge of the Aphorwat 13,542 feet above the sea, though not a garden, is indeed much nobler than a garden. It is a small deep pool great with the wonder of unsuspected water. Spruce grass shadows the mystery of its unplumped depth and no fish breaks its shining surface. Radiant with snow, the ridge of the Aphorwat leans from the sky. But not all the brilliance of the mountain can quench the mystery of the pool. "Dark as pain, and enigmatic, it lies like a burst in the side of the mountain. Only the stars, climbing nightly above the snow, tremble in sudden ecstasy. Then the dark and dreaming forest of Aphorwat stands back before the pool with heaven in its heart."

### *The Chinār's Glamour.*

"Beautiful at all times, when autumn lights up the poplars in clear gold and the big chinārs (plane trees) burn red against the dark blue rock background, there are few more brilliant, more breathlessly entrancing sights than the first view of Āsaf Khān's Garden of Gladness," or the Nashāt. "The chinārs (*Platanus Orientalis*), " wrote Col. Torrens in 1863, "are in the lusty prime of life, more lasting memorials of the magnificence of the Delhi Emperors than all the costlier monuments, the work of men's hands." "Autumn and spring in Kashmīr are things worthy to be seen," wrote the royal lover of Nature. "I witnessed the

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\*Annual Report, 1906-7, Archaeological Survey of India, page 6.

autumn season and it appeared to me to be better than what I had heard of it . . . . \*

خوشائش کشمیر و ایام خزانش خوشائش کشمیر و فصل زغوانش  
مشو خاموش بلبل گر خزانست که جوشی نو بہار زغوانست  
بہار اینجا بود شرمندہ اور هزاران گل فدای خنداده اور  
نگارین آنچنان دست چنار است که گوشی دست پوردنش بہار است

مثنوی هفت منزل :-

نواب ظفر خان احسن - صوبہ دار - کشمیر

During autumn, the scene of the chinār is beautifully described by Mirzā Kamāl-ud-Dīn Shaidā :—

دیکھتے ائے صراحی، جام اور مینا کی اگی  
حضرتِ موسیٰ سے سُنتے آئے ہیں سینا کی آگی  
برگ برگ اس داغ کا اب منظرِ صد طور ہے  
ڈالی ڈالی میں وہ حُسین آتشینِ مستور ہے  
ہے چنار شعلہ بُوش و شعلہ پُور، شعلہ بار  
شور ہے صحنِ چمن میں 'ایں چہ آتش ایدن چہ نار'!  
ہے چمن زارون میں قدرت کی نشی گلکاریاں  
ائیتی ہیں ہر برگ سے ہر پھول سے چنگاریاں  
سماج بتا تو اے چنار باغ، یہ کیا راز ہے؟  
تو سراپا سوز ہے اور ندی سراپا ساز ہے  
تیرے ہر اک برگ میں پنهان شر ریگزیاں  
قطرے قطرے میں نہماں اُسکے تونم ریزیاں  
بہ رہی ہے آبجو کیا ناچتنی گاتی ہوئی  
پیچ اندر پیچ، خم در خم ہے بل کیتاتی ہوئی

\*The *Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. I, 1909, page 96.

جھیںپتی مُربانیت پر اپنی شرماتی ہوئی  
 دل کو اک گھوارہ سنگیں میں بھلاتی ہوئی  
 آگ پھولوں میں چمن میں آگ اشجاروں میں آگ  
 هر طرف شعلے ہی شعلے زعفران زارون میں اٹ  
 باغ شalamar میں آگ - اسکے فوارون میں آگ  
 ہے نسیم آتشکدہ - پیدا ہے کھساروں میں آگ  
 چون رہی ہیں پھول اور گاتی ہیں دھقان زادیاں  
 حُسن کی آبادیاں - پھولوں کی یہ شہزادیاں  
 آجکل کشمیر ہے اک کائناتِ آتشیں  
 مل گئی ہے اهلِ گلشن کو حیاتِ آتشیں - شیدا

قصیمت پہ اپنی مُسجید کو گر اختیار ہوتا  
 میں گلشن جہاں میں نخلِ چنار ہوتا  
 خرمن سے عاشقون کے شعلے بلند ہرتے  
 اور حُسن کی نظر میں بوق و شوار ہوتا  
 پیری میں میری ہوتا اک رنگِ ذوجوانی  
 فصلِ خزان بھائی میرا رشک بھار ہوتا  
 ذوق فنا نہ یافته ای ورنہ در نظر  
 دنگیں تر از بھار بود جلوہ خزان  
 چوہدری خوشی مجد ناظر

We close our section on gardens with the following appropriate Arabic couplets :—

یا نسیم الخلد من بین الربیی بینها الانہار تُجْری اَسْلَسْبِیل  
 لَكَلَّتْ صَفَاتِهَا مَا أَعْجَبَا خُضْرَةٌ اَنْفَاسِهَا تَشْفَى الْعَلِيل  
 وَعَلَيْهَا الطَّيْرُ لَحْنًا اَطْرَبَا مَادِحًا مَا ابْدَعَ اللَّهُ الْجَلِيل

[**The Bulbul.**—In the above section, we have spoken of the garden and the *gulāb* or the rose, of the cypress or the *sarv*, the *chinār* or the plane, and the *safida* or the poplar, and also of the pine. We should not omit the Bulbul or the nightingale, which, along with verdure, water, wine and the beloved, is an almost essential element in the amusements of Eastern life.

The Bulbul of Kashmīr is white-cheeked, and has a conspicuous bent-forward crest, as described by a World Watcher.<sup>1</sup> The chin, throat and portions of the side of the neck are black. There is a large white patch on the face. The rump is yellow, the iris brown, the bill and the legs are black.

The Bulbul is found throughout the Himālayas and Central India. Outside India, this bird is found as far west as 'Irāq. Poets have sung of it in high praise. Frequent references to it are met with throughout Persian poetry. The Bulbul is supposed to be a bringer of good fortune. Its warbling on the window in a Kashmīri home signifies the advent of a guest.<sup>2</sup> Its movements, gestures, and sweet twitter are very much appreciated and Hāfiż calls it بُلْبُل خُوش نوا (Bulbul of sweet melody). Quite unmindful of the severity of the winter, a pair will sit on a window sill within a hand's breadth of each other, and move closer and closer in pure love.

The Bulbul feeds on insects and fruit. The breeding season is April and May. The nest is wisely placed in low branches of fruit trees. It is a well-constructed cup of dry stems of plants, mixed with dry grass stalks and shreds of vegetable fibre, and has a lining of some finer grass material. Sometimes the outer part of the nest is entirely made of hair. The eggs laid are of a pinkish colour with splotches of red of various shades and measure 22 ; 8 x 16 ; 7 mm.]

### Music.

Music is something which is natural as well as acquired. Countries which abound in natural luxuriance and lavish abundance of birds, animals, fruits, flowers and verdure, are richly endowed with a wealth of sounds, which with the slightest vibration, burst into exquisite melody. The people of such a country are born musicians. They evolve melodic

1. *Birds of Kashmīr* by Pandit Samsār Chand Kaul, Normal Press, Srinagar, 1939, page 14.

2. *Ibid.*, page 15.

forms of their own to suit their own environs, and these forms are full, and intensely rich with pathos and feeling. Such a country is Kashmīr, which has folk-music, bards and minstrels, singing, humming, chanting, on all occasions, to intermingle with the work in hand, to sweeten their labour. The boatmen sing in rhythm to the strokes and splash of water, and the Kashmīri boat-song is something which is born in the soil just as much as the lotus is. It resounds in the valleys and communes with the song of the birds, and the whispering of the winds. Then, there is the magnetic appeal of the shepherd boy up on the mountains. He plays on his reed a melodious stirring chant and the animal kingdom respond to his magic call, and even the winds begin to sing a choral symphony of nature. Even the coolie bent with his burden and the maid-servant washing dirty vessels enjoy singing !

About 1,000 years ago, when Muslims came over to India, they brought with them their own style, particularly Sūfī music. In course of time, it blended with the music of the land and became so popular that, through the powerful patronage of Muslim monarchs, early Arabian and Irānian melodies were resounding in the whole of Hindustān, north, south, east and west. The influence of the great masters of music like Amīr Khusrav and Mīrzā Tān Sain, inventors of Styles, Rāgs and Tals, have lived and will live throughout the centuries. They also invented instruments which are popularly played today. The Rāgs and instruments played in Kashmīr are definitely the result of the same influence, and bear the same appellations. The distinctive feature is, however, the *Folk Music* which has special characteristics, and is soul-stirring.

We shall now trace the development of music in Kashmīr. It is a significant fact that a Kashmīrian, the great Āranga-devā, was the author of the *Sangīta-ratnākara*. He lived in the first half of the thirteenth century at the court of the Yādava king named Simhana II, who ruled at Devagiri in the Deccan from 1210 to 1247 A.C. The *Sangīta-ratnākara* is in Sanskrit. It is the only authoritative work during the 13th century which treats of *rāgs*, instruments and other technical details of Indian music. It is divided into seven *adhyāyas* or chapters : (1) Svara, (2) Rāga,

(3) Prakīrṇaka (general theory of music), (4) Prabandha (composition); (5) Tāla, (6) Vādyā (instruments), (7) Nr̥tya (dance). The text was edited by Pandit S. Subrahmanya Śāstri and published, thus far in two volumes, by the Adyār Library, Madras, Volume 1 in 1943, and Volume 2 in 1944. Many commentaries are known to have been written on the *Sangītaratnākara*, four in Sanskrit, one in Hindī, and two in Telegu being well-known. The English translation of Chapter 1 of Volume 1 by Dr. C. Kunhan Rājā, Head of the Department of Sanskrit, University of Madras, was published by the Adyār Library, Madras, in September, 1945. Čārangadeva's father was Sodhala who held the office of the Chief Secretary of King Simhana II. Sodhala's father was Bhāskara who migrated from Kashmīr<sup>1</sup> in the 12th century A.C. and settled in the Deccan.

[It is a general belief that North and South Indian systems of music have little in common. But Mr. Parur A. Sundaram Iyer (*The Hindu*, Madras, Sunday, August 18, 1946, p. 10, col. 2) says that his intensive study of more than a quarter of a century and his personal experience have led him to the conclusion that there is no difference at all between the two systems. The fundamentals of both Hindustāni and Karnātīc music, he says, are the same. The original source for both the systems, to him, is the music of the Vedas. The distinction, he says, between Karnātīc music and Hindustāni music is only in the style of rendering. The *Sangīt Ratanākara* of Čārangadeva is a common authority for both North Indian and South Indian music. The same *rāga* is known by different names in Bombay, Calcutta, Gwāliār, etc. This creates the impression that there are as many systems of *rāgas*, while the truth is that the same *rāga* is sung under different names in different parts.]

According to Abu'l Fazl,<sup>2</sup> schools of music were founded in Kashmīr by Ḥirānī and Tūrānī musicians under the patronage of Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn. As a direct result of the influence of these schools, a good many melodies were imported into Kashmīrī music. They are:—Rāst, Chārgāh, ‘Irāq, Nawā, Rahavī, Shāh Nawāz, Naurūzka, Yemen,<sup>3</sup> Kalyān, Khamāj, Bihāg, Jhinjōti, Pahārī, Bilāval, Husainī

1. *Sangītaratnākar*, in Sanskrit, edited by H.N. Apte, Poona, 1896, Vol. I, verses 2 to 6, page 4.

2. See Blochmann's *A'in-i-Akbarī*, 1873, page 611.

3. This is borne out by Maulavī 'Abdul Halim Sharar's article on "The Influence of Ḥirānī Music on Indian Music." The article was originally written for the Baroda Musical Conference,

Todi, Asaoari, Tilang, Udasi, Purbi, Sohnī, Suratha, Kangra, and Dhanasri. The addition of the *Rāst Kashmīrī* is attributed to Habba Khātūn, the queen of King Yūsuf Shāh Chak.

### *Bād Shāh's love of music.*

Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn loved music. And he always made generous allowances to musicians. On account of the Sultān's generosity and his love for music, a good many *sāzindas* (players) and *gūindas* (chanters) flocked to Kashmīr from all directions. One of such musicians was Mullā ‘Udī of Khurāsān. He was the immediate pupil of the celebrated Khwāja ‘Abdul Qādir, and was an excellent player on the ‘ūd, or the lute. Mullā ‘Udī played upon the ‘ūd to the great delight of the Sultān and his courtiers and was, on all occasions, most amply rewarded by the Sultān<sup>1</sup> for his performances.

In those days there was, also in the court of the Sultān, Mullā Jamīl, (or Mullā Jyamāla of Ārīvara),<sup>2</sup> the poet-musician, who was a great expert in vocal music and possessed a beautiful voice. In fact, Ārīvara says, he "pleased the king as Nārada pleases Indra." Sultān Abū Sa‘id Mirzā of Khurāsān had directed Jamīl to Bād Shāh's court. Zain-ul-Ābidīn was always kind to him and paid him handsomely for his skill. The Mullā was unusually witty, and sometime played the part of Akbar's Mullā Dū Payāza for Bād Shāh's court. According to Firishta, Mullā Jamīl's songs were long on the lips and lutes of the Kashmīris. Za‘frān, whom Ārīvara calls Jāpharana, was another court singer. He sang with Ārīvara "the difficult Turushka metres before the king." (pp. 135-36).

### *Ārīvara's description of Kashmīrī dances.*

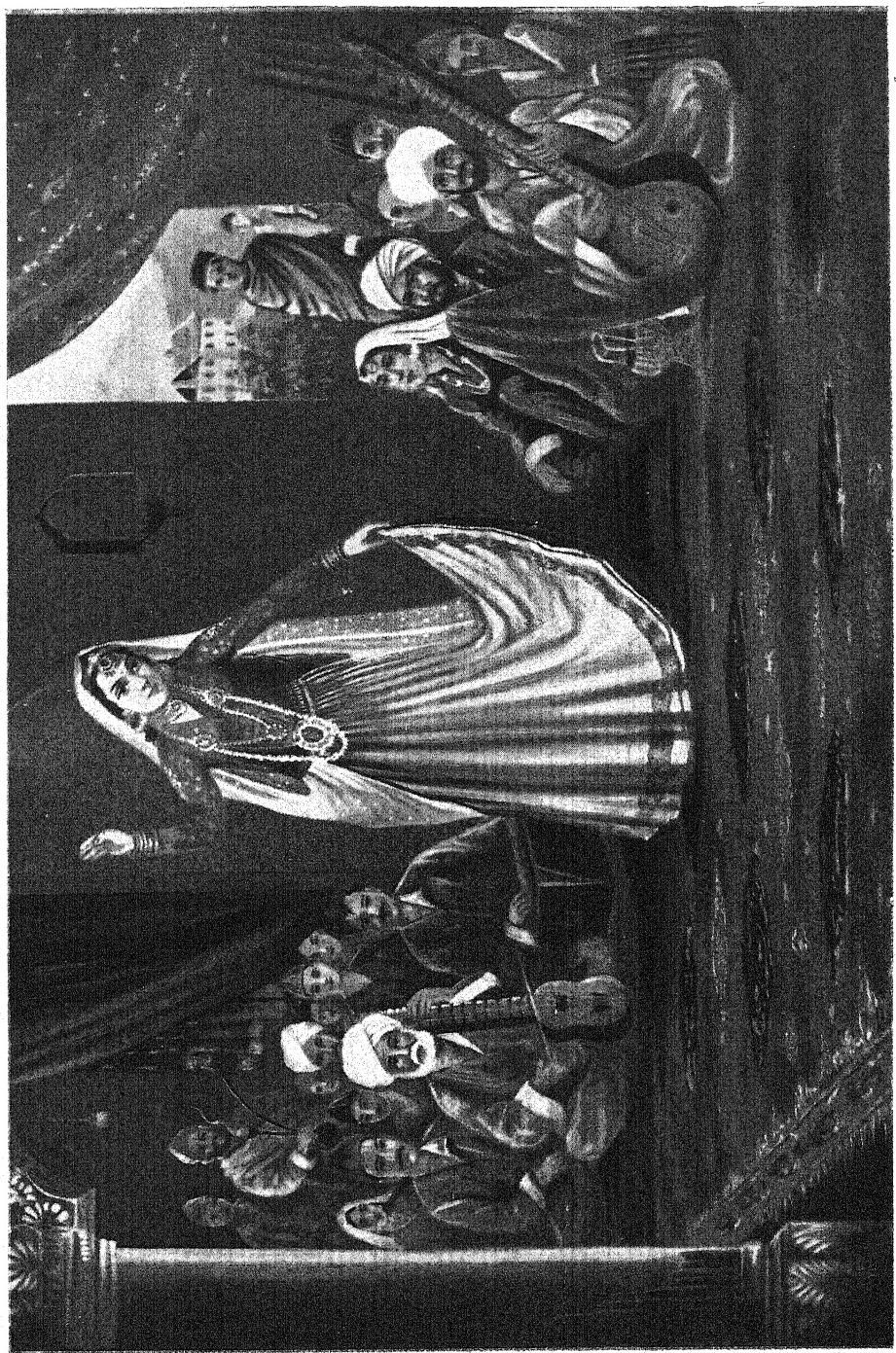
There was a great influx into Kashmīr of expert dancers both male and female. The Sultān encouraged the art of dancing by paying all dancers liberally and by employing the best ones in his service. "The king who was possessed of the three cardinal virtues, whose fame was spread over the three worlds . . . spent the three watches of the night in witnessing the three kinds of dance."

1. The *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī* of Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn, litho, page 603  
 2. *Kings of Kashmīrā*, page 135,

(*Kings of Kashmīra*, page 136). He was so enamoured of music that, whenever he was pleased with musicians he used to order that their musical instruments be "set with gold, silver and jewels."

Zain-ul-Ābidīn "was a part of Mahādeva (the greatest of the Hindu Triad, also called Natarāja or the king of Actors)," wrote Crivara (p. 133), "and his courtiers who attended on him were like Cupid who had multiplied into many persons in order to overcome him. The spectators and the singers knew literature, rhetoric, and philosophy, and appreciated merit. Young women, proficient in music, possessed of sweet voice, and with a genuine ardour for song, graced the palace. The men were learned and dignified, and fond of enjoyment; and they displayed their taste and their intelligence on the stage. The renowned Tārā and the actors sang various songs to the *nārācha* tune, and to every kind of music. And the songstress Utsavā who was even like Cupid's arrow, charming to the eye and proficient in dance, both swift and slow, entranced everyone. The actresses, who displayed the forty-nine different emotions seemed even like the ascending and descending notes of music personified. As they danced and sang, the eye and the ear of the audience seemed to contend for the keenest enjoyment. The scene was indeed beautiful. The songs of the actresses were like the voice of the *kokila* (Indian cuckoo). The stage was like a garden where the lamps on it looked like rows of the champaka flower, and around them were men intoxicated with wine, like bees around flowers. Rows of lamps surrounded the king, as if the gods, pleased with his government, had come to witness the dance, and had thrown a garland of golden lotuses round him. In some places, the rows of lamps were reflected on the water, as if Varuṇa (the Regent of the Ocean) had, out of favour towards the king, illumined his court with lights from the Nāga world. The lines of lamps shone like jewels on the heads of the Nāgas who had come to witness the dance. Those who were at a distance doubted if the lights were really lamps, or the spirits of former kings assembled to view the present sovereign, or stars and the moon descended from the sky to attend on the king, or the spirits of holy men who had attained emancipation, or if they were the great gods assembled there in their grace and beauty.

Kashmiri Singers and a Dance.





"The spectators seemed to view Indra (Lord of the Gods) himself in the king. The poets and panditas beside the king were like demigods. His servants were like the attendant gods. And the *yōgīs* around him were like holy men who had obtained salvation. The actresses were like *apsarās* (fairies) whose charms were heightened by their emotions. The singers were the *Gandharvas* (Indra's musicians), and the stage was heaven itself."<sup>1</sup>

A poet, named Uttha Soma, flourished at the royal court. He used to write verses in the Kashmīrī language. He was also a scholar of Indian sciences, and was the author of the biography of the Sultān. He wrote a book, named *Mānaka*, on music, which he dedicated to the Sultān. According to another account,<sup>2</sup> a book named *Jaina-charit* was written by Yodhabhaṭṭa. But Ārivara says: "Yodhabhaṭṭa is a poet in the vernacular language—viz. Kashmīrī, and composed drama, pure like a mirror called the *Jaina-prakasha* in which he gave an account of the king. Bhaṭṭāvatāra who had perused the *Shāh-nāma*, vast as the sea, composed a work named *Jaina-vilāsa*, as the counterpart of the king's *Instructions*" (page 136). When Dongar-Sen, the rājā of Gwāliār, heard of the Sultān's taste for music he sent him all standard books on Indian music. Gwāliār, it may be remembered, has been known as the home of music and musicians, and is proud of its association with Miyān Tān Sain.

#### *Sultān Haidar Shāh's interest in music.*

Sultān Haidar Shāh learnt the use of the lute from Khwāja 'Abdul Qādir, and the use of other instruments from Pandit Ārivara. Ārivara<sup>3</sup> says that the Sultān was so well-skilled in the art of playing on the lute that "he gave lessons even to the professors."

#### *Sultān Hasan Shāh's encouragement of music.*

Sultān Hasan Shāh was also a great patron of music. At his court, there were twelve hundred musicians from Hindustān. Ārivara, who says he was "the head of a section of the music department," states that Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (Shāh Mir) was gracious, 'Alā-ud-Dīn was politic, Shihāb-ud-Dīn was a hero, and Qutb-ud-Dīn was wise. Sultān Sikandar was the favourite of Muslim nobles. 'Alī

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, pages 133-134.

2. The *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* or the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*, Litho. page 344.

3. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 188.

Shāh was liberal. Zain-ul-Ābidin loved all branches of learning and was versed in the literature of all languages. Haidar Shāh was an expert in performances on the lute. But the present king (Hasan Shāh) is a master of music.” Crīvara adds : “ People observed that every one of the former kings of this country was famous for some special quality, but it is said of the present king, that even Jahāngir Māgre, and others so well versed in music, bowed at his feet when they heard his melodious and delightful songs.”<sup>1</sup>

Crīvara further records : “ The king was versed in Sanskrita verses, but was fond of vernacular (Kashmīrī) songs, and he repeated the following *shloka* in praise of music setting it to music : ‘ The power of music renovates withered trees, subdues the lower animals, and makes the gods descend to woods and speak unseen. In sorrow and in pleasure, it gives joy to the ignorant and the learned, to the young and the old alike. May such music abide with me ! ’ ”

“ The singers from Karnāṭa (below the Deccan) sat gracefully before the king as if they represented the six tunes : viz :—Kedāra, Gauḍa, Gāndhāra, Desha, Bhangāla, and Mālava. The female dancers of the king shone beautifully and bright like the lamps at night, they were inflamed by the god of love and were young and full of emotions, even as the lamps were fed by wax, and were new and supplied with wick. The female dancers Ratnamālā, Dīpamālā, and Nripamālā danced charmingly displaying emotions and gestures.” Ratnamālā is specially singled out by Crīvara for the enchanting charm of her dances.

“ Admirable are the kings who devote themselves every day to learning and to the compositions of poets, who encourage beautiful women skilled in music and overpowering as the five arrows of the god of love, and who devote themselves to the affairs of the world and of men. Pavārakadana was celebrated for his song, his poetry, and his music. He had heard of the king’s fame which was gratifying to his ears and he came to Kashmīr from his distant country. He sang songs composed by himself in the assembly, and the king was pleased with him, and showered gold on him.”<sup>2</sup>

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 234.

2. *Ibid.*, pages 231-3.

*Mīrzā Haidar's interest in music.*

Mīrzā Haidar Dughlāt, during his stay in Kashmīr in the 16th century, devoted much of his time and attention to music. Jahāngīr speaking of Mīrzā Haidar's interest in music at the time says : "There were many skilled people there. They were skilled in music, and their lutes, dulcimers, harps, drums, and flutes were celebrated." In fact, Abu'l Fazl takes Mīrzā Haidar to task for devoting too much of his time and attention to music.

*Akbar and Tān Sain.*

A strong revival of Indian music then came about in the days of Akbar. The emperor paid "much attention to it and was the patron of all who practised this enchanting art." "There were numerous musicians at court, Hindus, Irānīs, Tūrānīs and Kashmīrīs." "They were arranged in seven divisions one for each day of the week." The genius of Miyān Tān Sain, the Orpheus of India, who embraced Islam and assumed, or was given the title of Mīrzā and adopted, or was given, the name, 'Atā Husain, breathed new life into Indian music enlarging and developing it. Music thus regained its glory and was modernized to suit Muslim taste.\* The Mīrzā was the last great exponent. He unravelled the hidden mysteries of each *Rāg* and brought the technique to perfection. It is his systematization that has been followed since. This revival greatly affected the musicians of Kashmīr and consequently a good many Indian *rāganīs* found their way into the Valley.

*Yūsuf Shāh Chak.*

Malik Haidar Chādura who was for twenty years with Yūsuf Shāh Chak testifies to his love of music, and its encouragement by him. For, after all, it was the song of Habba that had attracted him to her. The Malik mentions that, while at the court of Akbar, Yūsuf Shāh corrected Tān Sain and the correction was duly acknowledged by the great singer.

Kashmīr *sāzindas* (or players) are experts at wind instruments like Totā-gazī, Al-Ghūza, Nāī, and Nafīrī. The popularity of the Kashmīrī *bhānd* or *bhagat* (minstrel) in the Punjāb may be gauged from the fact that he was till recently

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\* Vincent A. Smith's *Akbar*, 1927, pages 62 and 422, 423.

in demand on marriage occasions in places like Amritsar, Lāhore and Ludhiāna and the countryside because of a large Kashmīrī population in these cities, etc.

It will be interesting to note that, up to this day, groups of musicians and actors and rāsdhāris (musicians who perform Hindu religious plays) have been coming down from the Happy Valley to sing songs, dance, and play farces for the amusement of Kashmīris and others in the Punjāb. These minstrels of Kashmīr, says Lawrence,<sup>1</sup> can be recognized by their long black hair and stroller mien. They combine singing with acting and are great rovers. At harvest time, they move about the country. Their orchestra usually consists of four fiddles with a drum in the centre, or of clarionets and drums, but the company often contains twenty members or more. Their wardrobe is frequently of great value. Their acting is excellent, Lawrence thinks, and their songs are often very pretty. They are clever at improvisation, and are fearless as to its results. One of their favourite themes is a caricature of village life which is often very amusing and exact. The class known as *shā'ir* or poet do not act, but sing to the accompaniment of a guitar and compose verses. They have songs in Kashmīrī, Persian and Punjābī. The principal musical instruments known to Kashmīrī musicians are: (1) Gichak (Gezak) which resembles the Indian Sārangī but is somewhat bigger. It is played upon by a bow. (2) The Sitārī or the small *Sitār*, (3) the Qānūn, an instrument with many strings. It has زیر و بام—*zir u-bam*, i.e., it is sharp and deep. It is a fine instrument and sounds like a harp when played upon.

It is a highly significant fact that all Kashmīrī musicians are invariably Musalmāns. The Kashmīrī Pandits were theorists and chanted the *shlokas* and *mantras* in a set monotone.<sup>2</sup>

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[NOTE.—I am grateful to 'Atiya Begam Faizī Rahmin of Bombay, the author of the *Sangīt of India*, for her critical reading of this section on Music and for her suggestions.]

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1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 312.

2. The article of the late Rāi Bahādur Pandit Shiv Nārāyan Shamim, ex-President, Panjāb Historical Society, Lāhore, on "Kashmīrī Music" in the *Zamāna*, Cawnpore, November, 1916, from which useful information has been obtained,

## Painting

### *Mānī in Kashmīr.*

It is indeed curious that we should begin the section on painting with the great Mānī, who was born about 215-16 A.C. Firdausī makes Mānī a native of China, and places his death in the reign of Shāhpur of Irān, by whom, he says, Mānī was flayed alive about 273 A.C. Abu'l Fazl's account differs. According to him Mānī's presumption led him to claim the authority of a prophet. When his imposture was discovered, he was condemned to death, but he contrived to escape by flight. Abu'l Fazl further says that "Mānī remained in Kashmīr for a time and then entered India." Mānī had "learnt the art of painting in which he had attained incomparable skill. He painted some wonderful figures, which are celebrated by the name of Artang or Arzang. Mānī claimed that these were painted by angels and brought them forward as witness of his prophetic mission." Beyond this statement of Abu'l Fazl which may be referred to in the *A'in-i-Akbarī*,<sup>1</sup> there is no clue whatsoever to any painting left by Mānī in Kashmīr.

On account of the religious objection to the delineation of living forms, Muslims did not ordinarily go into the art of painting or achieve the excellence their genius could rise to in other fields of art. In India, it was probably the dictum of Akbar that gave a definite turn to the faculty of the Muslim artist when His Majesty said—"It appears to me as if a painter had quite peculiar means of recognizing God ; for, a painter in sketching anything that has life, and in devising its limbs, one after the other, must come to feel that he cannot bestow individuality upon his work, and is thus forced to think of God, the giver of life, and will thus increase in knowledge."<sup>2</sup> There is, a remarkable set of twenty-four large paintings on cotton, preserved in the Indian section of the Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington, London, that was produced in Kashmīr about the middle of the sixteenth century, before Akbar took measures to encourage painting after the Irānian manner. These cotton paintings are said to have been illustrations of a manuscript book of stories which has not been preserved

1. English Translation, by Col. H.S. Jarrett, Calcutta, Vol. 3, 1894, pages 336-337.

2. The *A'in-i-Akbarī*, English Translation, by H. Blockmann, Volume I, 1873, page 108.

or is identifiable. The subjects comprise many battles and scenes of bloodshed. The most pleasing and best preserved composition represents a central garden plot with *chinār* trees, and a highly decorated palace in the Irānian style ; cranes are seen flying above. The rocky scenery found in all, or almost all, the pictures is connected with Kashmīr. These works may be conjectured to have been executed in Kashmīr between 1540 and 1551 A.C.,<sup>1</sup> when Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt was in the Valley. Abu'l Fazl has recorded that Mulla Jamil who, as a singer, adorned the court of Zain-ul-Ābidīn, was pre-eminent among his contemporaries in painting. The Sultān must have, therefore, encouraged painting in his time, but unfortunately the details are lacking.

### *The Kashmīri Qalam.*

Pictures, originally painted in Kashmīr, are known as Kashmīri *qalam* (pen). Some of the details of the process of painting in Kashmīr are of considerable interest. Several uses were made of plain water, without the admixture of colour, this method being referred to as *ābina*. For instance, a sketch was sometimes drawn with a brush charged with pure water only ; when dry, this leaves a water-mark impression which acts as a guide for future work. A very delicate shade, says Percy Brown,<sup>2</sup> was obtained by the Kashmīri painters, who allowed water to stand until it had completely evaporated, thus depositing a slight sediment. This sediment was then used as a background tint to faces, and gave a faint but charming tone to the picture. Water was, of course, the principal medium through which all the pigments were applied, but with this certain fixatives were mixed such as gum, glue, raw sugar (*gur*), and linseed water.

### *The hāshiya or the border.*

While writing about painting, we should not omit to mention the *hāshiya*, or the border, of card-board panels. On the *hāshiya*, *tasāvīr* (pictures) and specimens of *khush-khatī* (calligraphy) were mounted, and were prepared by painters. Very often, it would appear that, as a work of art, the border is vastly superior to the picture it frames ; the latter not infrequently being eclipsed by the magnificence of its environment. For the most part, the borders are

1. Vincent A. Smith, *A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*, 1911, page 454.

2. *Indian Painting*, by Percy Brown, page 105.

painted in colours and gold, with delightful designs in which flowering plant motifs form the basis.

Specimens of Kashmīrī painting, during Mughul days, may still be found in fresco on the walls of the *bāradarīs* (summer houses) of the Nashāt and Shālāmār gardens. Akbar's celebrated group of court painters included five painters from Kashmīr.<sup>1</sup> Jahāngīr, who prided himself on being an excellent connoisseur of painting, did a great deal to stimulate the art in Kashmīr. The flowers of the Valley gave ample material to his chief court painter, *Ustād* or Master Mansūr, whose pictures of the flowers of Kashmīr the emperor got embellished and bound in a beautiful volume.

Fifteen portraits and a landscape painting of Kashmīr were exhibited at the British Empire Exhibition of 1924, but I regret I could not get details about them.

### Calligraphy

Calligraphy, or the art of decorative writing, in the words of Mr. Clarke,<sup>2</sup> has been highly esteemed in the East from ancient times, and contributed greatly in diffusing and preserving its languages. The script was, as it were, a 'carrier of holiness.' Under Muslim rule, the extraordinary appreciation of the art of calligraphy was undoubtedly indirectly engendered by the Muslim tradition which prohibited the representation of living things in art, and so 'the artistic spirit craved for satisfaction and found it in calligraphy.' An illuminated calligraphic text, points out Mr. Clarke, hung upon the wall, in the shape of a picture or painting from the Qur'ānic or other sacred or didactic writing, often draws a negligent soul much closer to the moral teaching inculcated in it than all the lessons that one may attempt to impress upon it by scriptural reading or recitation. Moreover, before the invention of printing, clear and neat handwriting was a necessity ; and this was the principal reason why so much stress was laid upon this art.

It would be interesting to note, as already stated in the section on sculpture, that the Arabic alphabet in its various forms, as used for writing both the Arabic and Persian languages, is so well adapted for decorative purposes that almost every Muslim building of importance is freely adorned with texts from the Qur'ān, or other inscriptions arranged decoratively to form part of the architectural

1. Percy Brown's *Indian Painting under the Moghuls*, page 121.

2. *Indian Drawings in the Wantage Bequest*, page 3.

design and often signed as the work of calligraphists. The angular *kūfi* script is an instance of this. In Kashmīr, calligraphy actually ranked before painting, sculpture and architecture. Some of the most excellent penmen, whose products are classics, are Kashmīris. Penmanship flourished under the Sultāns, and, later, under the Mughuls in Kashmīr, when Kashmīri calligraphists invented an ink which could not be washed away with water. The invention naturally received recognition from the Mughuls. Zain-ul-Ābidīn was the first to import a number of calligraphists from Central Asia, and introduced the use of paper instead of the *bhoj-patr* (birch-bark). The Sultān, to begin with, had a number of copies made of 'Allāma Zamakhsharī's<sup>1</sup> *Kashshāf* a well-known commentary of the Qur'ān, and used them in his university at Nau Shahr. He conferred *jāgīrs* on his court calligraphists.

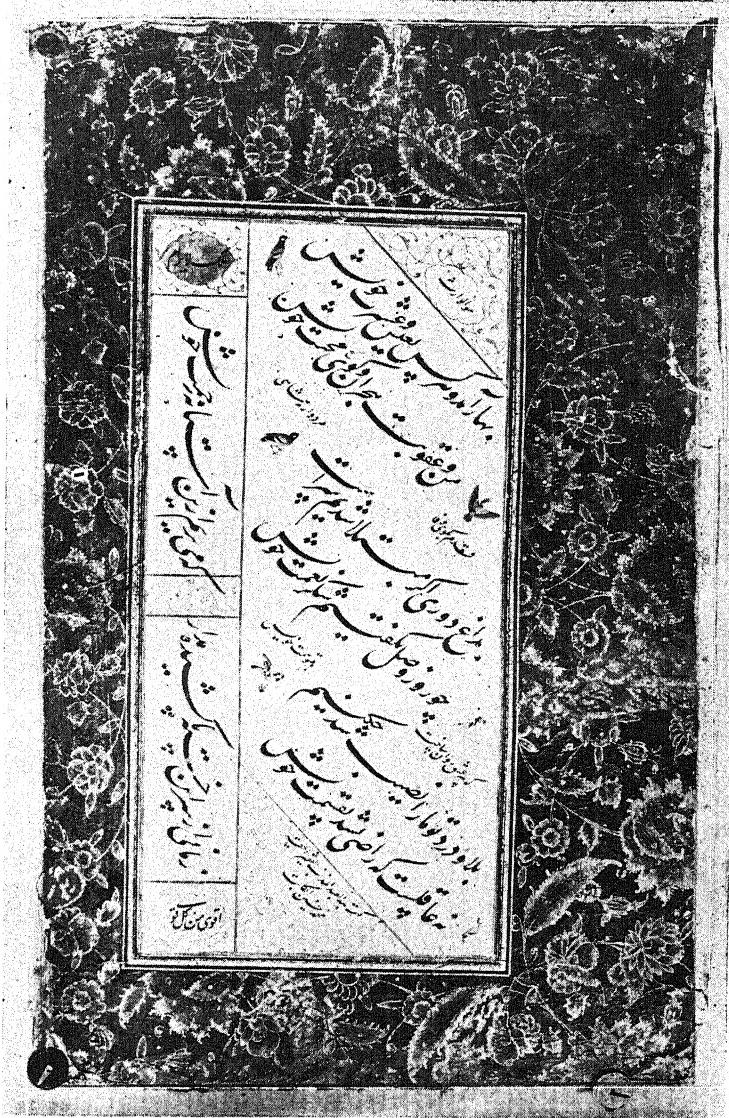
According to Abu'l Fazl,<sup>2</sup> the following calligraphic systems were used in Irān, Turkistān, India and Turkey towards the end of the sixteenth century: (1) the *Suls* and (2) the *Naskh* consisting of one-third curved lines and two-thirds straight lines; (3) the *Tauqī* and (4) *Riga'* both containing three-fourths curved lines; (5) the *Muhaqqaq* and (6) the *Raihān* both containing one-fourth curved lines; (7) the *T'alīq* a composite script, formed from the *Tauqī* and the *Riga'* containing only a few straight lines; and (8) the *Nasta'līq* composed entirely of curved lines. Numbers 1, 3 and 5 were characterized by thick, heavy letters obtained with a pen full of ink, and, conversely, 2, 4 and 6 by thin, light letters. No. 8, the *Nasta'līq* or the round Persian character, was the one favoured both by Akbar and Jahāngīr and, consequently, was specially practised by Mughul writers from about 1560 A.C. to the end of the seventeenth century.

### *Muhammad Husain "Zarrīn Qalam."*

Muhammad Husain of Kashmīr was the court calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar, by whom he was honoured with the title of *Zarrīn Qalam* (of golden pen). Abu'l Fazl says that Muhammad Husain surpassed his master Maulānā 'Abdul 'Azīz, his *maddāt* (extensions) and *dawā'ir*

1. 'Allāma Jār-ullāh Zamakhsharī (467-538 A.H.=1074-1143 A.C.), whose original name was Abu'l Qāsim Mahmūd bin 'Umar, was a well-known and learned theologian of the Mu'tazilites.

2. The *A'in-i-Akbarī*, English Translation by H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta Madrasah, Bengal Asiatic Society, Calcutta, 1873, Vol. I, p. 99.



Specimen of the calligraphy of Muhammad Husain Kashmiri, the court calligraphist of the Emperor Akbar. The title of "Zarrin Qalam", of Golden Pen, was conferred on Muhammad Husain by the Emperor.



(curvatures) show everywhere a proper proportion to each other, and art critics consider him equal to Mullā Mir 'Alī. Akbar called him *Jādū-raqam*<sup>1</sup> (the writer whose penmanship has the effect of magic). Jahāngīr, who calls him "the chief<sup>2</sup> of the elegant writers of the day," as a mark of his great appreciation of the skill of Muhammad Husain, presented him with an elephant. Muhammad Husain died in 1020 A.H. (1611 A.C.), six years after Akbar's death. A copy of Muhammad Husain's facsimile appears on the opposite page.

'Alī Chaman Kashmīrī was another of the noted calligraphists attached to Akbar's court.

Muhammad Murād Kashmīrī<sup>3</sup> was the court calligraphist of Shāh Jahān. In point of beauty, his penmanship was considered next only to those of the celebrated Mullā Mir 'Alī and Sultān 'Alī. He was the master of both large and small hands. Shāh Jahān conferred on him the title of *Shirin Qalam* (the sweet pen). His influence over contemporary calligraphists was extraordinary. The curvature of his letters was universally acclaimed to be superb. Muhammad Muhsin, the younger brother of Muhammad Murād, was also a well-known calligraphist. Both the brothers were poets as well. They were the sons of a well-known merchant.

Mullā Bāqir Kashmīrī was also in the service of Shāh Jahān and was considered a master<sup>4</sup> of *Nasta'liq*, *Ta'liq*, *Naskh* and *Shikast*.

Ahmad, Haidar, Ibrāhīm, Kamāl, and Ya'qūb are other noted names<sup>5</sup> mentioned in connexion with the illumination of some well-known manuscripts and paintings. Information about these painters and calligraphists is not, however, available.

1. *Tazkira-i-Khushnawīsān* by Maulānā Ghulām Muhammad *Haft Qalam* of Delhi, edited by Maulavī Hidāyat Husain, and published by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, page 79.

2. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahāngīrī*, English Translation, Rogers and Beveridge, 1909, Vol. I, page 97.

3. *Ibid.*, page 91.

4. *Tazkira-i-Khushnawīsān*, pages 100 and 101.

5. Dr. 'Abdullāh Chaghtāī's contribution to the *Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute* for 1943-44, Volume V, Appendix pp. 307-311.

The scripts generally used<sup>1</sup> in Kashmīr are : in Arabic—*Kūfi*, *Naskh*, *Makramat*, *Suls*, *Riqā*, and *Raihān*; in Persian—*Nasta'līq*, *Shikast*, *Gulzār*, *Nākhun*, *Shikast-āmīz*, and *Shafī'a*.

## INDUSTRIES

The beautiful environment of Kashmīr naturally creates in the minds of its inhabitants a keen and intelligent appreciation of nature and its beauties. The artistic faculty of the Kashmīri receives a great stimulus from the beautiful surroundings in which he lives. The variety of colour and form, the subtlety of design, the kaleidoscopic change of landscape have their effect on the imaginative and thoughtful Kashmīri. He reproduces with marvellous accuracy the most complicated patterns found in nature. In reproducing the colours and designs of nature, the Kashmīri artist has attained a mastery and perfection all his own. With elegance of taste and a refinement of artistic sense, he combines the virtue of application and labour. He revels in art for its own sake. His works of art are things of beauty. The Kashmīri finds beauty all round. He reproduces beauty. In fact, he creates beauty. And he is satisfied with nothing but beauty :

زیرک و درّای و حوش گل میّنچه است  
در جهان تر دستی اُو آینه است—[اقبال]

The Kashmīri's body and clothes are no doubt dirty but, like nature, his creative work is like the rose rising from mud.

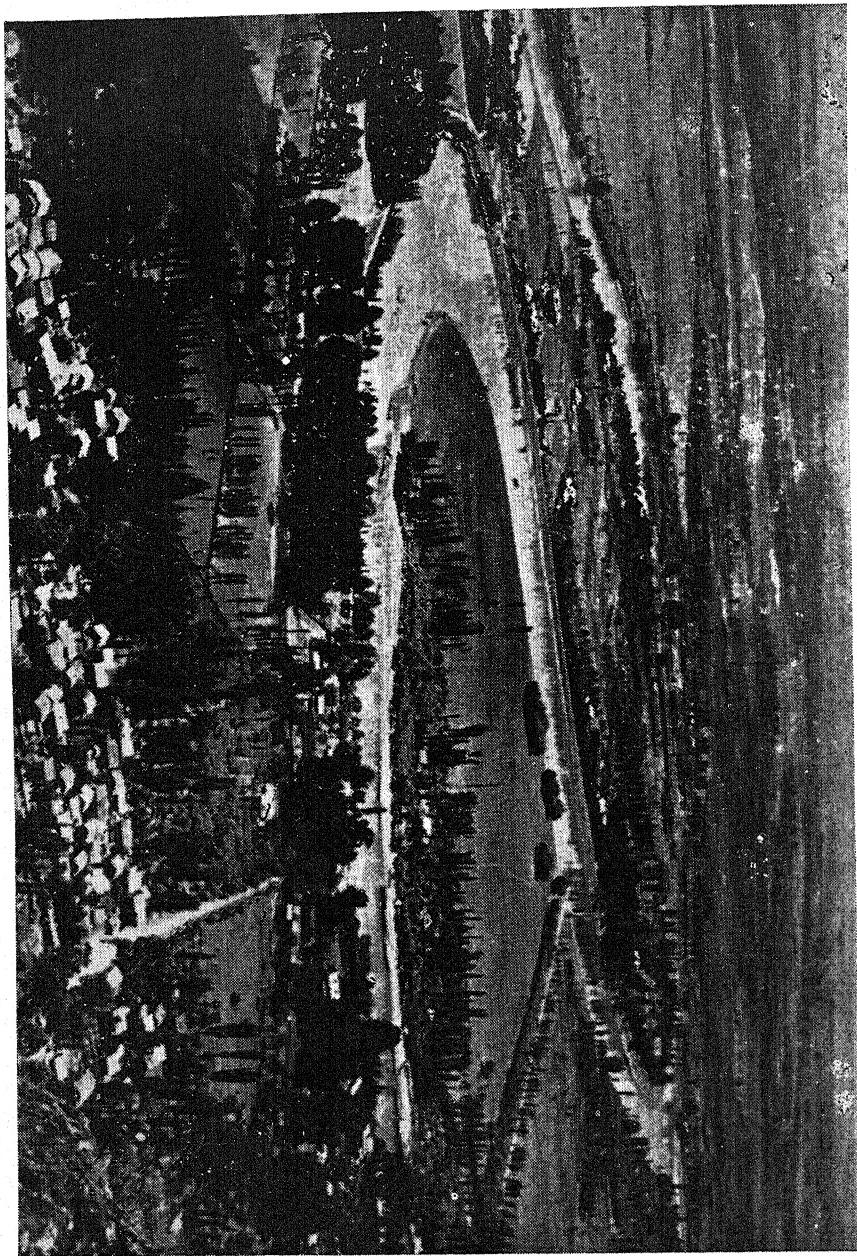
The industries of Kashmir are all suited to its climate and environment. Nature has amply provided raw products for the Kashmīri, who thus applies his genius to creative work to the best advantage. The industries of Kashmir are worthy of individual consideration.

Just as Europe was in slumber when the Saracens had reached the height of their glory, Upper India lacked even the elements of stable government when Kashmir was the centre of learning and the home of arts and crafts that made it so famous in the world. Speaking of those times, Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt<sup>2</sup> says : “In Kashmir one meets with all those arts and crafts which are in most cities uncommon, such as stone-polishing, stone-cutting, bottle-

1. *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* by Diwān Kirpā Rām, page 505.

2. The *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation by Ross and Elias, page 434.





The curve of the River Jhelum above Srinagar.

making, window-cutting (*tābdān tarāshī*), gold-beating, etc. In the whole of Māvarā-an-Nahr (Trans-Oxiana), except in Samarcand and Bukhārā, these are nowhere to be met with, while in Kashmīr they are even abundant. This is all due to Sultān Zain-ul-‘Ābidīn.”

### Shawls

Of all Indian textiles, says Dr. A. Coomaraswamy,<sup>1</sup> none excel in beauty of colour, texture and design the famous Kashmīr shawls. All the finest work takes the form of shawls and *chughas* (coats). The word *jāmāvār*, the most costly form of the flowered sheet or shawl, signifies literally a gown-piece. Some of the shawls and *chughas* are woven, some embroidered, the result being often indistinguishable without close inspection or an examination of the reverse side of the stuff. The woven shawls are all of patchwork construction, though the joins are so fine as to be invisible and the thickness of the stuff is not affected at the join. Such shawls are made of long strips or ribbons woven as fine tapestry on small looms, and afterwards joined along their length. But many of the best shawls are partly woven and partly embroidered. The finest work appears more like painting than tapestry. And the most costly may be worth as much as or more than a thousand pounds. Even at the period of miserable collapse in the shawl trade after the Franco-German War of 1870, a shawl could fetch £300 sterling in Kashmīr itself, says Andrew Wilson writing in 1875. The usual motif of the decoration of the woven shawls, as Dr. Coomaraswamy points out, is the well-known *kūnj* (cone) derived almost certainly from the Irānian<sup>2</sup> wind blown cypress. Some, however, attribute the cone to ancient Egypt. But it is not improbable that the cone, which the glorious Jhelum itself forms above Srinagar, looked at from the top of the Takht-i-Sulaimān, may have suggested itself to the Kashmīri artist. An embroidered scarf may follow any design or illustrate any story like that of Shīrīn-Farhād.

“The shawl of Kashmīr is, perhaps, the only article of apparel that improves by wear,” wrote Baron Schönberg in his *Travels* published in 1853 A.C. (page 134), “but certain it is that one of these beautiful fabrics which has been worn for some time, and even washed, becomes

1. *The Arts and Crafts of India and Ceylon*, 1913, page 250.

2. *Ibid.*, page 251,

brighter in colour, and more pliant to the touch than when new." One of these shawls may be worn for years without losing anything of its beauty. In fact, through use, the shawl will acquire a certain flexibility which improves its appearance. Frequent washings lessen the value of the shawl, but the colours are so excellent, and so little affected by time, that connoisseurs cannot determine the age of a shawl by its appearance, even when it has been a long time in wear.

### *Shawls made of Kēl-phamb.*

The beauty of the shawl depends as much on the brilliancy and durability of its unrivalled colours, and their being carefully harmonized, and the material of which it is made, as on the quality of its workmanship. The shawl is made of fine, short, soft, flossy under-fur called *tosh* or *kēl-phamb*, or the *pashm* (fine wool) of the *kēl* or shawl goat, also called the Himālayan ibex or the Ladākhī goat (*Capra sibirica*). The *kēl* inhabits the elevated regions of Tibet and is found in the mountains of Ladākh, Baltistān and Wardwān. The higher the *kēl* lives, the finer and warmer is its wool. Andrew Wilson, writing in 1875, notes that the finest of the goat's wool employed in shawl manufacture comes from Turfān, in the Yārqand territory. He adds : "It is only on the wind-swept steppes of Central Asia that animals are found to produce so fine a wool." On an average, a sheep in Kashmīr yields two pounds of wool per year. Most shawls are usually  $3\frac{1}{2}$  yards long and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  yards in breadth or thereabout.

### *Origin of the shawl industry.*

The shawl industry in Kashmīr may be said to be as old as the hills. It is stated to have flourished in the days of the Kurus and Pāṇḍus. It was a prosperous industry in the days of the Roman empire, when Kashmīri shawls "were worn by the proudest beauties at the court of the Cæsars." In Aṣoka's time, we find the shawl mentioned in Buddhistic works as the Kashmīri shawl. But thereafter for a long period this art was dead.\*

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\*The article of the late Pandit Ānand Kaul Bāmizai, President, Srinagar Municipality, "The Kashmir Shawl Trade," in the now defunct *East and West* of January, 1915, page 30. Obviously this article is based on the *Risālah dar Fann-i-Shālbāfi* written by Hāji Mukhtār Shāh Ashā'i, at the instance of Dr. G. W. Leitner, Kūh-i-Nūr Press, Lāhore, 1887. Hāji Mukhtār Shāh traded in Kashmīr shawls with France for 32 years.

*Shāh Hamadān's initiative in the shawl industry.*

It was, however, through the efforts of the great saint, Shāh Hamadān,<sup>1</sup> in the latter part of the fourteenth century, that the shawl, as we know it now, was born in Kashmīr. Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, who was then the ruler of Kashmīr, "patronized, nourished and stimulated it." About two centuries later, the shawl industry received an impetus through the endeavours of Naghz Beg, a resident of Khūqand.<sup>2</sup> Naghz Beg was in the service of Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt. An artist by nature, it was Naghz Beg who introduced in the texture of the shawl, a new feature of red and green spots in regular rows.

*Classes of Shawls.*

There are two principal classes of shawls, namely, *tīlī* or *kānī* or loom-woven, and the '*amalīkār*'. The design of the '*amalī*' is worked in almost imperceptible stitches covering the whole ground in an elaborate pattern. The production of an '*amalī*' shawl may involve a year's labour and be sufficient to make a fine *choga*. This latter was invented by Sa'īd Bābā<sup>3</sup> alias 'Alā Bābā, in the time of Āzād Khān, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr from 1783 to 1785 A.C. It is said that Sa'īd Bābā was led to this invention by observing a fowl walking on a white sheet of cloth. The fowl left prints of its dirty feet on the cloth. This suggested to him that, if he covered these stains with coloured thread with the help of the needle, the cloth would look prettier. He did so, and found his attempt successful. He improved upon it.

*Shawls under the Mughuls.*

In the days of the Mughul emperors, the art of shawl weaving attained to such excellence that a shawl of one and a half square yards could be twisted and passed through an ordinary finger ring. It is available today and is known as the ring-shawl of Kashmīr. A similar silken shawl is also a ring-shawl in that sense. Many Andījān<sup>4</sup> weavers

1. Page 30 of the article of P. Ānand Kaul quoted in the footnote of p. 562.

2. Khūqand, the capital of Farghāna, is now a town in the Soviet Republic of Uzbek, Russian Turkistan, situated on the Sir Daryā. It manufactures cutlery, silks and cotton fabrics and is the centre of a large trade. In 1926 A.C., its population was 69,324.

3. Pandit Ānand Kaul's article quoted above.

4. Andījān is a town in Russain Turkistān, south of Sir Daryā, a terminus of the Trans-Caspian Railway, 73 miles north-east of Khūqand. Its population is 82,235.

were brought down to Kashmīr by the Mughuls. These weavers adopted the *jiūgha* design. The *jiūgha* was a jewelled ornament in shape like an almond, and was worn on the turban. The *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*<sup>1</sup> records how Akbar improved the department of shawls in four ways and how he himself wore them. The price of different shawls ranged between rupees two hundred to twelve hundred each in those days. Jahāngīr, Shāh Jahān and Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr were all extremely fond of shawls, and patronized and subsidized the shawl-weaving industry. Bernier,<sup>2</sup> at his visit, found the shawl promoting the trade of the country and filling it with wealth. In the reign of Emperor Muhammad Shāh, a new floral design was introduced, and named after him *Muhammad Shāhī Būtā*.

### *Shawls under the Afghāns.*

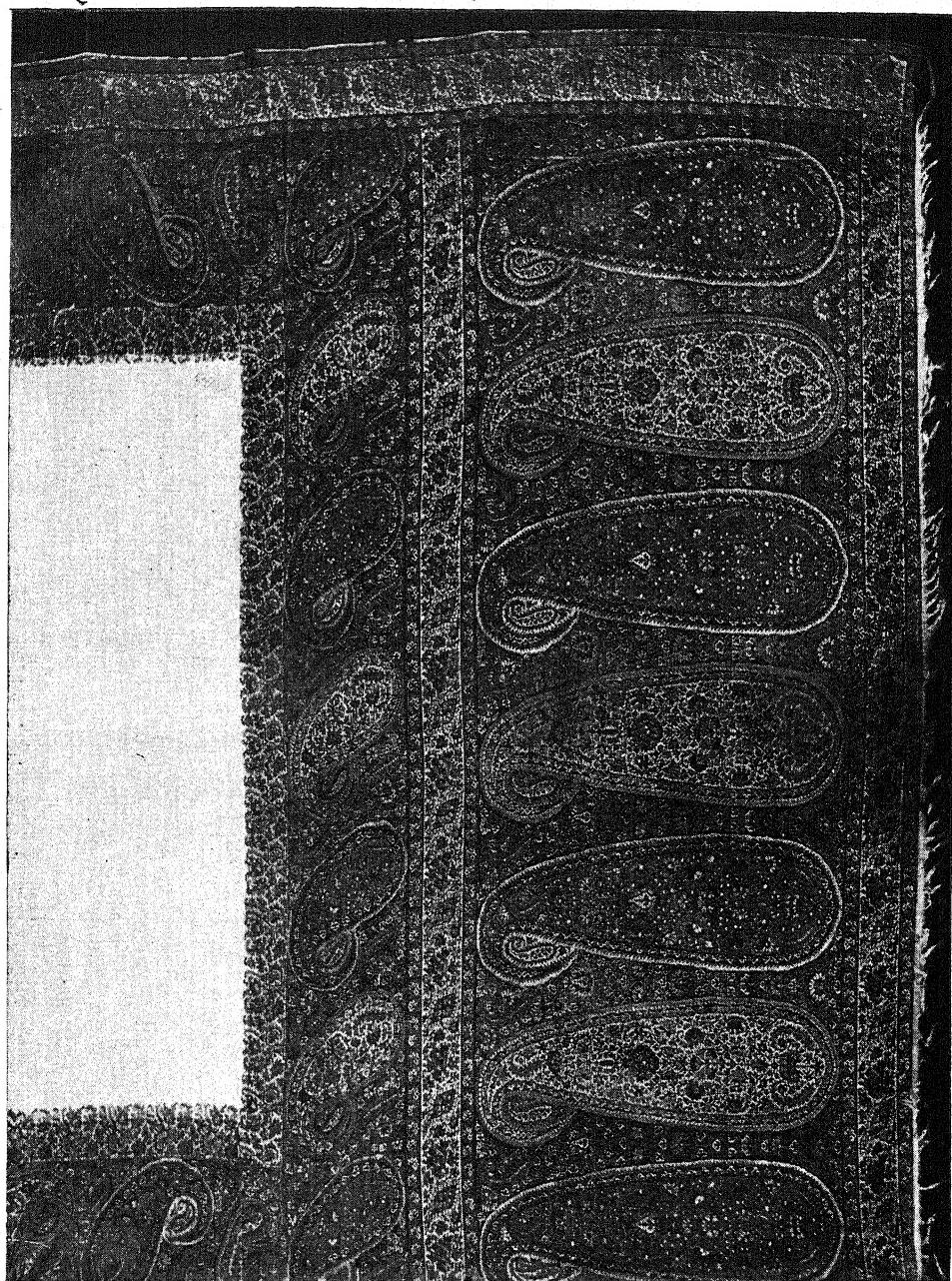
Later on, when the Afghāns came to rule in Kashmīr the shawl industry was further improved. The Afghāns showed much liking for shawls. In their days, shawls were in demand in Īrān, Afghānistān, Turkistān and Russia. "In Kashmir are seen," wrote George Forster in 1783 A.C., "merchants and commercial agents of most of the principal cities of Northern India, also of Tartary, Persia and Turkey who, at the same time, advance their fortunes and enjoy the pleasure of a fine climate and country over which are profusely spread the various beauties of nature." He also notes the number of shawl looms as 16,000, though he says that under the Mughuls it was 40,000 [*Journey*, page 22]. The trade with Turkistān was on the increase in consequence of the extending demands of Russia, according to William Moorcroft<sup>3</sup> about 1821 A. C. William Moorcroft<sup>4</sup> estimates the whole value of shawl goods manufactured in Kashmīr at about 35 lakhs of rupees per annum or three hundred thousand pounds. During Sikh rule, it had much declined and in 1822-23 he expected that the value would scarcely exceed half the above sum. But latterly there was an improvement.

1. Blochmann's English Translation, 1873, Vol. I, page 91.

2. *Travels*, second edition, revised by V. A. Smith, 1914, page 402.

3. *Travels*, page 195.

4. *Ibid.*, page 194. Moorcroft gives details of the preparation and value of shawls made in Kashmīr when he was in the Valley, *vide* pages 164-195, Chapter III of his *Travels*, Volume II.



Specimen of a shawl prepared during Afghān rule in Kashmir.



Specimen of an old Kashmir Carpet in Iranian design.

### *Prices of Shawls.*

"The price at the loom of an ordinary shawl is eight rupees, thence in proportional quality, it produces from fifteen to twenty; and I have seen," wrote George Forster<sup>1</sup> in 1873, during Afghān days, "a very fine piece sold at forty rupees the first cost. But the value of this commodity may be largely enhanced by the introduction of flowered work; and when you are informed that the sum of one hundred rupees is occasionally given for a shawl to the weaver, the half amount may be fairly ascribed to the ornaments."

Mir 'Izzatullāh in his *Travels* in 1812-13 found "the *Wāfarūsh* financing shawl manufacturers, and the *Mugīms* appraising shawls. All merchants made their purchases through these *Mugīms*."<sup>2</sup>

Even then, "before the time of General Meean Singh, who was made Governor in 1843-44," wrote Lieutenant Taylor,<sup>3</sup> "the duty on shawls was taken according to the number made and stamped in the year at the rate of three annas in the rupee, every hundred rupees being first reckoned arbitrarily at 144. Besides these two duties, there were many others, such as *chuttianah*, *russoom dewanke*, *hakamee*, *nuzzuranah*, etc., the nature of which I shall not describe here, as it does not affect my subject. By this system the number of shops in Shere Singh's Governorship, which immediately preceded that of Meean Singh, was reduced to six or seven hundred, and the whole business was likely to be destroyed." In Ranbir's reign, Andrew Wilson says, "the shawl weavers get miserable wages and are allowed neither to leave Kashmīr, nor change their employment, so that they are nearly in the position of slaves; and their average wage is only about three half pence a day."<sup>4</sup>

### *How shawls became fashionable in the West.*

It is said that in 1796 A.C., in the time of 'Abdullāh Khān, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr, a blind man, named Sayyid Yahyā,<sup>5</sup> had come from Baghdād as a visitor to Kashmīr. When he took leave from 'Abdullāh Khān to return, the latter gave him a present of an orange-coloured shawl. The Sayyid is stated to have presented the shawl

1. *Journey*, Vol. II, page 21.

2. *Travels in Central Asia*, translated by Captain Henderson, page 4.

3. *Lahore Political Diaries*, Vol. VI, page 44.

4. *The Abode of Snow*, page 398.

5. Pandit Anand Kaul's article on "Shawls," page 34.

to the Khedive in Egypt who, in his turn, presented it to Napoleon Bonaparte, then engaged in the Egyptian campaign. Napoleon passed it on to the future Empress Josephine.<sup>1</sup> From that time, these beautiful Eastern wraps became fashionable for beautiful Western shoulders in Paris and elsewhere.

But according to another account<sup>2</sup> as early as 1519 A.C., "the Kashmir fabrics, even of the finer kind, must have been known in the west of Europe as may be inferred from the tradition that the light veil fastened by a thin golden thread over the forehead, covering the back of the head and falling on the shoulders, of Leonardo da Vinci's famous portrait of Mona Lisa, wife of Francesco of Giocondo, a citizen of Florence, was in reality one of those earlier Kashmir fabrics that could be drawn through a lady's ring as a test of its fineness."

"This fine, silky web of wool," says Larousse, "worked with fanciful flowers, distinguished by the tints of its colours, its singular designs, those strange palms draped in shades of great varieties, those borders formed of tortuous lines crossing each other in endless devices, all combine to inspire, at the very sight of a shawl, those who see it with a desire to possess it. Fashion adopted it, protected it, and it soon became the indispensable item of an elegant wardrobe with all those who could afford to purchase and thus aspire to be considered well dressed. Woe to the husbands whose limited incomes would not admit of making their wives a present of a shawl! Double woe to those ladies whose husbands were too poor or too stingy to afford their wives the gratification of their wishes."<sup>3</sup> In Balzac<sup>4</sup> we come across a reference to "white Cashmere." In fact 'Cashmere' or rather 'Cashmerette' came to be applied to a woollen fabric made in France and England in imitation of true 'Cashmere.'

According to Andrew Wilson, writing in 1875, in France, shawls still formed a portion of almost every bride's *trousseau*, and at least in novels every lady of the *demi-monde* is described as wrapped in *un vrai Cachemere*. France alone took about 80 per cent of Kashmir shawls exported from Asia. The United States of America took 10, Italy 5,

1. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 376.

2. *Inside Kashmir*, page 74.

3. Quoted in "Kashmir and its Shawls," page 22.

4. *The Marriage Contract*, Caxton Edition, 1897, page 58.

Russia 2, Great Britain and Germany one per cent each. The vogue of the shawl was thus assured. "During the last ten or fifteen years," wrote Baron Schönberg who was in Kashmīr in the middle of the last century, "a brisk trade in shawls has been carried on between France and Kashmīr. This intercourse has been greatly promoted through the influence of the French gentlemen resident at Lahore. . . . General Ventura<sup>1</sup> took a very active interest in this trade, and during some years had an agent, a French gentleman, in Kashmir. . . . The French agents were in the habit of sending patterns as well as shawls<sup>2</sup> to their own country" (*Travels*, pages 136-137).

In Ranbir Singh's time, French trade was represented by several houses and their annual exports, chiefly of shawls, averaged in value, it is said,<sup>3</sup> four lacs of rupees. Besides this, the French had establishments at Amritsar where a large trade was done by them.

During the reign of Queen Victoria,<sup>4</sup> it was customary for Her Majesty to present a Kashmīr shawl as a wedding present to a bride, if her people were connected with the court. So these shawls became fashionable in England also. It is significant, therefore, that Baron Schönberg should note that the English Government, when Lahore was still under the Sikhs, made an attempt to bring Kashmīri weavers to Ludhiāna, a large *bāzār* was built for them and shops and houses were erected for workmen apparently to feed the supply for England.

#### *Kashmīr shawl not successfully copied.*

The fine shawl of Kashmīr has not however been successfully manufactured elsewhere. The following extract from a report<sup>5</sup> will illustrate it: "196. A rich banker by name Shoogun Chund, of a respectable establishment and treasurer to the Residency, has within two years made up several shawls under his own personal inspection getting the material and workmen from Cashmere; but the expenses are much beyond the saleable value of the manufacture, nor is it equal in any respect to the same kind of article made at Cashmere.

1. General Ventura was in Sikh service. His residence was in Anārkali, Lāhore.

2. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, letter 17, page 206.

3. J. F. Blacker's *A. B. C. of Indian Art*, pages 18-19.

4. Report by Mr. T. Fortescue, Civil Commissioner, Delhi, on the customs and town duties of the Delhi Territory, dated 22nd July 1820—*Records of the Delhi Agency* 180-57, Chapter VI, page 168.—*Punjab Government Records*, Punjab Government Press, Lāhore, 1911.

The colour in particular is defective and this, it is said, is a peculiar property of Cashmere itself. No article washed (*sic*) even in its neighbourhood attains to the same superior perfection in this respect. Runjeet Singh tried similarly to manufacture shawls at Lahore, but failed in the same manner as Shoogun Chand has done here.”

That the British attempt to produce shawls failed will appear from what Baron Hügel<sup>1</sup> says : “The English had begun to aspire to universal dominion in India : the sums of money yearly expended for the shawls of Kashmīr had not escaped their attention, and it had become a question, which engaged their merchants whether it would not be more profitable to manufacture the wool in Hindustan or in England, or even whether it would be possible to introduce the breed of sheep into their own country, and secure the exclusive produce of that material. Mr. Moorcroft, an enterprising man, who had gone out to India as a veterinary surgeon, was commissioned by his government to make journey through the Himalaya to the table-land of Tibet, and report on this matter.” Moorcroft’s “zealous inquiries into the management of the shawl-wool goat and the various processes of the Kashmīr shawl manufacture together with the specimens he sent home, are allowed to have contributed much to the improvement of the shawl industry at home.”<sup>2</sup>

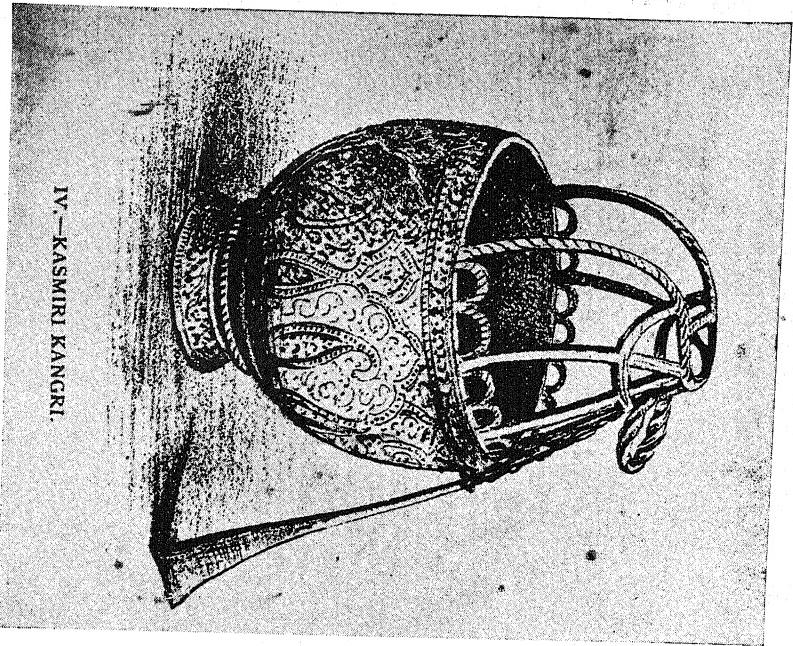
In the days of Sikh rule and in the early days of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh, the industry may be said to have been in a somewhat flourishing condition. But it received its death-blow when war broke out between Germany and France in 1870. Old Kashmīris still talk of “the excitement and interest with which the *shāl-bāf* (shawl-weaver) watched the fate of France in that struggle, bursting into tears and loud lamentations when the news of Germany’s victories reached him.” Unfortunately, on account of the heavy war indemnity, the French had no spare cash for the purchase of Kashmīr shawls. The revival of the industry received a set-back again on account of the famine of 1878 and 1879. A good many shawl-weavers left Kashmīr for Lāhore, Amritsar and Ludhiāna where they carried on the trade up to August, 1947. A present-day publicist<sup>3</sup>

1. *Travels*, page 8.

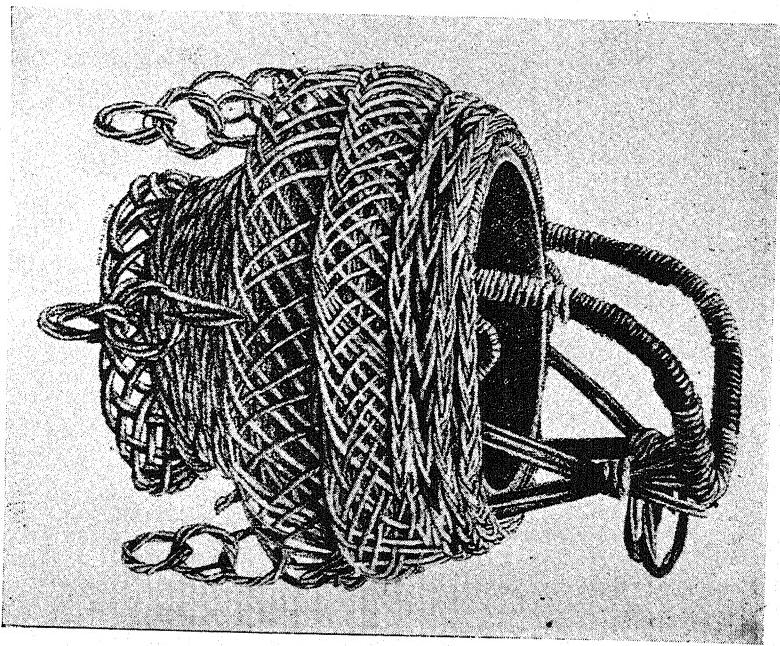
2. Quoted in the *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, April 1933, page 88.

3. *Inside Kashmir*, page 78. . . .

*See pages 589-91 of Dr. Sufi's "Kashmir" for details about the Kangri.*



IV.—KASHMIRI KANGRI.



The Kashmiri Kangri or the Kangri as pronounced by Non-Kashmiris

(From the *Indian Antiquary*, October, 1885.)



A type of the Dal-guldār or Applique Gabba on a Carpet design  
(From Publication No. 1, Department of Industries and Commerce,  
Jammu and Kashmir State.)

wisely suggests that, if the market in the West was lost the Kashmīr State authorities could find a new market elsewhere.

It is said that the shawl-weavers are forgetting their old art and are imitating the new fashions of Paris and London. The import of cheap German and Australian yarn will, it is feared, ring the death-knell of the slowly-dying shawl industry. In the circumstances, it may not retain its old glory. A part, however, of what remains of the once extensive trade in shawls was till recently kept up by the Bengāli's passion for the shawl. He was one of the important customers of the Kashmīr shawl merchant of Srīnagar and Amritsar, though his fondness for it is now greatly diminishing. Baron Schönberg saw, in his time, Bengālis employing Kashmīri weavers for shawl making.

We should not here forget the heavy woollen fabric, named *pattu*, and the heavy woollen blanket named *lōī*. Tweed cloths of much better quality than *pattu* and *lōī* are now being produced for suitings.

### Embroidery

Embroidery\* is the most widely scattered, the most artistic but unfortunately the least organized industrial handicraft in Kashmīr. The embroiderer has been closely connected with the shawl industry, and has made a very important contribution to the production of some of the most artistic designs. From the finest embroidery work on shawls, the embroiderer slowly descends to needle-work on silks, woollen and cotton textiles ; and to hook work, or *jālik-dūzī*, on coarser stuff and *namadas*. The main types of embroidery are : 1. *Sūzānī* or tamboured work, 2. *'Amalī*, 3. *Chikin-dūzī*, and 4. *Jālik-dūzī*. It is practised both as a whole-time and a subsidiary occupation. It is definitely sweated labour.

Designs used in embroidery are of many varieties. They are generally based on natural scenery, foliage, animal or insect life of Kashmir.

### The Gabba

The *gabba* is an unique type of floor covering, prepared from old woollen blankets in a variety of forms and designs. The types are :—(1) Appliqué or *Dal-guldār* with a circular

\*Notes on Embroidery and the "Gabbā" were supplied by Dr. Radhā Krishn Bhān, M.A., Ph.D. (London), of the Kashmīr Educational Service, and are reproduced with some modifications.

star in the middle called the *chānd* (2) Embroidery (3) Combined appliqué and embroidery and (4) Printed.

The origin of this industry is not known but there are several anecdotes current. One of these traces the origin to a refugee from Kābul named 'Abdur Rahmān who prepared an embroidered saddle-piece for his host Kamāl Baṭ of Ratson village near Trāl, south-east of Avantipōr.

The designs made are borrowed from natural scenery, animal and insect life, or other fine craft like wood-work.

Mahārājā Ranbir Singh gave a fillip to the *gabba* industry when he invited Muhammad Baṭ, Jamāl Baṭ, Rasūl Māgre and Nūr Shaikh, experts, to Srinagar to prepare *shāmiānas*, *qanāts* and *gabbas* for State use. *Bānāt* or broad cloth, instead of old *lōīs*, improved the value and appearance of the *gabba* immensely.

The work is mainly localized at Islāmābād (Anantnāg). Printed *gabbas* are a speciality of Bārāmūlā.

**Islāmābād.**—Islāmābād is 32 miles from Srinagar by road. By river, it is 47 miles. Islāmābād is situated at the base of a conical hill on the edge of the Mārtāṇḍ plateau. The hill commands a very wide and striking view. The town is picturesquely embedded in trees and intersected by running streams. About a mile from the town, the river Jhelum becomes navigable. Besides other springs, there are sulphur springs visited for skin diseases. The population of the town is 11,985 of whom 10,120 are Muslims. Hindus call the town Anantnāg on account of the great spring of Gesha or Anant Nāga (countless springs), which issues at the southern end of the town. Stein could not find any old notice of the town, and says that it is, in all probability, as its Muslim name implies, a later foundation. A good deal of weaving is done here. Floor-cloths, called *gabbas* are specially noted. There is a Town Area Committee. A municipality has, however, been proposed by a Commission in 1944.

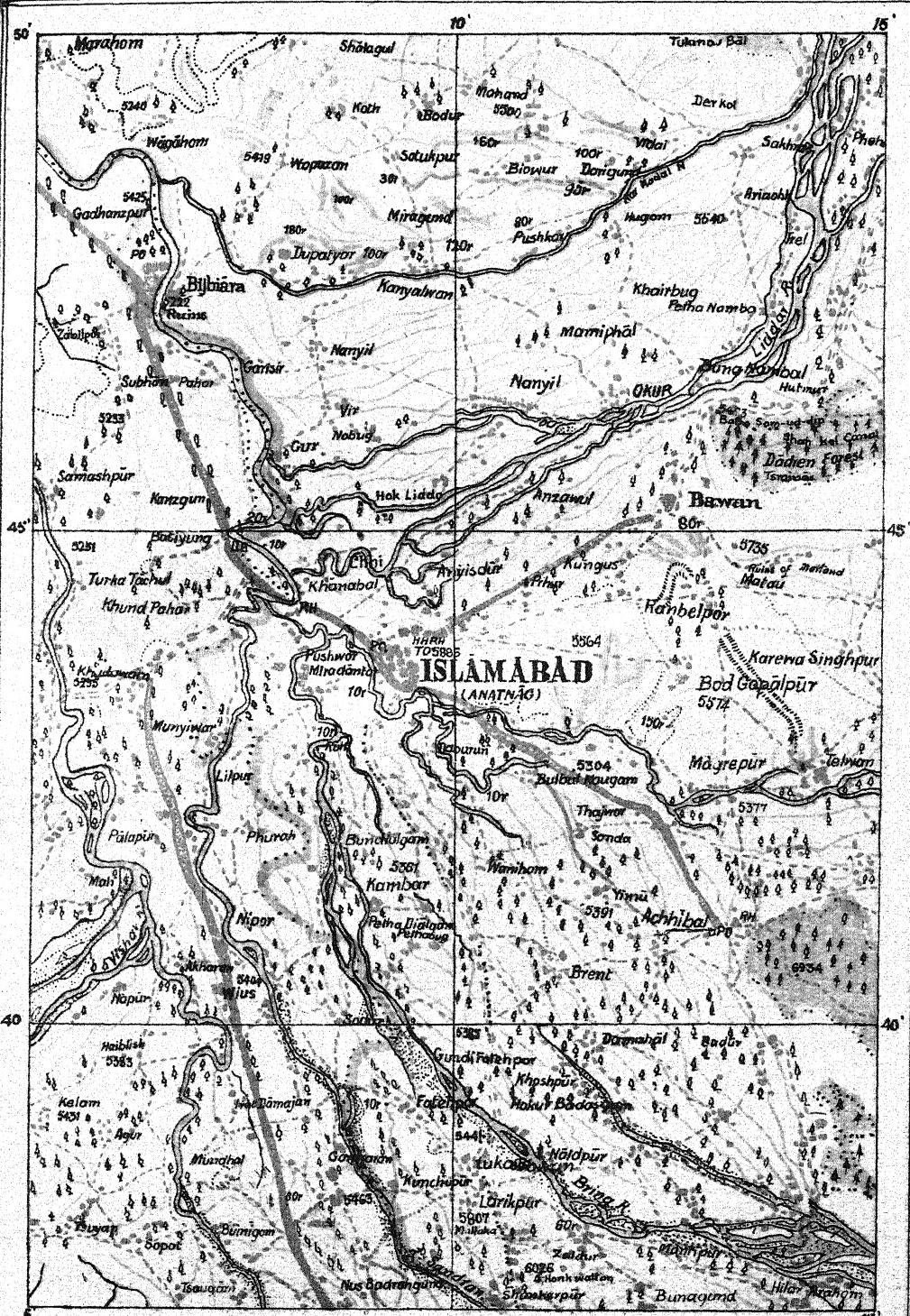
The Jāmī' mosque stands close to the tomb of Bābā Haidar called Hardi Rishī or Rish Mālū, the saint at whose anniversary Kashmīris abstain from flesh-eating for a week by the end of which cooked rice, radish and eggs form part of the feast.

Islām Khān, the Mughul governor, laid out a garden here for the Emperor Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr, who named the town Islāmābād after this governor. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh changed its name to Anantnāg.

Now a word about Islām Khān himself. Mir Ziyā-ud-Dīn Husain Badakhshī received the title of *Islām Khān* on his defeating Rājā Jaswant Singh. Mir Ziyā served Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr in suppressing Dārā Shukūh. In the fourth year of Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr's reign, he was appointed to the governorship of Kashmīr, and received the emperor on his visit to the Valley. Islām Khān died in 1074 A.H. (1663 A.C.),

and Mullā Tāhir Ghānī composed the chronogram : مُرِد إِسْلَام خَان وَالْجَاء :

(Died Islām Khān of exalted dignity). Islām Khān built the Īdgāh in Srinagar and left a son, Himmat Khān, Mir Bakshī.





### Carpets

The carpet industry was introduced into the Valley by Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn. The industry flourished for a long time after his reign. But in course of time it decayed and died.

Over three hundred years ago, in the time of Ahmad Beg Khān, Emperor Jahāngīr's governor of Kashmīr from 1614 to 1618 A.C., a Kashmīrī Muslim, named Akhund Rahnumā\* went to perform the Hajj by way of Central Asia. On his way back, he visited Andijān where carpets were manufactured. He learnt the art and brought carpet-weaving tools with him, and taught the Kashmīris who eventually adopted it. Akhund Rahnumā's tomb, in the Gojwāra Mahalla in Srinagar, is consequently held in great esteem by carpet-weavers.

Pile carpets, made in Kashmīr, attained great perfection during Muslim rule. They were of floral design with mosques, flowers, blossoms, trees, hills, lakes, forests, wild animals, gliding fish, etc.

When Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh ruled in the Punjāb, the carpet industry had reached its climax in Kashmīr. A masterpiece of the Kashmīr carpet-weaving art was presented to the Mahārājā who liked it so much that he rolled himself on it in great joy. The industry, however, soon deteriorated owing to the importation and introduction of aniline and alizarin dyes. There is a view that it was also greatly harmed by the attempt of some Europeans who brought in new and 'fashionable' designs. The dyes used were bad and the designs worse.

But a fresh impetus to this industry cannot be denied when Europeans entered the field of manufacture. It is a European firm which is responsible for the reproduction of one wonderful Irānian carpet—a real work of art—in 1902. The original Irānian carpet woven in 942 A.H. or 1536 A.C., at Kāshān is known as the Ardabil Mosque Carpet (*see p. 503*). It is in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, for which it was purchased at a cost of £2,000. The Kashmīr copy of this celebrated Irānian carpet was purchased by Lord Curzon for £100. M. Devergue and later Mr. C. M. Hadow gave great stimulus to workers. Kashmīr carpets were exhibited at the Chicago World Fair of 1890 through British enterprise.

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\*Pandit Ānand Kaul's article "The Kashmīr Carpet Industry" in the now defunct *East and West*, October, 1915,

There is great scope for the carpet industry, provided vegetable and not analine dyes are used, and the 'new fashions' are given up. The Kashmīrī artists are locally urged to be true to their own nature, and not be slavish imitators of European fashions. But they must be alive to improvements.

All Kashmīrī styles, varied as they are, usually rest on a sound basis, and efforts should be made to allow no novelties in the form of haphazard Western designs to creep in. By looking backwards to the art antiquities and the decorative style of Kashmīr workmanship, the old art will be invigorated and sustained. But to do this, all introduction of the more brilliant colouring and the generally defective designing of modern styles must be carefully avoided. Else glaring colours and questionable patterns will assuredly vitiate the really sound taste exhibited by the Kashmīrī, when left to himself. The Kashmīrī carpet, subdued in colour and its tints perfectly blended, finds less favour in a dull murky climate than it does in the glaring sun-lit land where its faded, softened hues are a rest to the eyes, tired with the prevailing strong light. But English customers want more colour, that is brighter, harsher, less modulated colour. The endeavour to introduce such high colouring into Kashmīrī carpets in accordance with the artistic or aesthetic taste of Western customers, cannot fail to do harm to the Kashmīrī carpet weaver's designs, and thoroughly disturb his own scheme of harmonious colouring.

Srinagar had, however, a rival in Amritsar, where a colony of Kashmīrī weavers *qāl-bāf* or *qālī-bāfī*, abbreviated from *qālin-bāf*, was settled. Considerable capital had been employed in the manufacture of carpets which found sale in America. This is now suspended (1947-8) because of political trouble.

### Silk

The word silk is applied to the fibres exuded from the silk-glands inside the body of a class of insects known as silkworms which commence their life as eggs, and pass through four stages. The egg stage is the first stage. Tiny worms hatch from the eggs and start the second stage. They feed on leaves, and, when full-grown, spin cocoons with silk filaments exuded through the mouth. The third

stage is reached when, inside the cocoon, the worm transforms itself into *pupa*. The *pupa* develops into a moth which is its fourth stage, when it issues from the cocoon and lays eggs. This cycle of life is repeated. The silk thread is obtained from the filaments of the cocoon. In Kashmīr tiny worms feed on mulberry leaves alone, while worms in other places feed on three other kinds of leaves. Mulberry silk is produced in several countries of the world, i.e., Japan, China, Siam, Burma, Irāq, Irān, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, Samarcand, Tāshqand, Egypt, Cyprus, Greece, Albania, Spain, Algeria, Morocco, Brazil, etc., In India, Mysore with the adjacent *ta'luga* of Kollegal of the Madras Presidency, and Bengāl produce silk, each, in volume, more than Kashmīr. In the hey-day of Bengāl's industry, sericulture used to be carried on in 26 of its districts. But about the early thirties of this century it was confined to only three districts.\*

The thickness of raw silk thread is called its size which is indicated by a French weight called *denier*. The weight of about 492 yards is the *denier* or size of raw silk, and the thicker the thread the higher the *denier*. Raw silk loses in boiling, washing, and finishing. In this respect, while Japan silk loses about 22 to 24 per cent., Bengāl silk 20 to 24 per cent., and Mysore silk 22 to 25 per cent., Kashmīr silk loses 25 to 30 per cent. of its weight.

According to *The Encyclopedia Americana* (1944 Edition, Article on Silk in Volume XXV pp. 1-8), "China is credited with the first silk culture, though some have claimed it began in India. Chinese historians speak of silk-raising in the time of Fouh-hi, a century before the date assigned to the Biblical Deluge. The use of the mulberry tree for feeding the silkworms is mentioned in an ancient work as having existed 2200 B. C. Aristotle and Pliny both describe the silkworm. The filament produced by the silkworm was first successfully woven by Si-ling-Chi, empress of China, in 2700 B. C. The art of making silk, however, was introduced in Europe not until the 6th century."

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\* See the article on Silk by Mr. C. C. Ghosh in the *Journal of Scientific and Industrial Research*, the Mall, Civil Lines, Delhi, October 1946, pp. 174-182, November, 1946, pp. 236-244.

Sericulture is believed to be an ancient industry in Kashmîr. But nothing definite is known about the origin of this queen of textiles here beyond the fact that it is very old, that it was connected with Bukhârâ with which it had "interchange of seed and silk." Through Bukhârâ, Kashmîr silk found its way to Damascus, Western Asia and Europe, and the silk dealers of Khutân were the chief agents in its transport and distribution. It is said that in Zain-ul-'Abidîn's times (1420-70 A.C.) sericulture existed in Kashmîr (*The Valley of Kashmîr*, page 367). A dispute about the possession of a ball of silk between two claimants in a court in the days of Sultân Fath Shâh<sup>1</sup> (1486-93 A.C.) indicates that the industry was carried on by the people. During the days of Mîrzâ Haidar Dûghlât<sup>2</sup> (1541-51 A.C.) "among the wonders of Kashmîr" was the abundance of "mulberry trees cultivated for their leaves from which silk was obtained." Abu'l Fazl<sup>3</sup> notes : "The mulberry is little eaten. Its leaves are reserved for the silkworm. The eggs are brought from Gilgit and Little Tibet. In the former, they are produced in greater abundance and are more choice." Jahângîr<sup>4</sup> practically repeats Abu'l Fazl. Jahângîr says : "There are. . . mulberries everywhere. From the foot of every mulberry-tree a vine creeper grows up. . . . . the mulberries of Kashmîr are not fit to eat, with the exception of some on trees grown in gardens, but the leaves are used to feed the silkworm. They bring the silkworms' eggs from Gilgit and Tibet."

The Mughuls organized the industry but details are lacking. The Afghâns also encouraged silk production.<sup>5</sup> During Sikh rule William Moorcroft wrote in 1824 A.C. that silk produced "is insufficient for domestic purposes." But G. T. Vigne's account of 1835 is reassuring. He said that a considerable quantity of silk was produced and that

1. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultâns of Kashmîr*, J. A.S.B., Vol. LIV, No. 2, 1885, p. 111.

2. *The Ta'rîkh-i-Rashîdî*, English Translation by Ross and Elias, p. 425.

3. *The Â'in-i-Akbarî*, English Translation by Colonel H. S. Jarrett, Vol. II, p. 349.

4. *The Tuzuk-i-Jahângîrî*, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Vol. II, 1914, page 146.

5. *The Valley of Kashmîr* by W. Lawrence, p. 367.

the same was taken over by the Sikh Governor (Colonel Mehān Singh) who used to pay the producers in rice, and that two-thirds of the total produce was exported to the Punjāb. Munshi Ganeshī Lāl in 1846 in his *Tuhfa-i-Kashmīr* states that Government derived a revenue of about £2,000 a year out of this industry. This is the period of the close of Sikh rule and the beginning of the Dogrās.

[*The Narrative of a Journey to Kashmir in 1846* by Ganeshī Lāl is a diary kept during a journey on which the author accompanied Charles Stewart Hardinge (afterwards Viscount Hardinge) and Captain Arthur Edward Hardinge, sons of the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge. It begins on 28th of March 1846, the day on which the travellers started from Ludhiāna, and concludes abruptly on the 11th June in the same year. The diary contains descriptions and historical accounts of the localities visited, with tabulated genealogies of several native chiefs.—Rieu's *Catalogue*, Vol. III, Or. 1785, pp. 982b and 983a.]

In 1855, two years before Mahārājā Gulāb Singh's death, there was an outbreak of a silkworm disease in Europe. Two Italian experts<sup>1</sup> obtained from Kashmīr 25,000 ounces of seed in 1860 which registers improvement in the industry. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh had entrusted silk production to his Chief Physician, Hakīm 'Azīm.<sup>2</sup>

A period of decay set in due to the destruction of the crop by a pebrine disease. After a year or two, a Kashmīrī went to Kābul and collected a few seers of seed, and brought them skilfully in walnut shells to avoid detection by customs officers. This renewed silkworm industry in Kashmīr. Hakīm 'Azīm's son, Hakīm 'Abdur Rahīm, with the help of a Punjābī gentleman continued the rearing of silkworms.

By 1870-1 Mahārājā Ranbir Singh placed the industry under his Chief Justice, Bābu Nilambar Mukerjee. Two Bengālis trained at Murshidābād were engaged. In 1874 the State purchased all cocoons on cash payment which marks the beginning of the State monopoly. In the same year, two silk reeling factories were set up : one at Cherapōr in the Islāmābād (Anantnāg) Tahsīl and the other at Haft-

1. Dr. Madhū Südan Ganjū, B.A., Ph. D., *vide* his Doctor's Dissertation, *Textile Industries in Kashmīr*, for the Bombay University in 1944.

2. Based on the note by Khwāja Jalāl-ud-Dīn, Deputy Director of Sericulture, prepared at the instance of Mr. Hakīm Alī, B. A. (Punjāb), P. B. D. S. (Milan), Director of Sericulture, Srinagar.

Chinār, Srinagar. Both the factories came to be called the Murshidābād factories. Two more experts were employed to train the Kashmīris. A third factory was set up at Raghūnāthpōr, near Nasīm Bāgh. Strangely enough, this came to be known as the Berhāmpore Factory. It was for the first time that silk reeling basins were heated by steam.

A detailed description of silkworm rearing and silk production will be found by the interested reader in the *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* (in Persian) pages 493-503 by Dīwān Kirpā Rām, the Chief Minister of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh.

After several vicissitudes the industry was well-established in Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's time.

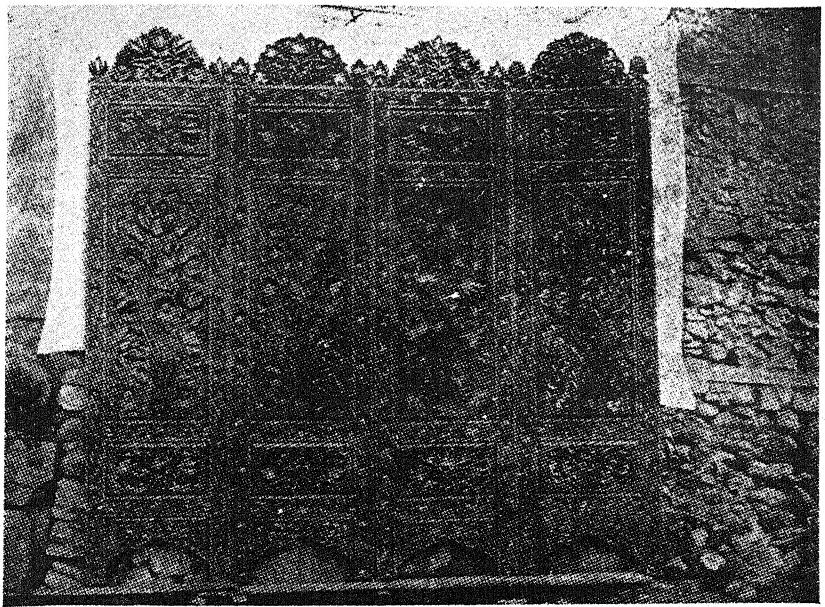
Sir Walter Lawrence\* was of the opinion in 1895 that the Kashmīri's house was "suited to the requirements of silk rearing" as "it was well ventilated and the Kashmīri knew how to regulate the temperature." But in October 1938, the Indian Tariff Board felt that the Kashmīri zamindārs' rearing houses should be improved.

The Kashmīr State Silk Factory is now being run on modern lines. It can compare favourably with silk factories outside India. As a matter of fact, it is the biggest of its kind in the world according to *Jammu and Kashmir Information*, March-April, 1945, page 50. The mulberry seed is purer and better strained than the foreign seed. The mulberry tree in the State is now preserved by law.

### Paper

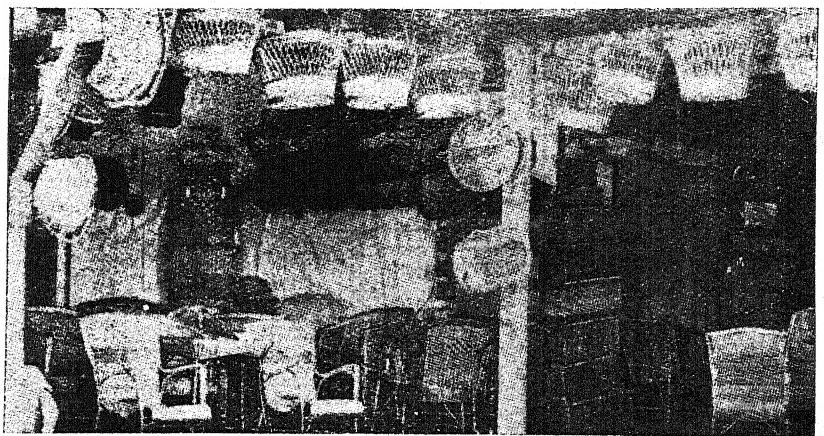
Kashmīr was once famous for its paper. This paper was much in request in India for manuscripts, and was used by all who wished to impart dignity to their correspondence. The pulp, from which the paper is made, is a mixture of rags and hemp fibre, obtained by pounding these materials under a lever mill worked by water-power. Lime and some kind of soda are used to whiten the pulp. The pulp is prepared in mills situated in the Sind valley and the Dachigām nālah (stream). From there it is taken to the city for the final stages of manufacture.

\**The Valley of Kashmir*, pp. 368-9.

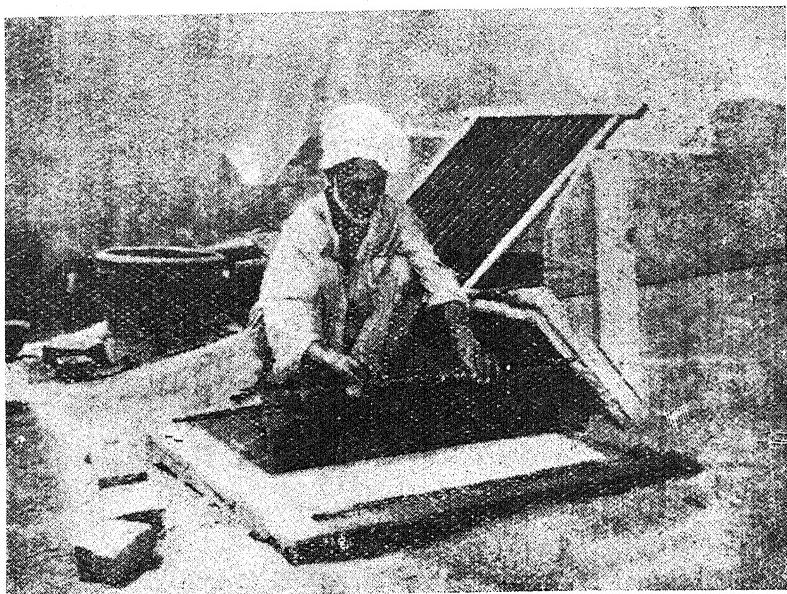


**A wooden screen showing a large variety of flower design**  
*(From Publication No. 4 of the Department of Industries and Commerce,  
Jammu and Kashmir State.)*

*See pages 585-6 of "Kashir" for Woodwork.*



**Wicker Work**  
*(From Jammu and Kashmir Information, January, 1947.)*  
*See page 589 of "Kashir" for Wicker work.*



**How hand-made Paper is produced.**



**A Design of Modern Silverwork.**

(From Publication No. 3 of the Department of Industries and Commerce,  
Jammu and Kashmir State.)

See pages 583-4 of "Kashir" for Silver-work.

Lawrence, in his description, says that the pulp is placed in stone troughs or baths and mixed with water. From this mixture, a layer of the pulp is extracted on a light frame of reeds. This layer is the paper, which is pressed and dried in the sun. Next, it is polished with pumice stone, and then its surface is glazed with rice water. A final polishing with onyx stone is given, and the paper is then ready for use. A visit nowadays to the Khādī Bhandār factory outside Srinagar, on the Gāndar-bal road, will demonstrate this process described by Lawrence.

The Kashmīr paper is durable and in many ways excellent, but it cannot compete with the cheap mill-made paper of India. Its high glaze is a serious defect, as entries can be obliterated by water. The paper once was an important and renowned manufacture. Copies of the Qur'ān are still written on paper made from hemp fibre, but printing has ousted the beautiful penmanship of the *khush-navīs* of Srinagar, just as the Indian paper-mills have destroyed the once famous handmade 'foolscap' of Kashmīr.

It is said that the industry of paper-making was introduced by Zain-ul-Ābidīn by calling artisans from Samarcand, to which place it originally came from China about 1300 years ago. Gāndarbal and Nau Shahr were chosen as places for factories in Bad Shāh's time. According to George Forster,\* Kashmīr "fabricated the best writing paper of the East," and that "it was an article of extensive traffic." George Forster's visit to Kashmīr took place in Afghān times.

#### Papier Mâché

Papier mâché is 'mashed paper'. It is an art peculiar to Kashmīr, and was also introduced into the Valley by Sultan Zain-ul-Ābidīn by means of experts imported from Samarcand. The work goes by the name of *kār-i-qalamdānī* or pen-case work, because it is usually applied to the ornamentation of pen-cases and small boxes. It is also called *kār-i-munaggash* or painted work.

The process of making papier mâché is rather elaborate. Sheets of paper are pasted on to *vasals* or moulds of the required form, and painted and varnished. The article,

\*Journey, p. 22.

says Baden Powell,<sup>1</sup> is covered with a coating of white paint on the surface of which a delicate pattern in colours, chiefly crimson, green, and blue is drawn with a fine brush; flowers and the curved designs seen upon shawls are most commonly produced. A very pretty pattern is also done by painting with gold paint a spreading series of minute branches and leaves on a white ground—a border of brighter colouring is added. Sometimes figures of men and animals are introduced. The designs are very intricate, and the drawing is all free hand. The skill shown by the *nāqqāsh* (designer) in sketching and designing, says Lawrence, is remarkable. When the painting is done, the surface is varnished over with a varnish made by boiling the clearest copal (*sumdras*) in pure turpentine. The varnish has to be perfectly transparent, otherwise it would spoil the appearance of the painting.

It is surprising to see the beautiful forms into which 'mashed paper' can be wrought. Some of the articles now made are: picture-frames, screens, bed-stead legs, tables, tea-pots, trays, vases, card and stamp-boxes, candlesticks, writing sets, snuff-boxes, pen-cases, gloves, and hand-kerchief boxes. The work is extended to floral decorations and illuminations of books, memorials, and the like. The Lamas of Lhassa, at one time, indented for a kind of table, called *saksha*, on which were placed two books (*fekru*) and nine pieces of wood. The table was beautifully worked in Chinese pattern in gold and red and green medallions. Shawls were sent to France in papier mâché boxes, which were separately sold there at high prices.<sup>2</sup> The older examples were so well-made as to hold even hot liquids but most of the present day work is really painted-wood.

The art of papier mâché is pursued largely by the Kashmīrī Musalmāns of the Shi'a sect.<sup>3</sup> There were artists in the past, who carried the papier mâché art to the highest pitch of excellence, and the last one was Sayyid Turāb who died over fifty years ago.

1. *Handbook of the Manufactures and Arts of the Punjab* by B.H. Baden Powell, 1872, Punjab Printing Company, Lahore, Vol. 2, page 281.

2. Pandit Anand Kaul's article, "The Papier Mâché Industry," *East and West*, July, 1916, page 660.

3. *Ibid.*, page 659.

The industry has been in a somewhat decadent condition, and has suffered perhaps more than any other industry from the taste of the foreign purchaser,<sup>1</sup> though several shops now stock articles of fine make perhaps superior to Venetian designs.

### Bookbinding

F. Sarre,<sup>2</sup> in his *Islamic Bookbindings*, published in 1923 in Berlin, laments that the Islamic book-cover has been esteemed too lightly. Even in monographs on Islamic art, the bindings of books have either not been dealt with at all, or have received only superficial treatment. Though exquisite oriental bookbindings have excited admiration, they unfortunately do not yet occupy a prominent position in the scientific publications, and annotated catalogues of learned societies and advanced institutions. Sarre further observes that we are still without the required exhaustive proofs of the long recognized technical dependence of Western upon Eastern bookbinding, and he adds the hope that his presentation of the masterpieces of Islamic bookbinding art may supply valuable models, and suggest new aims to modern handicraft.

Nothing, however, has yet been traced anterior to the wooden binding of the Egyptian Muslims. The early Egyptian leather bindings are traceable to the times of the Mamlūks (A.C. 1250-1517).

A peculiarity common to all Islamic bindings is the triangular-shaped flap hinged to the back cover. It is tucked in under the front cover corresponding to the back

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1. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmir*, page 378.

2. Friedrich Sarre was a distinguished German archaeologist, art connoisseur and director of several museums in Berlin. He was probably the greatest authority of his time on Islamic art. Sarre was instrumental in holding an exhibition of Islamic arts in München in 1910, when he succeeded in assembling and displaying, in one place, a large number of beautiful and rare specimens belonging to the many public and private collections scattered all over the world. The more important objects exhibited on that occasion were later reproduced and described in the superb volume *Islamic Bookbindings*, prepared in collaboration with F. R. Martin. The suburb in which Sarre lived was attacked, in the last World War II, and his house, with his extensive library and priceless art collection, was totally destroyed. Sarre died, at his residence near Berlin, on 1st June, 1945, at the age of 79—*Islamic Culture*, Hydarābād, Deccan, Vol. XX, No. 4, October 1946, pages 444-445.

cover of books in the West, and serves to protect the book. Earlier designs on the covers are geometrical and show, in most cases, a centre panel framed in by borders of varying width. They are covered by a drawing of interwoven rectilinear ribbon-work, the background being filled with stamped pattern in fine blind-tooling. The filling of the panel is replaced later on by the decorative motif, prominent in all branches of Islamic art after the 15th century, namely, an oval shield in the centre with pendants. At the commencement, it is purely ornamental in shape, but gradually assumes more and more the character of natural vegetation and ends by developing into foliage and flowers formed true to nature. Then we come to the design which is the sculptured design backed by colour, and associated with Central Asian bindings. The colour charm of these bindings has been very much appreciated, and their designs show the sculptured patterns of the central medallion, and the spandrels in corners backed by red and blue silk.

### *The lacquer-binding.*

One more variety is the lacquer-binding which appears to be of Irānian origin. It only uses leather for the back of the binding. The front cover is made of rough paper-waste pasted together. It is then covered with a ground of chalk over which are several layers of transparent lacquer on which the drawing is made in water colour, while a final top layer is used to carry the gold and silver. The lacquer-bindings of the 18th and even 19th centuries cannot, however, be compared for drawing and composition of colours with the older examples, but they have, nevertheless, preserved the tradition and distinguish themselves by the almost entire exclusion of European imitation, which we have noticed in the case of the shawl, the carpet and the papier mâché work of Kashmīr, and which has, in general, been so fatal to Oriental art. All these varieties of bindings, we have discussed above, had their vogue in Kashmīr, but the complete leather bindings were replaced by the papier mâché bindings (with leather backs) for more artistic works, though complete leather bindings later re-asserted their position to a certain extent. In the Kashmīr bindings, one deviation may, however, be noticed that in place of the central oval shield, the popular cone, so familiar in shawls and other crafts, also finds its way in decorative bindings.

The credit of introducing decorative binding in Kashmīr from Samarqand is also due to Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn.

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### Jewellery

The instructive and valuable reflections of Ruskin in *The Lamp of Truth*, his famous work on architecture, have a special reference to ornaments. He says : "Ornament has two entirely distinct sources of agreeableness ; one that of the abstract beauty of its forms, the other, the sense of human labour and care spent upon it." Col. Hendley, in dealing with the subject, says that each ornament is the result of carving, hammering, etching or some process involving thought and individual skill, instead of the perfection of the machine which turns out innumerable examples of highly polished, accurately modelled and absolutely exact copies of one original, which however beautiful they may be, can never satisfy the aesthetic sense.

In considering the jewellery of a place, its history and geographical position are of unusual importance. We have frequently referred to the influence of Central Asia on Kashmīr, and we trace the same influence on the jewellery of the Valley. The prevalence, at this time, of some forms of ornament in Kashmīr, which also occur in Central Asia, is a proof in support of the statement. Nūr Jahān is said to have introduced more delicate varieties of jewellery in the Valley.

The jewellery of Kashmīr is unique in design and very minutely worked. The various types of jewellery such as earrings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets, amulets (*ta'wīz*), rings, rosary (*tasbīh*), tin or silver charm-cases and headbands are all delicately worked, even though the base is sometimes solid. The Kashmīri jewellers seem to have had nature as their model in most ornaments. Sometimes beautiful colours of flowers and leaves and fruits are reproduced by studding jewellery with precious and semi-precious stones, shades such as jade, agate, the turquoise, rubies and the gold-stone. There are necklaces made in yellow base metal, set with imitation emeralds and sapphires.

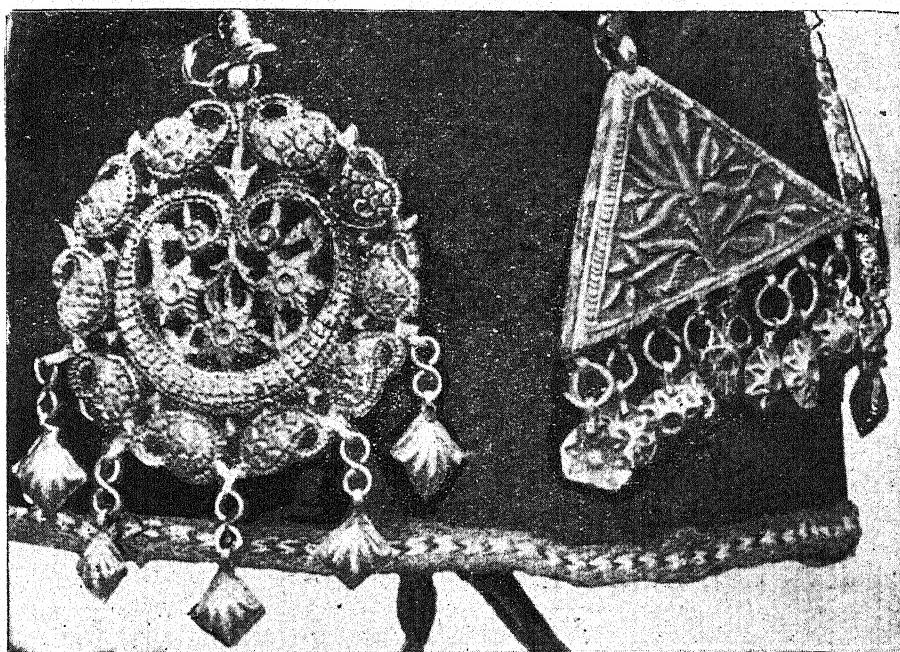
On the silver head-bands, the almond and the cherry-blossom, are delicately embossed, and on the silver bracelets chiselled little fish, birds and blossoms can be seen. The silver charm-cases worn on caps are said to be of Central Asian origin ; sometimes they are enamelled, but more often they are worked in buds and sprays.

When Mughul influence was strong in the land, the love of the beautiful made the Kashmîris preserve all the existent types of jewellery, collect the best artisans, and encourage the influx of styles from Irân, Central Asia, and the surrounding countries beyond Kâbul. It is difficult to trace minutely any particular influence on the jewellery of Kashmîr. The reason is that the beautiful *jhumkas*, bell-shaped earrings, with little silver and gold drops forming a thick fringe, bracelets delicately traced with leaves and blossoms and sprays, necklaces composed of plaques strung on thread and set with uncut stones, can be found in the Punjab, in the Kângra valley and even throughout India ; but the designing of them is very different, and the arrangement to suit the Kashmîri dress is such as is not seen anywhere else. In fact, so unique is every piece of jewellery that it is recognizable as coming from Kashmîr both by its very workmanship and shape.

In making jewellery, said Surgeon-Major John Ince in 1876,\* "the Kashmîris are very ingenious and, though their work has not that lightness so charming in that of Delhi, it has a peculiar style of its own. In the plain gold, they make every imaginable article of jewellery charging at the rate of Rs. 20 a *tola* (100 grains troy) for the material, and two annas in the rupee for workmanship. They sometime also introduce precious stones principally opals, carnelians, bloodstones, agates, and turquoises. Bracelets and other ornaments are made of gold, silver, brass, copper, tin, and a fine kind of clay."

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\**The Kashmir Handbook* by John Ince, M.D., Civil Surgeon, Râwâlpindi, 1876, Appendix.



**Coarse type of silver jewellery worn with the cap by small girls in Kashmir.**

Jewellery is worn for its intrinsic value and its beauty. It is also worn for superstitious reasons, as is evinced by the use of charms and amulets covered with gold or silver.

### Silver-Work

There are two chief varieties of silver goods : plain and engraved. It is the engraved silverware which exhibits the skill of the Kashmiri artisan. Absolutely pure silver cannot be used for artistic ware. There must be a certain percentage of alloy.

W. Lawrence writes : "The silver-work of Kashmir is extremely beautiful. It has attained a great deal of fame in India, and has also been much appreciated in Europe. Some of the indigenous patterns, the chinār, and the lotus leaf, or those copied from old shawls, are of exquisite design. The silversmith works with hammer and chisel, and will faithfully copy any design which may be given to him. Up to recent years, the silver-work of Kashmir had a peculiar white sheen, very beautiful at first sight, but apt

to tarnish after a short time. This whiteness is said to be due to the practice of boiling the silver-work in apricot juice. The metal is either imported in ingots *via* Yārqand or in rupee silver." But silver is now largely obtained from dealers in Bombay and Karāchi who arrange to send it in bars, *i.e.*, quantities of 3000 *tolas* or more under bond.<sup>1</sup>

### Copper-Work

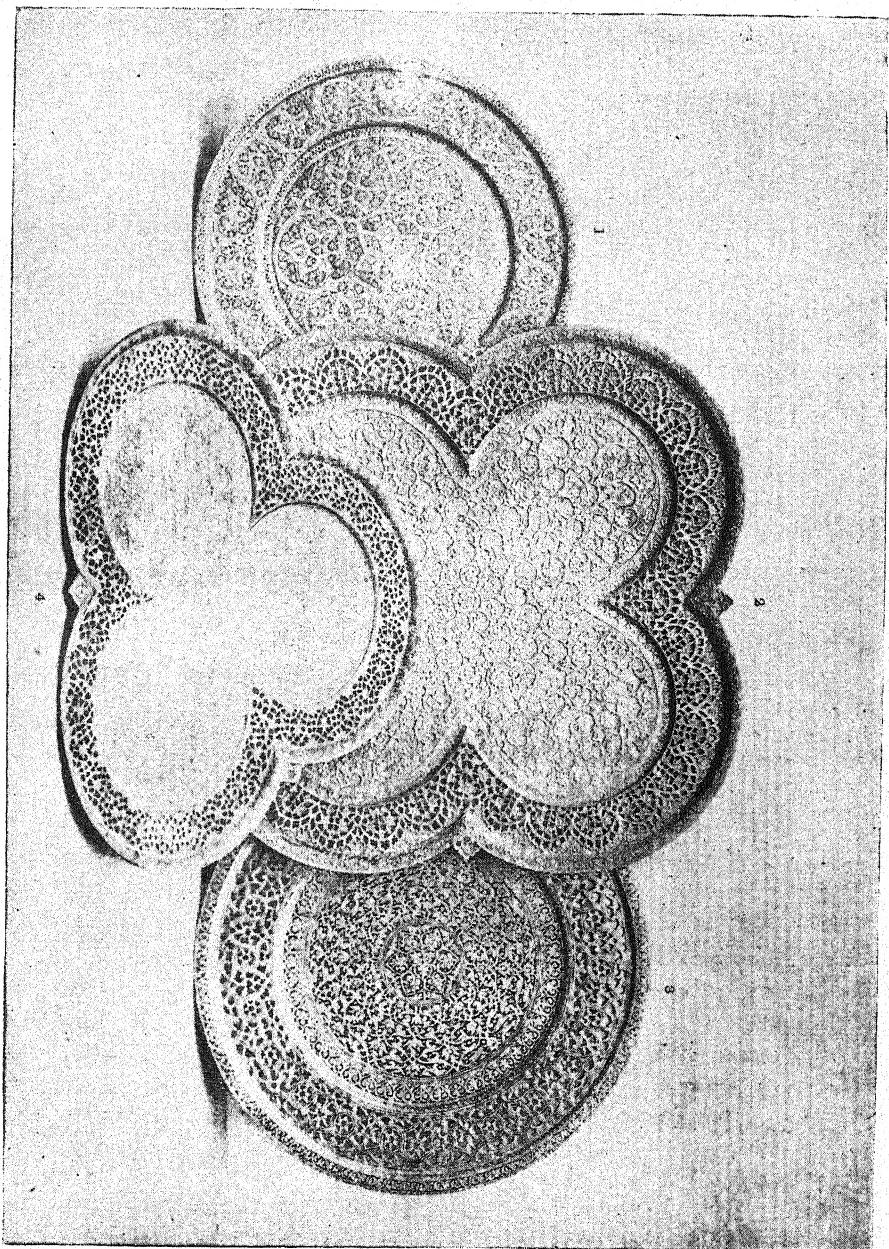
Perhaps the most effective, and certainly the best value for the money is, according to Lawrence, the copper-work of Srinagar. The coppersmith works with both brass and copper, and uses hammer and chisel, and many of the present coppersmiths were once silversmiths. Their original designs are elegant and bold, and they are very clever in adopting and copying new patterns. Jugs and basins of ancient make are still available in Srinagar. Excellent imitations of these are on sale in the copper bāzār of the city. Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe<sup>2</sup> describes a special kind of jug, which, he says, takes the fancy of most visitors. "It is shaped like a duck called *batich* or female duck, which is used for blowing up the fire, as it does in a most workmanlike manner. It is filled with water and placed on the fire. When the water boils, the steam issues from its long beak, which being directed towards the spot that needs its attention, the pressure of steam soon does its work, unless, as sometimes happens, it works too vigorously, when it blows the hot charcoal ashes clean out of the grate. When the duck has blown itself dry, there is no other way for the water to find its way to the duck's interior again except through its beak, which aperture is too small to allow of water being poured in, so the duck has to be heated and then its beak held in a glass of water, which it will itself drink up until its body and the air within it cools."

The copper-work of Srinagar is admirably adapted for electro-plating, and some smiths now turn out a fine kind of article specially for electro-plating. A large demand has arisen for the beautiful copper trays inset into tables of carved walnut-wood, and the carpenter is now the close ally of the coppersmith.

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1. Dr. R. K. Bhān's pamphlet, *Economic Survey of Silverware Industry in Kashmir*, 1938, page 6.

2. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade*, London, 1922, pages 133-4.



A specimen of Kashmiri Copper-work (Copper Salvers from Srinagar)



### Enamels

The enamels of Kashmīr, says Mr. Blacker,<sup>1</sup> are not transparent and differ in this respect from most Indian enamels. The Kashmir craftsman works on silver, copper and brass. For copper, different shades of blue are used most frequently, whilst on silver a light blue is applied. The traditional shawl pattern has been adapted to this industry. It appears upon the *lotā* (water vessel) and the *tūmbī* (gourd-shaped vessel), the *surāhī* (the long necked flask) and the various other ornamental forms of water-carrying vessels in which enamelling is usually combined with gilding. The articles manufactured have a very pleasing appearance, and are frequently of large size. "Though the colours are somewhat crude and the enamel is applied with more boldness than delicacy, the general effect," says Kipling,<sup>2</sup> "is undeniably bright and attractive." For use in Indian states, *huqqahs* (the bubble-bubble), canopies for idols, and other objects are sometimes made of very large dimensions. Considering the material and the trouble, adds Kipling, that the proper firing up of vitreous enamel gives, this enamelled ware may be considered cheap.

The enamels on brass are said to be the best, though the enamelled silver-work is very pretty. Copper does not lend itself to enamel.

### Woodwork

The woodwork of Srinagar, in the opinion of Lawrence, lacks a little finish, but he says the Kashmīri carver is perhaps second to none in his skill as a designer. He works with hammer and chisel, and a great deal of the roughness and inequality of his pieces is due to the difficulty of obtaining seasoned walnut-wood. In Islāmābād the carpenter turns out a good deal of highly coloured wooden articles, which look like lacquer work, but are really wood coloured, and then highly polished by the use of the lathe. Very elegant spinning wheels, candle-sticks, bowls and cups are to be found among the products of his art.

1. *The A. B. C. of Indian Art* by J. F. Blacker, London, 1922, page 211.

2. J. L. Kipling, *The Journal of Indian Art*, January 1884, page 8.

Carving is stated to be ancient but it received a stimulus, according to Dr. R. K. Bhān,<sup>1</sup> in Bād Shāh's time.

The wood carved gate and frontage at the Coronation *Darbār* of King George V at Delhi elicited admiration, and was presented to him by Mahārājā Pratāp Singh as a monument of Kashmīri art. This served to advertise the wood-carving of Kashmīr among the Indian aristocracy. Dr. Bhān states that the contribution of Ustād Khizr<sup>2</sup> to wood carving was very great during Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's time.

There are two kinds of walnut wood : (a) garden (b) jungle. Walnut wood is suitable for carving; it is also durable, and has a good natural colour.

#### The *Khatam-band*

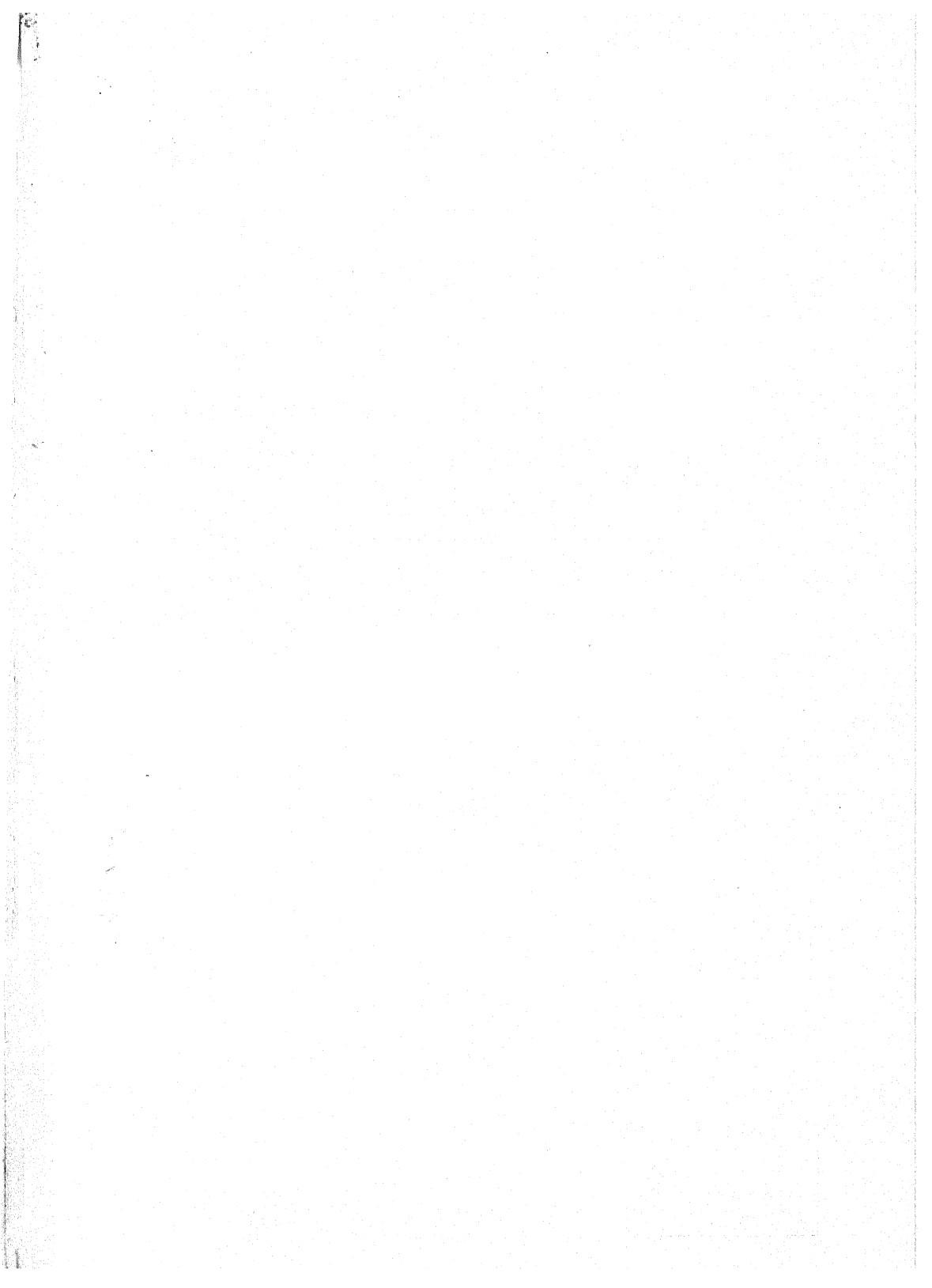
A speciality in Kashmīr woodwork deserves mention. Beautiful ceilings of perfect design, cheap and effective, are made by carpenters. With marvellous skill they piece together thin panels of pinewood into geometrical designs. This is known as *khatam-band*. It is said to have been introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt. The result of the carpenter's skill is a charming ceiling, in which the various shades of the pine-slips blend together in perfect harmony. A great impetus has been given to this industry by the builders of house-boats, and the darker colours of the walnut-wood have been mixed with the lighter shades of the pine. Any one who wishes to see a good specimen of modern Kashmīri woodwork and Kashmīri ceilings should visit the well-known shrine of Khwāja Naqshband, not far from the Jāmi' Masjid of Srinagar. A few of the *khatam-band* ceilings have been introduced into England, and have been found cheap and, Lawrence says, extremely effective. Ceilings of the same construction and design are found in Samarcand, Bukhārā, Irān, Istamboul, Algiers and Morocco.

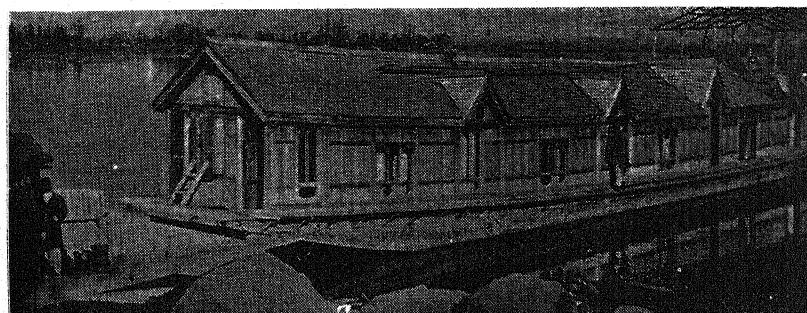
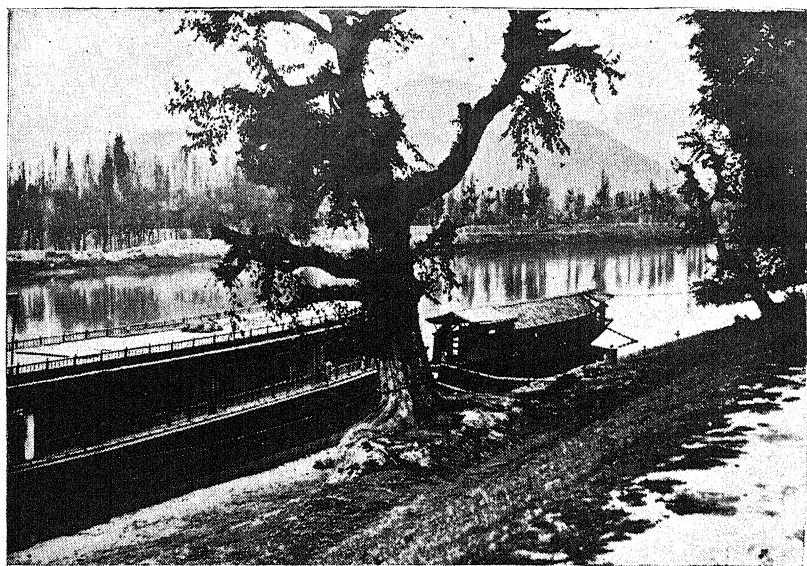
#### Boat-Making, the House-boat and the Hanji

The Kashmīrī is so aquatic and his chief city so like Venice, the jewel of the Adriatic, that a special note must

1. *Economic Survey of Wood Carving Industry and Trade in Kashmir*, p. 1.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 1.





be devoted to boats and boatmen. The boating industry in Kashmīr is an old one. We learn from the *A'in-i-Akbarī* that boats were the centre upon which all commerce moved. The boatmen, one and all, are invariably Musalmāns. The Hōnz or Hānjī, as the boatman is called, traces, at any rate by tradition, his descent to Noah, and maintains this apparently by modelling his large craft on Noah's Ark.

The Kashmīrī is an intelligent and clever carpenter, says Younghusband,<sup>1</sup> and his boats are of all sizes from the great grain barges carrying cargoes of thirty tons, and State *parindas* (or fliers) propelled by forty or fifty rowers to light skiffs for a couple of paddlers. Rev. C.E. Tyndale Biscoe says : "The Kashmīris have their own spécial way of building boats, and very clever they are at their art. I have always been interested in boats and boat-building, but I have never come across boats built as in Kashmīr."<sup>2</sup>

There are many kinds of boats, all flat-bottomed. The large ones, called *bahach*, are used for the transport of grain and wood. They are high in prow and stern, and can carry a cargo of 800 to 1,000 maunds. The smaller one is known as *wör*, has a low prow, and can carry a cargo of 400 maunds. One of the most common forms of boats is the *dūnga*. This is flat-bottomed, about 50 to 60 feet in length, and about 6 feet in width, and draws about 2 feet of water. It has a sloping roof of matting, and side walls of a similar material. The boatmen live in the rear of the *dūnga*. The passenger lives in the front part of the boat. In winter, *dūngas* are employed in carrying grain. A good *dūnga* can carry up to 200 maunds.

#### The House-boat

The house-boat is the crowning glory of the Kashmīrī boatman. Though Mr. Kennard<sup>3</sup> is stated to be the first Englishman to build the modern house-boat, supplanting the old *lar-i-nāv*, the Kashmīrī boatman has shown his wonderful power of adaptation in improving upon the model. Maualvi Muhammad Husain *Azād* in the *Darbār-i-Akbarī* (p. 112), however, notes that Akbar did not like the

1. *Kashmir* by Younghusband, A. C. Black, London, 1909, page 216

2. *Kashmir in Sunlight and Shade* by Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe, M.A. (Cantab), Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., London, 1922, page 169.

3. *Ibid.*, page 178.

boats he saw. On the Bengal model he, therefore, ordered double-storeyed residential boats with fine windows. A thousand such boats were got ready in a few days. And soon there was a floating city on the water. House-boats of all shapes and sizes can be seen in the river from the *dūnga* house-boat to the large barges which are splendidly furnished floating houses. If in Kashmīr you can remove your garden from one place to another, you can also remove your house from anywhere to anywhere on the water. The house-boats are generally one-storeyed, because a high two-storeyed boat would be difficult to get beneath a bridge. The *shikāra* is a small edition of the *dūnga*, very useful for short journeys. It is a small elegantly decorated boat, with soft cushions and an awning with hanging fringes and tassels. Trips in the *shikāra*, both morning and evening, on the Dal are extremely delightful. A visitor calls the *shikāra* "a Thames punt propelled by paddles in this veritable 'Venice of the East' where the gondola is replaced by it."

### *The Hānjī.*

With the house-boat of Kashmīr, the Hānjī is so inseparably connected that a few lines about him cannot be resisted.

The Hānjīs are a muscular, active, hardy people. Their children commence the work of towing or paddling at a very early age. The paddle used is heart-shaped, and so clever are they with this that the riskiest situations are safely manoeuvred. Not only that, the Hānjī can do most things from a big business in grain to cooking a visitor's food—be he Hindu, Muslim, Pārsi, Jew, or Christian. But though the Hānjī's cleverness in craft earns him money and he caters to the convenience and comfort of the visitor, yet his quaint stories and habits of lying, subtle exploiting of the ignorance of the new-comer, and quarrelling are chiefly responsible for the evil repute of the Kashmīri in the eyes of the outside world. The foreign visitor takes his hurried impression of the people of the Valley from the boat-man and his ways of dealing, and his accounts in talk and in print have been most disastrous to the good name of the people in general. The Hānjī presents an extraordinary spectacle in that, though he actually has the status of the landlord of the visitor, he is virtually the visitor's servant.

### Mat-Making, etc.

Matting is said to have been introduced by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt.\* Lawrence says that the excellent matting (*waggū*) of Kashmīr is made from the *pech*, a swamp plant, found mostly in the Ānchār lagoon to the north of Srinagar, and in most of the swamps of Kashmīr. All boats except, of course, the house-boats, are roofed with *pech* matting. Mats are mostly employed as coverings for floors and numerous other purposes. The industry of mat-making gives employment to a large number of the people. The villagers of Lasjān, to the south of Srinagar, are perhaps the best mat-makers in the Valley.

The reader will read about the willows of Kashmīr in Chapter X.

### *Wicker-work.*

The wicker-work industry is also worth consideration. For a long time past, certain articles of wicker-work have been in common use in local homesteads. A few years ago, experiments were made in growing English willow in Kashmīr, with a view to establishing a regular wicker work industry. The experiments met with success. The English willows took very kindly to the fertile soil of Kashmir, and yielded willow with longer twigs than they produced even in England. Lunch and flower baskets, chairs and tables and various other articles of common use are being produced in elegant designs and perfect workmanship. And it is expected that, in course of time, this industry will grow and the articles produced will find a ready market locally as well as in other places in India.

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### The Kangri

It may be of interest, at this stage, to say a word about the *kāngar* or *kāngṛī* or the chafing vessel. G.T. Vigne described it in 1835 as follows: "The Kāngṛī is a basket with a handle, containing a red vessel of earthenware about the size of a 42 lb. shot, into which is put a small quantity of lighted charcoal." It generally consists of two parts: the inner earthenware bowl of a quaint shape called *kundal* in which the fire is placed, and its encasement of wicker-work, sometimes simple, sometimes pretty and ornamented with rings.

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\**Ta'rikh-i-Hasan*, page 160, under—"Houses of Kashmīr."

and colours. A little wooden or silver spoon, *tsālan*, tied to the handle, *kānij* completes the *kāngar*. The *kāngar* with its hot embers is slipped under the Kashmiri *pheran*. The word may have been derived from *kānī*, a switch, and *gar*, the maker, or from Sanskrit *kut angāra*, or Stein's *Kāsthāngārikā*, *ku* signifying littleness and *angāra* or *angāri*, comprehending a portable fire-place. Dr. W. F. Elmslie, M.D., a well-known missionary of Srinagar, observed that the Kashmiris probably learnt its use from the Italians who were in the retinue of the Mughul emperors. During the winters in Florence, no women of the lower classes walks abroad without carrying a *scaldino*, which is an exact reproduction of the *kāngri* of Kashmir. Colonel Torrens thinks it is "possible that it may have been introduced into Kashmir by one of those Jesuit Fathers who were the first wanderers in these parts; or that *vice versa*, the Italian priest may have introduced the Kashmiri custom into Italy on his return," as a precisely similar custom prevailed in Italy. (*Travels*, page 310). A similar vessel is also used in Japan, and the French have one corresponding to it in their *chauffer chamic*, or pot of charcoal fire. The observation of Dr. Elmslie is nullified by the argument that if the Italians really introduced the *kāngar* into Kashmir, they would be as likely to have introduced their own name for it. The use of portable fire-places or braziers was known in Kashmir as early as the twelfth century A.C., as Maṇkha's *Çrikanthacharita* (iii, 29) seems to show that braziers or *hasantika* were in general use then. The word *hasantika* occurs also in Kalhaṇa's *Rājataranginī* (iii, 171). We have the use of braziers in Irān (and if Delle Valle's word *tennor*, or perhaps, *tannūr* be right, in Arabia) as well as in Spain and Italy, in a manner which implies a long previous history. The brazier (*brasero*) was and is still prepared in many places as a heating apparatus.

The value which a Kashmiri sets upon his *kāngri* may be known by the following distich :

اے کانگری ! اے کانگری ! قُربانِ! تو حُور و پُری  
چُون در بغل می گیرمت درد از دل من می بُری

[O Kāngri ! O Kāngri ! You are dear to me like a Houri and Fairy ;

When I take you under my arm, you drive away pain from my heart.]

Chaudhrī Khushī Muhammad *Nāzir* reproduces these sentiments in Urdu verse :

قُوٽِ بازو جوان کو اور عصا ہے پیسر کو  
 بیچھے کا شر کو ہے پستانِ مادر کانگڑی  
 خانہ آبادی زمستان میں اسی کے دم سے ہے  
 شوہر بانو ہے اور بانوے شوہر کانگڑی  
 اسکا دامن گیر ہے کشمیر کا میر و وزیر  
 ہے نشاطِ مغلیس و عیشِ تونگر کانگڑی

نغمہٗ فردوس - حصہ اول - صفحات ۱۳۹-۱۴۰

Many houses are destroyed by fire every year in Srinagar and in villages due to the careless use of the *kāngar*. Scores of patients are treated at hospitals for epithelioma, a kind of cancer generated from *kāngar* burns,<sup>1</sup> even though it may be said, in a way, the use of the *kāngar* aids digestion as an external heater for the stomach.

### Leather

William Moorcroft has spoken in high praise of the leather of Kashmīr. He was a well-known Veterinary Surgeon of London in the service of the East India Company in Bengal, and was in Srinagar in 1821. Moorcroft<sup>2</sup> wrote : "A fabric of much greater importance to Great Britain than that of damasked sword-blades, is that of Yirak leather, or leather suited for saddlery. Such pieces of this as came in our way were usually old narrow slips employed as reins and head-stalls ; but the leather was strong, solid, heavy and pliable, without any disposition to crack. Some of the pieces had been in use eighteen or twenty years, and were none the worse for constant wear." There is no doubt that there is abundance of raw material, and the tanners of the country can turn out excellent leather when they choose. The leather portmanteaux and valises made in Srinagar,

1. *The Indian Antiquary*, October, 1885, page 265 footnote.

2. *Travels*, Vol. II, pages 213-4.

Lawrence thinks,<sup>1</sup> stand an amount of rough usage, which few English solid leather bags would survive. It is claimed that the leather saddles of Srinagar last very long.

### Furs

The furriers of Srinagar chiefly depend for their livelihood on the business given to them by sportsmen, who send in skins to be cured. Though the law for the protection of game, under which the sale of skins and horns is prohibited, has curtailed the business of the furriers, yet their skill in preparing a variety of furs has elicited the admiration of those who have availed themselves of their service. Kashmir furs, indeed, warm the bodies and decorate the shoulders of the fair sex.

### Arms

Kashmir has been famous for the manufacture of swords and gun barrels. Egerton<sup>2</sup> says that the Kashmir swords are frequently ornamented with incised figures in relief of men and animals, and the outline heightened with gold. Shields with beautiful designs on them vieing with the embroidered work of a shawl are also made. The figures of sportsmen on foot and on elephants are usually represented pursuing the tiger and the antelope. For the manufacture of barrels, the Kashmiris use the smelted iron of Bajaur (in the Yusuf-zai country). Blades for daggers are also prepared. Specimens of old Kashmir daggers *pish-qabz*, and mousquetoons or *sher bachcha* (young tiger) may still be seen in Indian museums in London.

Dīwān Kirpā Rām in his *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* (pages 456-461) gives a long list of instruments that Kashmiris have been using in the manufacture of arms, specially swords and gun barrels.

Pistols are now made in admirable imitation of European work. Lawrence, writing about a Musalmān firm of Srinagar, says that they could turn out good guns and rifles, and replace parts of weapons in so clever a manner that it is difficult to detect the difference between Kashmiri and English workmanship.

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, Oxford University Press, 1895, page 379.  
2. *Handbook of Indian Arms*, London, 1880, page 141.

## TRANSPORT OF ARTS AND CRAFTS IN KASHMIR

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A meeting of the East India Association was held at the Caxton Hall, Westminster, London, on March 30th, 1939, when a paper entitled "The Economic Potentialities of Kashmir" was read by Pandit Rādha Krishna Bhān, M. A., of the Economics Department of Sri Pratāp College, Srinagar (now Dr. R. K. Bhān, M.A., Ph. D., Principal, Amar Singh College, Srinagar). The paper was followed by a highly interesting discussion, in which several retired officials of note took part. Sir Edward Blunt was in the chair. Sir William Barton said that the idea of the industrialization of Kashmīr, the loveliest of earth's lands, seemed to him almost a sacrilege. "One feels almost that the gods who haunt these majestic mountains," said Sir William, "would rise in wrath and sweep away the tentacles of mass production sprawling over the vale of Kashmir and factory chimneys belching forth smoke in beautiful Lolāb. The climate of Kashmīr and its soil is suitable for the production of the finest fruits in the world. There is an insatiable market for fruit in India. If only Kashmīr had a proper system of cheap transport to enable the fruit to be got out quickly, the industry might be enormously expanded. Like Switzerland, Kashmīr has great attractions for the tourist. In Gulmarg, the winter sport industry has been initiated. Here is a very valuable invisible export, but again cheap transport facilities are essential. To obtain cheap power and transport, the best means is to develop a cheap supply of electricity. Kashmīr possesses a very valuable asset in the great rivers that pour through her gorges and make the development of enormous supplies of electricity a possibility. There is a small installation about fifty miles away from Srinagar. There is a still smaller one near Jammu. I would venture to suggest that what is wanted is a very much larger installation, perhaps developing 50,000 h. p. at Srinagar and a similar one for Jammu. There is, I am told, a magnificent site on the Chenāb at a place called Riāsi, close to Jammu, where at least 50,000 h.p. could be developed. With those two installations, it should be possible to put a grid over the provinces of Jammu and Kashmīr, which would facilitate the very important cottage industry of weaving of wool. It would enable the industries of Srinagar to develop, and, what is more, it would help very greatly in the development of mineral wealth. You might have a small-gauge electric railway. You might have electric tramways. Trolley buses driven by electricity would solve the passenger problem, and would carry the lighter stuff. The main problem seems to be to develop cheap power. For that you want capital and a'so technique."

Sir Edward Blunt said that Kashmīr has two troubles. The first is the lack of transport. The matter has been dealt with already. The second seems to me to be finance. "For your large scale industries, where are you going to get your capital? Is it in the State, or would you have to get it from outside, and, if so, what is the general feeling about that? Another point in which I am extreme-

ly interested is the hydro-electric installation, because in the United Provinces we have a very large one of our own. We use it there for domestic purposes. It is a very large and a very cheap one. We had no need to build a flume. We simply put our power-houses across the falls of our canals, and so make them serve two purposes. The result is that we have got away with a very large installation at a cost of about three crores. There are six or seven power-houses and about two thousand miles of wire, and it covers ten districts. I think it is true that the larger the scale the cheaper the installation will be. I am sure Sir William Barton was right in saying that an extension of this would be a tremendous benefit to Kashmir. There are some minor points. First, the question of fruit. We all know that there is fruit in Kashmir but it is not easy to get it in the plains. The transport difficulty in the case of fruit, of course, is very great. Unless you have fast transport down your hill roads, I can quite imagine that one of the reasons why Kashmir fruit is not better known is because it perishes before it gets to the railhead in the Punjab. There is only one point more I want to mention, the question of carpets. Small-scale carpets can be most excellent products, and in the circumstances of Kashmir I should say that the small-scale carpet was probably the better." Mr. F. H. Andrews speaking about crafts and craftsmen writes: "During my close association with them for some years I found the craftsmen unrivalled in skill and artistic taste in their traditional crafts. The art of the weaver, shown in the exquisite quality of Kashmir shawl, has enjoyed world-wide admiration. The fine woollen cloth—*pashmina*—is unsurpassed, as are also the very beautiful embroidery and the papier mâché painting. Lesser known but equally fine in their way are *gabba*—a kind of refined patchwork—and embroidered *namdah*. The craftsmen are highly skilled in silver and copper repoussé and chasing, in enamelling on metal, and on wood-carving."

The above discussion showed that the need of transport was most imperative. But the problem of transport is not easy to solve. Kashmir is cut off from the rest of the world because of its situation and its environments. Known as the highest valley on this earth, being about 5,000 feet above sea-level, it is surrounded by steep high mountains more than 10,000 feet in some places. The Bānihāl Pass, in one place where the Jammu-Srinagar road crosses the inner range, is 8,984 feet above the sea-level. It is because of these natural barriers that this wonderful bit of country has been so difficult to reach up to now.

A century ago the journey could only have been done with palanquins and dandies carried on the shoulders of coolies, or on ponies, with mules and coolies for the luggage of the wealthy, while all others would have to walk along the narrow paths skirting the hillsides. This can still be seen.

Later came the roads, one from Rāwalpindi and the other from Jammu. Both are subject annually to being more or less badly blocked by landslides, due to the treacherous nature of the hill slopes during the rainy seasons.

At first, on these roads, tongas drawn by the ponies ran the distance of more than 200 miles, carrying those who could pay. Later, as the motors improved, they took up the task. For them the roads were considerably improved. Even so the journey from the plains of India is an undertaking, although it is frequently done by a good motor car in one day. Still, for the actual distance as the crow flies, the costs that have to be incurred are very heavy and therefore are a severe obstacle against the economic development of the country in general and the mineral wealth in particular.

There is only one way in which this can be altered and that is by building a railway with its consequent tunnels. Such an undertaking would reduce the distance down to about 120 miles with economic gradients. For instance, the road over the Bānihāl Pass is 42 miles from the point where it starts to climb on one side till one reaches the bottom on the other. Whereas, for a railway, a tunnel would be cut through, which would only be about 7 miles or less to connect the same two points, or a saving of 35 miles in one place alone. It must be noted here that while a tunnel would be expensive to build, the recurring maintenance charges would be very small.

It has been said that the building of a tunnel through the hill will be costly because of the water due to the snow on the hills! This would not be like building a tunnel under a river, because in the latter case there is water constantly flowing. In this case, there would only be some percolation into the mass of the hill through the fissures when the snow thaws, but most of it would run off outside. Even if there is a reservoir in the hill above the tunnel line, it would soon drain out if tapped.

Such a project, once completed, would bring down transport rates to an economic level comparable with conditions in the rest of India, and the development of the country would commence at once, growing prosperity would soon be visible, while tangible proof would be got from the rapid annual increase in the revenue of the State. Two very good examples of improvement due to giving transport facilities by building railways can be cited here. One is the Jodhpur State and the other is the Bikāner State. In both cases, the improvement in the revenues has been over a crore of rupees during the last fifty years mainly due to the railways.

A few months ago, details were released of suggested schemes to link Srinagar with British India by rail. The matter was first taken up by Colonel Sir Oliver St. John, the British Resident in Kashmir, in the year 1886, when he drew the attention of the Government of India to Kashmir's fine system of water communications and suggested the construction of the railway line to Srinagar.

This important matter has received the consideration of the State Government and 10 or 12 different surveys costing over Rs. 20 lakhs, have been carried out with the object of finding the most suitable alignment for a railway to connect the Vale of Kashmir with the sub-continental Railway system. One of the proposed routes, which was recommended by the former Government of India and several of the experts engaged on the surveys, would directly connect the cities of Jammu and Srinagar.

In all, four possible routes have been selected and reconnaissance surveys made. The Bānihāl route, joining the cities of Jammu and Srinagar, is considered a costly project but the most useful. The distance from Lāhore to Srinagar by this route is estimated to be 291 miles. The three other possible routes would join Srinagar with what is now Pākistān *via* the Jhelum Valley Road, the first running through Poonch, another through Kohāla, and the third through Abbottābād.

The huge mountains surrounding the Valley of Kashmīr present unusual difficulties in the matter of communications. It has been pointed out that in no place are conditions so favourable for a tunnel as in the neighbourhood of the Bānihāl Pass. The range here is not only considered to be at its lowest but at its thinnest, being steep and precipitous on both sides, so that a tunnel can be driven of minimum length.

It is considered by some engineers that no difficulty, as already mentioned, would be experienced on the line from snow or other climatic conditions, that the line could be satisfactorily and economically worked by electric power, and that in this special case there would be, no doubt, that the saving by the use of the electric power would be very great.

Various estimates of the cost of the railway have been made. It is estimated that a Bānihāl Electric Line would take five years to complete at a capital cost of 3 crores. If worked out, the scheme will be very profitable to the State in developing trade and encouraging tourists.

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A new transport system known as 'Guideways' and styled by the inventor, an Engineer Administratrator, Mr. C. Skeleton, INDIA'S OWN TRANSPORT SYSTEM which has been tested and approved by the Railway Board (of the former Government of India) and also the Government of Bombay, for the carriage of passengers and goods, can be installed for less than half the capital cost of the railway, while the maintenance and operating costs will be about half. This system will give the cheapest, most comfortable and quietest transport into and out of Kashmir, because all the vehicles run on rubber tyres, using only half the number required by the bus for the same work. Anyone who has travelled between Bombay and Poona on the G.I.P. Railway will appreciate the advantage of having no noise.

in the tunnels. The inventor estimates it ought to be possible to carry third class passengers for about Re. 1·8 and goods for about Rs. 5 per ton from Jammu to Srinagar or *vice versa*. This system, it is claimed, can be operated by steam, electricity or oil engines whichever suits a locality to be served, most economically.

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"The want of proper communications with the outer world has hindered the development of the commercial resources of the country," say the Neve brothers,\* the well-known Missionaries of Kashmir whose knowledge of the Valley is close, intimate and intelligent. "Although railway surveys have been carried on for twenty years at great expense," they add, "nothing points to the actual undertaking of construction." "Schemes are taken up and dropped" is their sad comment, and conclusion!

The House of Commons rejected six schemes during past years for the electrification of the picturesque Highlands of Scotland. But on February 25th, 1943, Labour and Conservative alike, agreed that time had come to accept the industrialization of these Highlands, and accepted the Government measure to establish a non-Profit Earning Public Services Board to harness power estimated to be capable of producing 4,000 million units of electricity yearly. Large-scale industries will thus be encouraged to settle in the Highlands of Scotland. Should not this give us hope for Kashmir?

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\**The Tourist's Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.,* edited by the late Major Arthur Neve, F. R. C. S., Edinburgh, R. A. M. C., Surgeon to the Kashmir Medical Mission, Fifteenth Edition, 1933, Revised by Dr. E. F. Neve, F. R. C. S., *The Civil & Military Gazette Ltd.*, Lahore, Pākistān, p. iv.



# CHAPTER X

## CIVIL AND MILITARY ORGANIZATION UNDER MUSLIM RULE IN KASHMIR.

### Part I

#### Civil Organization.

Introductory. Supremacy of the Shari'at, p. 599. Head of the Islamic State elected, p. 600. The Vazir, p. 601. The Qazi, 602 The Shaikh-ul-Islam and other Officials, p.604-7. Regency in Kashmir, p. 607. Islamic Law, p. 609. The condition of women, p. 613. Legal Education, p. 615. Application of Islamic Law in Kashmir, p. 617. The attitude of Islamic Law towards Non-Muslims, p. 619. Administration of Hindu Law under Muslim Rule, p. 624. Administrative Units, p. 628. The Revenue System of Kashmir, p. 630. The Coinage of Kashmir, p. 637. Weights and Measures, p. 643. Agriculture, p. 645. Saffron, p. 646. Floating Gardens: 'Stealing Land' in Kashmir, p. 650. Irrigation, p. 652. Famines, p. 653. Roads, p. 653. Routes and "Rahdari," p. 654.

"The administrative systems of the Muslims both civil and military," to use the words of the late S. Khudā Bakhsh, "are the most powerful witnesses of their culture and civilization," as "unfolding not only their great adaptive and absorbing capacity, but also their original and creative powers." In the Islamic state, the sovereign is the supreme head. Next to him are his executive officials and holders of the most important offices, the prime minister, the commander of the forces, and the chief justice, the heads of the departments of police, of finance, taxation and land laws.

#### *Supremacy of the Shari'at.*

Muslim jurists and theologians believe in the supremacy of the *Sharī'ah* or the Islamic law, and hold that it is eternal and immutable in its essence. Public opinion in all Muslim lands holds firmly to the supremacy of the *Shari'at*.

‘Neither the law nor its interpreters and jurists belonged exclusively to any one country. They belonged to the entire world of Islam, and their influence was felt everywhere. There are no local variations of the Muslim Law. The Sultān’s authority was always limited by Divine Law which he could not supersede.’’ Herein lies the great difference between European and Muslim theocratical theories of state.

*Head of the Islamic State elected.*

The jurists whose outlook is truly Islamic are of the opinion that it is the duty of Muslims to elect and appoint their ruler. Originally the head of the Islamic state, therefore, owed his authority to general election. But powerful rulers undermined this institution of election. And, under cover of the notion that ‘the king is the shadow of God,’ they sought to establish the principle of ‘divine right’ with regard to succession to the throne. But more often than not, the principle of might was paramount.

The ruler appointed and accepted by the Muslims was the Caliph who alone was the chief executive officer and supreme judge in the world of Islam. The Caliphate, after the Prophet, devolved upon his Four Companions one after the other. It then went to the Umayyids of Damascus. Later came the ‘Abbāsids of Baghdād. They were supplanted by the Fātimid Caliphs of Egypt. The Fātimids were, in turn, replaced by the ‘Usmānli Turks of Istanbūl (or Islāmbūl). Finally, Kamāl Atāturk abolished the Caliphate on account of the retrogression of some of the Sultāns of Turkey, the misdemeanour of Arab chiefs, and as being a drain on the resources of the Turks.

The legal representative of the Caliph of Islam was the Sultān in India to whom were delegated all the powers wielded by the Caliph. Legally, the Caliph had the right to overrule the Sultān, but the Sultān in India was so powerful and at such distance that it could not be practical politics for the Caliph to meddle with Indian affairs. Moreover, the ‘Abbāsids were weak when the Sultānate of Delhi was established. The Sultān at Delhi was thus the supreme human agent in India interpreting the law of Islam, and performing its functions accordingly.

In addition to his duties of governing his state, the sovereign was expected to hold courts of justice, and to try select cases personally. Naturally, his court was the highest tribunal of appeal.

### *The Vazir.*

Next to the sovereign was the office of the *vizārat*, which came into existence in the Islamic state for the first time under the 'Abbāsids. The Vizierate\* was not borrowed by the Muslims as a fixed and well-defined institution from the Sāsānians or anybody else. The use of the Arabic word *vazīr* in the sense of helper and assistant is found from pre-Islamic times down to the last years of the Umayyid period. *Vizr* in Arabic means 'a burden.' The possibility of Irānian or Indian influence on some aspects of the Vizierate is, however, a different thing.

The position of the *Vazir-i-A'zam* in the East corresponds to that of the prime minister in England, or other countries in pre-Dictatorship days. Like the Prime Minister in the West, the *Vazir-i-A'zam* controls the entire administrative machinery of the state. He is responsible to his chief, the Sultān, for the efficient working of all the departments. By virtue of his position as the king's premier counsellor, all the heads of the various departments look up to him for guidance. In fact, the *Vazīr* of a Muslim ruler, in advising his master in all the great affairs of state, virtually bears the full load of government, while at the same time he must possess all the arts of an accomplished courtier. It was of considerable advantage to him if he were "conversant with the games of chess and polo," skilled in playing the guitar, and was "proficient in mathematics, medicine, astrology, poetry, grammar and history, in the recitation of poems, and in the narration of tales." Above all, he must always be a practical psychologist, understand the situation, and deal with it with the utmost tact. The *vizārat* was of a variable character. It took its tone and colour from the ruler who allowed to his minister a larger or smaller measure of independence and personal initiative as the case might be. Hence we have the unlimited *vizārat*, and the limited *vizārat*—terms which sufficiently explain themselves.

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\**The Origin of the Vizierate and its True Character* by S. D. Goitein of Palestine, *Islamic Culture*, July and October, 1942.

In Kashmīr, during the rule of the Sultāns, the prime minister was designated *Madār-ul-Mahāmm*, as has been the case in the Hydarābād State. During Mughul rule, the Valley was governed by *subadārs*. During Afghān rule the *sūbadār's* *vazīr* or deputy was called *pēshkār* or the Chief Secretary. Sometimes the chief minister combined with his own duties those of the commander-in-chief of the military forces, as we find in the case of Malik Saif-ud-Dīn in the days of Sultān Sikandar. But normally the commander-in-chief was the head only of the military department of the state. He was well trained in the art of warfare then known, and was familiar with the use of all kinds of weapons then existing. It was his duty to attend to the training and efficient organization of the army, the enforcement of proper discipline among the soldiers, and the condition of the beasts of burden. In brief, the commander-in-chief was to see that the troops were ready for march, or actual engagement at the shortest possible notice. He was to maintain, particularly in Kashmīr, the frontier outposts, to garrison them and to equip them for all emergencies. In active service, his place was in the centre of the army when the king did not command in person, otherwise next to him.

### *The Qāzī.*

The *Qāzī*, or the *Qāzī 'l-quzāt*, or, in other words, the Chief Justice was the highest judicial authority in the state. He was entrusted with ecclesiastical affairs also. It was his duty to see that religious observances were properly respected and performed by Muslims. He was assisted in his duties by an official known as the *Muftī*, the canonical jurist, who pronounced *Fatāwā*, or religious rulings, according to Islamic law. The *Qāzī* was subordinate to the prime minister. Under his orders, the *Qāzī* received his appointment, or, through him, if the appointment was made by the sovereign himself. The post of the *Qāzī* was generally held by a highly learned man, well-versed in Islamic law, and of reputed sanctity of character. Today, points out a well-known Muslim lawyer,† we insist that a judge should possess 'character.' So did Islamic society, but with this difference that 'piety' or 'the fear of God' as

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†Principal Āsaf 'Ali Asghar Fyzee of the Government Law College, Bombay, in his P.E.N. Bombay Lecture, March, 1943. Mr. Fyzee is now a member of the Public Services Commission, Bombay Presidency.

understood in Islam was a condition precedent to an appointment. He was sometimes appointed directly from among eminent lawyers or promoted from the post of a provincial or local Qāzī.

Usually the duties of a Qāzī were—(a) to decide disputes and resolve animosities ; (b) to put into execution the penal laws ; (c) to contract matrimony on behalf of those who had no guardians ; (d) to partition inheritance ; (e) to protect the property of absentees, orphans, minors, idiots and lunatics ; also to control their guardians, if any ; and to appoint administrators for such property ; (f) to determine legatees ; (g) to administer justice ; (h) to supervise and administer *waqf* (endowment) properties ; (i) to lead congregations and to preside over Friday and 'Id prayers, and hence no non-Muslim could be a Qāzī as this was the most important duty of the Qāzī. As a rule, the Qāzī took no fee of any kind from the people. He was maintained by the income of a grant of land, which was conferred on him by the state for this purpose, or was paid a salary. The Qāzī was naturally charged with the supervision of law officers and the subordinate Qāzīs whom he could appoint or dismiss. In the matter of fresh taxation, the opinion of the Chief Justice was invariably taken.<sup>1</sup> The installation of a Sultān was usually done in the presence of the Chief Justice or the Qāzī'l-quzāt.<sup>2</sup> Under the Mughuls in India, the Sadr or the Sadr-us-Sudūr was the designation of this great functionary.

In England the king delegates certain powers to the Lord Chancellor. The Lord Chancellor, in turn, delegates certain of his powers to the Chancery Judges. "The powers and appointments of Qāzīs in the early days of the Caliphate remind one<sup>3</sup> of the Chancery Judges of modern England." In the Sultānate of Delhi the offices of the *Sadr-us-Sudūr* and the *Qāzī-i-Mamālik* were combined and given to the same state dignitary. Under the Mughuls these posts were separate involving separate duties.

According to Ibn Battūtah, a Chief Justice was required to administer the oath of office to the Sultān.

1. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India*, page 144.

2. *Elliot*, III, page 591.

3. Principal Asaf Ali Asghar Fyzee in his P.E.N. Bombay Lecture, March, 1943.

The Chief Justice was himself installed by the Sultān. Ibn Battūtah's salary as a Judge of the Bench was 12,000 *dīnārs* a year, which would be equivalent to £12,000 a year today. The Chief Justice naturally got very much more. A Chief Justice was also given oversight of the educational organizations.

The *Sadr* (or the head) was judge and supervisor of the endowments of land by the sovereign, or the prince, for the support of pious men, scholars and hermits. He was to see that such grants were applied to the right purpose, and also to scrutinize applications for fresh grants. Charities during the Ramazān were distributed through him. The chief *Sadr* was called the *Sadr-us-Sudūr*, or *Sadr-i-Kul*, or *Sadr-i-Jahān*. The institution of *Sadr-us-Sudūr* existed in the Hydarābād State till recently.

### *The Shaikh-ul-Islam in Kashmīr.*

In Kashmīr, however, we find that the highest judicial and ecclesiastical authority in the state was designated *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. And it is recorded\* that Mullā Ahmad 'Allāma was appointed *Shaikh-ul-Islam* by Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn (Shāh Mir). Now, this Sultān began to rule in about 1339 A.C., while the office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam* was created in the Ottoman Empire in about 1453 A.C. by Sultān Muhammad II. If this testimony is to be given credence, Kashmīr was ahead of Turkey in this respect by about a hundred years. If there be any doubt about the exact date of the establishment of the office of *Shaikh-ul-Islam*, the fact that the office did exist about this time is proved by several references to it in a number of histories of Kashmīr. Most probably the office was imported from Central Asia. In the villages, the Mullā acted as a *Qāzī* in small cases and gave decrees.

*Shaikh-ul-Islam* is, according to the *Encyclopædia of Islam* (Volume IV, 1934, pages 275-278), one of the honorific titles which first appears in the second half of the fourth century A.H. In the fifth century, Ismā'īl bin 'Abdur Rahmān and Abū Ismā'īl Ansārī held this title. In the sixth century, Fakhr-ud-Dīn Rāzī was called the *Shaikh-ul-Islam*. In Irān the *Shaikh-ul-Islam* became a judicial authority who presided, in each important village, over the ecclesiastical tribunal composed of Mullās and Mujtahids.

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\*Hāji Muhyi'd Dīn Miskin's *Ta'rīkh-i-Kabīr*, page 289.

The title gained special significance after it became applicable to the Muftī of Istanbul. Sultān Muhammād II, called the Great (855 A.H.=1451 A.C. to 886 A.H.=1481 A.C.), after taking Constantinople, gave the official capital, Khizr title of Shaikh-ul-Islam to the *Muftī* of the new Beg Chelebi.

The Shaikh-ul-Islam of Istanbul was regarded as the Abū Hanifa of his time. Only the Grand Vazīr was higher than he. The political function of the Shaikh-ul-Islam was first confined to his power of issuing *fatawā*. But enormous importance was attached to *fatawā* relating to questions of policy and public discipline.

In the Sultānate of Delhi, the Shaikh-ul-Islam exercised only very limited authority, and looked after the award of stipends to Sūfīs, faqīrs and dervishes and allowances to monasteries.\*

#### *The Muhtasib.*

The duty of the head of the police, or the censor of public morals, who was called the *Muhtasib*, was the maintenance of good morals and, as far as possible, the prevention of crime. He was responsible for the prevention of fraud in goods offered for sale, and in all weights and measures. He was to test articles of food. He was expected to make regulations conducive to general security, and was to investigate complaints regarding paternity. He was to protect slaves and servants from acts of cruelty on the part of their masters, and to punish owners of beasts of burden for ill-feeding or overloading them. It was also his duty to see that foundlings committed to his care were properly looked after. It was he who granted permission for the erection of balconies, projections to buildings, and the construction of latrines. Under Aurangzīb ‘Ālamgīr, the Muhtasib was also to see to prevention of dirt and sweepings on the road, and encroachments on public land. Police regulation forbade the public sale of liquors and the playing of musical instruments in public places, and authorized the arrest of drunkards. Charges of extortion also came within his cognizance. The Muhtasib's representative in a city was the *Kōtwāl*, or Prefect of the City Police, who would go through the streets with a party of soldiers

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\**The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pp. 179-80.

demolishing and raiding liquor-shops, distilleries and gambling dens, wherever he found them. Sometimes, of course, "his retainers had armed conflicts with ruffians who showed fight." In Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr's time, as Dow<sup>1</sup> has quoted, "no insidious old women, pimps or jugglers who led the wives and daughters of honest men into the ways of evil were tolerated." No nuisances were permitted in streets, or before residential buildings. The *Muhtasib* was, however, not given the power of violating the privacy of homes, nor was he allowed to spy on others. He was concerned only with flagrant violations and open misdemeanours. Under Muhammad bin Tughluq, the *Muhtasib* was an officer of great dignity and drew a salary of eight thousand *tankas*. "Markets were kept low. And the people were not to suffer any combinations amongst Banias." The *Kōtwāl* was also responsible for the detention of prisoners and their being produced in the court of the *Qāzī* for trial.

### *The Vazir-i-Māl*

The control of public finance was vested in the *Mushir-i-Māl* or *Vazir-i-Māl* sometimes called the *Dīwān*, who combined the functions of the collector-general and the treasurer-general. The finance minister divided the country into several districts for purposes of revenue, and classified the villages according as they—(i) were exempt from the payment of taxes ; (ii) supplied soldiers for the defence of the country in lieu of taxes ; (iii) paid taxes in kind, that is to say, in grain, cattle or raw products ; (iv) supplied free labour. The *Dīwān* was expected to know all details of income and expenditure of the state. For the proper administration of the finances, it was necessary to have a good system of keeping accounts, and all details were entered in the books, and subsequently audited by competent auditors. The chief sources of revenue were the property tax, capitation tax, land-tax and war booty. These are discussed under the revenue system of Kashmīr.

Under the Mughuls, the *Sūbadār*, or governor, was the representative of the sovereign. The *Sūbadār* was officially called the *Nāzim* or administrator of the province. His essential duties<sup>2</sup> were to maintain order, to help the smooth and successful collection of revenue, and to execute the

1. *The History of Hindostan*, London, 1772, Volume III, page 412.  
 2. Sir J. N. Sarkār's *Mughal Administration*, 1920, page 81.

royal decrees and regulations sent to him. Under the Sūbadār were the provincial Diwān<sup>1</sup> or the Receiver-general of the revenues of a province, and the Faujdār or the military commander. The Karōrī, or the collector of revenue, was in charge of an area analogous to our large district or a group of small districts. His duty was the collection of revenue without negligence and at the right time. He was not to demand *mahsūl* (duty) from places not yet capable of paying. He was to urge his subordinates like Qānūngos and Jāgirdārs, not to realize anything in excess of the regulations. The Karōrī was also "to study the economy in his department during Aurangzib Ālamgir's<sup>2</sup> reign. The subjects were to be encouraged by him to apply themselves diligently to their various occupations and that the annual collections may increase yearly as well as the happiness of the inhabitants." The treasurer of the district was called the Fūtadār.

According to Lawrence,<sup>3</sup> the institution of village officers in Kashmir dates from the times of the Mughuls, though Stein remarks that a system of village administration is alluded to in more than one passage of the *Rājatarangini*.

The news-writer or *waqā'i-navīs* or *savānih-nigār* or the *khufya-navīs* kept the central government informed of all that transpired in the province.

Handbooks were compiled for the guidance of subordinate officials and were called the *Dastūr-ul-'amal*. These contained forms for official documents and reports, condensed abstracts, facts, figures and lists, and could be revised and brought up to date in successive reigns. In a sense, they took the place of the *Lokaprakāça* in Pre-Muslim Kashmir.

#### **Regency in Kashmir**

Kashmīr, under the Sultāns, had experience of the system of regency administration. Sultān Sikandar was a minor when he succeeded his father Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn. Sikandar's mother acted as the Regent, and later Sūhbat

1. The *Diwān* is analogous to the steward or fiscal agent of feudal days in the West.

2. *Dow's History of Hindostan*, Vol. III, page 414.

3. *The Valley of Kashmīr*, 1895, page 197. See also the footnote on the same page for Dr. Stein's remark.

or Malik Saif-ud-Din performed the duties of the same office. On the death of Sultān Hasan Shāh, when his son Muhammad Shāh was about seven years of age, a regency was again set up under the direction of Sayyid Hasan Baihaqī, the prime minister of the state. "Regencies" remarks Rodgers,\* "have always been prolific in disturbances, even in advanced countries where there is settled law." Therefore, it is not strange that there were disturbances in Kashmīr during this regency. It is said that when the treasury was opened to the young king and the wealth of the state and its resources were exhibited to him, he laid hold of a bow rather than any of the gold and silver.

تیہا مجدد شاہ تیرا ایک کم سن تاجدار

دل سے ہوں لاکھوں مسن جسکے تھوڑے پر نشار

سب نفاذیں دیکھے کر بیکار اپنے ہاتھ میں

اک کمان رکھلی تو اک تلوار اپنے ہاتھ میں

—محمد الدین فوق

From this the people augured that the prince would prove a brave and war-like ruler. It was at this time that the rājā of Jammu was a refugee in Kashmīr, from the tyranny of Tātār Khān Lodi.

On the death of Sayyid Hasan, the regent, his place was taken by the uncle of the Sultān, who, in turn, was again supplanted by Sultān Fath Shāh. Just about this time in England, Edward V and his brother were murdered in the Tower. Fath Shāh, however, points out Rodgers, did not prove as bad as Richard III, in this respect. On the contrary, he arranged that the food and drink of the prince were prepared under his directions, and the prince was permitted to enjoy his palace life. Shaikh or Mir Shams-ud-Dīn 'Irāqī made his appearance in Kashmīr during those days. Fath Shāh was on the throne but, in course of time, Muhammad Shāh established himself on the same throne when Fath Shāh fled towards India but died at Naushahra. Muhammad Shāh, in gratitude for services during his early minority, brought back the dead body of Fath Shāh,

\*The Square Silver Coins of the Sultans of Kashmīr.—J.A.S.B., No. 1885, page 109.

and had it buried near the tomb of Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in 925 A.H. (1519 A.C.). Muhammād Shāh was the contemporary of Ibrāhīm Lodi of Delhi.

Mirzā Haidar Dughlāt may also be said to have set up a regency in Kashmir during his ten years' stay, beginning with the 2nd of August, 1541 A.C. Sultān Nādir or Nāzuk Shāh was a puppet in his hands. And Mirzā Haidar, in reality, held sway as the vicegerent of Humāyūn, who was then struggling against adverse circumstances.

### **Islamic Law.**

Islamic *Fiqh* (jurisprudence) is a great and independent science of the Muslim people. Islamic jurisprudence is proud of a glorious history of independent life and progress. Its great achievements and principles comprehend the entire province of the individual and social life of man. It was this "scientific art of life of Islam" which supplied the framework of Islamic civilization in its brightest periods of history.

The Arabs, says Von Kremer,<sup>1</sup> were the only people of the early Middle Ages who, in the development and scientific treatment of legal principles, achieved results which approached in their magnificent splendour those of the Romans, the law-givers of the world. Muslim jurisprudence accordingly occupies, in the words of Ameer Ali, a pre-eminent position among the various systems which have, at different times, been in force among different communities. And considering the circumstances under which it originated, the difficulties it had to contend with, and the backward condition of the people among whom it attained its development, it may be regarded as one of the grandest monuments of the human intellect. According to the late Rev. Dr. D. B. McDonald,<sup>2</sup> the Muslims regarded the administration of justice as a duty, and with their "armies everywhere went Law and Justice such as it was. Jurists accompanied each army and were settled in the great camp cities which were built to hold the conquered land." The sacred fountain of the laws of the Muslim state was the Qur'ān. But, as the empire grew, the need for judicial formulæ and judicial

1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, S. Khudā Bukhsh's English Translation of Von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients*, University of Calcutta, 1920, page 367.

2. *Muslim Theology*, page 83.

rules, adapted to the new conditions of life, was keenly felt. And the pronouncements of the Prophet who combined in himself the offices of ruler and judge, "filled up the gaps which are to be found in the Qur'ān from the legislative point of view."<sup>1</sup> These are called the *Hadīth* (literally, the word or narration). Besides this, the entire public and private life of the Prophet served as a model to the Muslim as something to which he should aspire. Thus the life of the Prophet, his discourses and utterances, his actions, his tacit approval, and even his passive conduct constituted, next to the Qur'ān, the second most important source of law for the Islamic Empire. The entire body of such traditions as were actually practised by the Prophet or repeatedly urged or emphasized by him in his lifetime is called the *Sunnah*. In brief, the *Hadīth* is the word or statement made by the Prophet. The *Sunnah* (literally the *path* or *practice*) is the actual practice or an urge or emphasis for action demanded repeatedly by the Prophet in the light of his word or statement. The observance of the *Sunnah* created self-control and responsibility, promoted stability in society, and made the spiritual influence of the Prophet a real factor in the life of a Muslim.

When, however, (*i*) the Qur'ān—the Word of God—and (*ii*) the *Hadīth*—the record of the Prophet's action and saying—was not clear on a point, the use of (*iii*) analogy and the deductive method under the Prophet's instructions and in the light of (*i*) and (*ii*) became necessary. This is technically called *Qiyās* in Muslim law. Supplementing the above (*i*), (*ii*) and (*iii*) we have—(*iv*) the *Ijmā'-al-Umma* or consensus of opinion among the learned. When a number of persons, learned in Muslim law and holding the rank of jurists, agree on a particular point, their agreement has the force of law. These four above constitute the *Shari'at* or Islamic law. And this is the *Fiqh* (literally intelligence, understanding or knowledge) or the Canon Law of Islam. The first two are laid down by God and his Prophet. The edifice of *Fiqh*, raised by human endeavour, supplemented the first two in the light of the Qur'ān and the *Hadīth*.

In Islam, as Principal Āsaf 'Ali Asghar Fyzee says,<sup>2</sup> "there is no distinction between law and religion, civil and

1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, page 268.

2. P. E. N. Bombay Lecture in March, 1943.

criminal law, judges and magistrates. The law is to be obeyed not for temporal reasons but to achieve a spiritual end, for the purpose of man's salvation. The sanctions are moral rather than legal. Legal considerations and individual rights are secondary. The supreme tendency is towards a religious and ethical evaluation of the facts of life."

Imām Abū Hanīfa (A.H. 80-150=A.C. 699-766), "the greatest jurist not merely of his age, but of the entire Islamic world,"<sup>1</sup> appears to have been the first to lay the foundation of constitutional law, which has been "the accepted basis for all later times."<sup>2</sup> It is said that he instituted a committee consisting of forty men from amongst his principal disciples for the codification of the laws. It took thirty years to complete the task, but the entire code is now unfortunately lost. The *Qudūri*, however, gives us the best exposition of Imām Abū Hanīfa's system. He was, in the words of Von Kremer,<sup>3</sup> the first to set up the principle that the life of an unbeliever or a slave was just as dear as that of a Muslim. He strove to mitigate the severity and harshness of the law of theft, which was extremely severe in Islam. He also took a lenient view of other offences ; for instance, of blaspheming the Prophet. As regards the law of pre-emption, Imām Abū Hanīfa made no distinction between Muslims and non-Muslims. These facts go to show that "he was a champion of leniency, toleration and mercy in an age of unbridled fanaticism."<sup>4</sup>

The school of theology and jurisprudence which Imām Abū Hanīfa founded became dominant in Baghdād shortly after his death. It was officially recognized by the Caliphs of Baghdād and bore the name of the Hanafite system, after Abū Hanīfa. Two of Abū Hanīfa's disciples, Qāzī Abū Yūsuf and Muhammad Shaibānī, were the most learned doctors of this school. Imāms Mālik (A.H. 95-179=A.C. 713-795,) Shāfi'i (A.H. 150-204=A.C. 767-820) and Ibn Hanbal (A.H. 164-241=A.C. 780-855) also founded schools of law, which are known after them. These four schools are

1. *The Orient under the Caliphs*, page 394.

2. *Ibid.*, page 395.

3. *Ibid.*, page 398.

4. *Ibid.*, page 401.

authorities of the first rank, whose decisions in legal matters are unchallenged, and make *Fiqh*. We have, therefore, the Holy Qur'an, the *Hadith*, the *Qiyās*, and the *Ijmā'* as previously explained, constituting the *Fiqh*—or the collective or canonical law of Islam.

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The commercial law of Islam shows traces of the Roman-Byzantine law on account of constant commercial intercourse between Arabia and the bordering Roman provinces. The criminal law, though based essentially on the old Semitic foundation—common alike to the Hebrews and the Arabs—has been considerably toned down by the Arabs. The Arab laws of marriage and inheritance, in spite of the fact that the Hebrews and the Arabs are supposed to belong to the same family of nations and to possess common Semitic institutions, are, says Von Kremer, essentially the original product of Islam. The Muslim law of inheritance, he adds, is bolder in its outline, more definite in its assignment of shares, more considerate to the other sex, and far more humane and refined than the Hebrew law.

### *Islamic Law and the Swiss Civil Code.*

If we compare the four sources of the Islamic law with a modern statement of fundamental principles such as the Swiss Civil Code, which, by the way, Atāturk adopted for his new Turkish state, we shall find that Article I of the Swiss Code follows, more or less, the same course. "The Statute governs all matters within the letter or the spirit of any of its mandates. In default of an applicable statute, the judge is to pronounce judgment according to the customary law and, in default of a custom, according to the rules which he would establish if he were to assume the part of a legislator. He is to draw his inspiration, however, from the solutions consecrated by the doctrine of the learned and the jurisprudence of the courts *par la doctrine et la jurisprudence.*" If the Qur'an is an Act and the Prophet's practice the initiation of tradition or customary law we have, as it were, the other two concomitants of Article I of the Swiss Code, viz. inspiration from solutions already consecrated and the jurisprudence of the courts, in the *Qiyās* and the *Ijmā'* respectively of Islamic law.

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*The Condition of Women.*

As there is considerable misapprehension in India and Europe and America about the position of Muslim women, due to the un-Islamic attitude of the Indian Muslim himself towards his women-folk, a brief discussion is imperative. The status of the Muslim woman is secure under Muslim law and practice—perhaps more secure than that of a woman in Europe and America—but her own ignorance of this law and practice has brought on her certain disabilities which happily are disappearing, albeit slowly.

It is notorious that the condition of women among the Arabs and the Jews before the advent of Islam was “extremely degraded.” Among the Athenians, the most civilized and most cultured of all the nations of antiquity, writes Ameer Ali,\* the wife was a mere chattel, marketable and transferable to others and a subject of testamentary disposition. She was regarded in the light of an evil indispensable for the ordering of the household and procreation of children. An Athenian was allowed to have any number of wives, and Demosthenes gloried in the possession by his people of three classes of women, two of which furnished the legal and semi-legal wives. Among the Romans, also, polygamy flourished in a more or less pronounced form, until forbidden by the laws of Justinian. But the prohibition contained in the civil law, continues Ameer Ali, effected no change in the moral ideas of the people, and polygamy continued to be practised until condemned by the opinion of modern society. Even the clergy, frequently forgetting their vows of celibacy, contracted more than one legal or illegal union. The German reformers, even so late as the sixteenth century, admitted the validity of a second or third marriage contemporaneously with the first in default of issue and for other similar causes. Among the Hindus, polygamy prevailed from the earliest times. There was no restriction as to the number of wives a man might have. A high-caste Brahman, even in modern times, is privileged to marry as many wives as he chooses. Islam, however, restricts the number to four, and the conditions imposed are such as to make it extremely difficult for the husband to have them at the same time.

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\**The Spirit of Islam*, 1922, page 223.

Under the Islamic laws, points out Ameer Ali,<sup>1</sup> a woman occupies a superior legal position to that of her English sister. As long as she is unmarried, she remains under the parental roof, and until she attains her majority she is, to some extent, under the control of her father or his representative. As soon, however, as she is of age, the law vests in her all the rights which belong to her as an independent human being. On her marriage, she does not lose her individuality. She does not cease to be a separate member of society, and her existence does not "merge" in that of her husband. No doctrine of "coverture" is recognized, and her property remains hers in her individual right. A Muslim marriage, continues Ameer Ali,<sup>2</sup> is a civil act, needing no Mullā, requiring no sacred rite. The rights of a wife as a wife, or as a mother, do not depend for their recognition upon the idiosyncracies of individual judges. She can enter into binding contracts with her husband, and proceed against him at law, if necessary. But, of course, remarks Ameer Ali, there may be secret tyrannies in Asia as there may be in America, but the excesses of a Muslim husband find no sanction either in the silence or in the provision of the actual code. If he does wrong, he does it as wrong, and with the fear of punishment in his heart. The whole history of Muslim legislation, concludes Ameer Ali, is a standing rebuke to those who consider that the position of women under the Islamic laws is one of inferiority and degradation.

### *The Seclusion of Women.*

In contrast to the considerable legal status of women in Islam, it is often asserted that Islam is responsible for the introduction of the system of their seclusion. This is really contrary to fact, as this system had been in practice among most of the nations of antiquity from the earliest times. The Athenians, whom Europeans extol so much, observed the custom in all its strictness. The Prophet recommended its observance as he perceived some advantages in it on account of the state of society existing at the time. But it is a mistake to suppose that there is anything in the law which tends to the perpetuation of the custom, though it must be admitted that the Prophet's

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1. *Mahomedan Law* by Syed Ameer Ali, Fifth Edition, Thacker Spink & Co., Calcutta, 1929, page 15.

2. *Ibid.*, page 16.

recommendation undoubtedly stemmed the tide of immorality, and prevented the diffusion of the custom of disguised polyandry. Depravity of morals was then sapping the foundations of society among pre-Islamic Arabs, and among Jews and Christians. The *haram* or *harem* is the sanctuary of conjugal happiness. It is prohibited to strangers, not because women are deemed unworthy of confidence, but on account of the sacredness with which customs and manners invest them. Within the sacred precincts of the *zanāna* or *zenana*, the wife reigns supreme. The husband has little authority within that circle, and frequently he cannot enter it without his wife's permission. The present backward condition of Muslim women in India, rightly remarks Ameer Ali, is the result of want of culture rather than of any special feature in the Islamic laws or institutions. The question of the veil or the *pardah* and the seclusion of women is being discussed at some length in the writer's book entitled: *Sughra—Being a Discussion of the Status and Schooling of Muslim Women in India*.

#### *Legal Education.*

"The vital connexion between the system of legal education and that of judicial organization has, in no legal system of the world, been so clearly emphasized as in the Islamic legal system," said Colonel T. J. Kedār, Vice-Chancellor, Nāgpur University, at the opening of the Law College, Nāgpur, in October 1940. "It began as early as the second century after Prophet Muhammad's death, under Hārūn-ur-Rashid. But it was perfected in the Ottoman Empire, about 1500 A.C., under Sulaimān the Magnificent, the contemporary of the Emperor Charles V, and Queen Elizabeth of England. Sulaimān was known in the Orient as Al Canouni (Qānūnī) the legislator. He has been described by historians as the Justinian of Islam. The Sulaimāniyya University was his special achievement for law. The highest judicial officers in the Ottoman Empire were required to be graduates of the Sulaimāniyya University. The office of the Shaikh-ul-Islam, the chief of the entire juristic body, was in the north-east corner of the University building.

#### *LL.B., LL.M., and LL.D. Degrees in the Islamic System of Legal Education.*

"The Islamic system of legal education was framed according to a highly organized plan of judicial training.

No one could hold judicial or legislative office until he had received an appropriate higher education in law. It was a degree analogous to our LL.B. that qualified a man to hold the post of Na'ib or Justice of the Peace. The degree, analogous to our LL.M., qualified one to become a Qāzī or Superior Court Judge. In the degree which has its counterpart in our LL.D., there were twelve grades that qualified one to become a provincial judge or to become a Muftī (a Jurisconsult). The twelfth grade made a Mullā and qualified him to become a Supreme Court Judge or a professor in the highest faculties.

"It is said that it was a brilliant century in Christian Europe," quotes Col. Kedār. "An Italian traveller of that day at Stamboul is recorded as saying—'one would be very fortunate in Europe if one could appeal from our courts to the Sultan's Supreme Court.' "

#### *Administration of Law.*

This much about law. Now a word about its administration. The right to administer the laws, as well as the affairs generally of the community, says Sir 'Abdur Rahīm,<sup>1</sup> belongs to the community itself, which may exercise the right through its chosen representatives. The administration of the state in the olden days was entrusted to Imāms or Caliphs. The Imām or the Caliph was the executive head or chief of the Muslim state. He was not vested with legislative power, and was bound by the *Shari'at* like any other person. He was subject to the ordinary jurisdiction of the courts, though it may be that, as he was the chief of the executive and had thus control of the administrative machinery, it practically depended upon his pleasure whether he would submit to the decrees and sentences of the courts or not. The Muslim law, continues Sir 'Abdur Rahīm,<sup>2</sup> does not concede to any individual any of those powers and prerogatives which are ordinarily the essential attributes of sovereignty, which in the Muslim system primarily belongs to God. But as God has delegated to the people powers of legislation and of absolute control over the administration, it

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1. *The Principles of Muhammadan Jurisprudence* by 'Abdur Rahīm, Luzac & Co., London, 1911, page 59.

2. *Ibid.*, page 60.

must be held that, next to God, the sovereign power resides in the people. It would also appear that the Islamic law does not admit of the sovereign power being dissociated from the people, however they might choose to exercise it.

The law apparently contemplates that there should be a single Muslim state, and that the Caliph, as its chief representative, should administer the executive affairs of the community living within such state through his delegates and governors. But where there is no *de jure* Imām or Caliph, there seems to be nothing in the law which precludes the recognition of politically independent Muslim states, as in fact has been the case after the extinction of the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.

The history of the administration of justice during Muslim rule in India discloses a combination of different judicial systems of 'Irāq, Spain, Egypt and Turkey. The Indian system during Mughul rule is a combination of Indian and extra-Indian elements, or, more correctly, it was the Perso-Arabic system in an Indian setting.

#### *Application of Islamic Law in Kashmār.*

We have, so far, briefly discussed the development of Islamic law and some aspects of its salient features. We shall now see what form of Islamic law was introduced into Kashmir. Hamilton\* wrote in 1780 A.C.—“Many centuries have elapsed since the Musalmān conquerors of India established in it, together with their religion and general maxims of government, the practice of their Courts of Justice. From that period, the Musalmān code has been the standard of judicial administration throughout the countries of India which were subjugated by the Muhammadan princes and have since remained under their dominion.”

The particular forms of Islamic faith and practice now prevalent in India, writes Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī in his Historical and Descriptive Introduction to Wilson's *Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, are naturally those followed by the bulk of the original immigrants. The first Arab conquerors of Sind came from 'Irāq, which was the cradle of the Hanafi School, as we have seen already. Then, Mahmūd of

\*The *Hidāyah*, page 14.

Ghazna, who invaded India, was a Persian-speaking Turk, and the Turks were generally Sunnis of the Hanafī school. Moreover, Mahmūd was a nominal vassal of the Caliph of Baghdađ, who was also a Sunni. By the time that the Muslim conquest of Hindustān was completed, continues Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Ali, Hanbalism and Shāfi'iism had ceased to count for much in the great law-schools of Khurāsān (Irān) and Māvara-un-Nahr (Trans-oxiana) which were the chief recruiting grounds of the 'ulamā' of Islam in India. The real struggle in those regions was between Hanafis and Shi'as. Sayyid 'Abdur Rahmān *Bulbul Shāh*, who introduced Islam into Kashmīr, appears to have been a Sunni of the Hanafī school. Firishta\* also points out that Shāh Mir favoured the Hanafī doctrines of Islam. Mir Sayyid 'Ali Hamadānī or Shāh Hamadān, exercised tremendous influence in the spread of Islam in Kashmīr. Though he was of a different persuasion, namely, Hanbālī, he is said to have urged the continuance of the Hanafī law in reverence to the memory of Bulbul Shāh. This explains the presence of the followers of Abū Hanifa in such overwhelming numbers in Kashmīr. Shaikh or Mir Shams-ud-Din 'Irāqi's arrival introduced Shi'a doctrines, and his followers adopted the Shi'a law. Bulbul Shāh was a Sayyid of Turkistān. And, as he was the first to preach Islam in Kashmīr, we can easily understand the introduction of Muslim law from Central Asia into the Valley of Kashmīr.

At the advent of Islam in Kashmīr, law may be said to have had two broad divisions. These were the *shari'at* or the religious law and the positive law. In the beginning both the divisions were dealt with together. No sharp line was drawn between the two, the distinction being more or less clearly understood. People must have been cognizant of the fact that the sanction for the first kind was religious and that for the second social or political. Executive and judicial functions were separate except that the king combined them in his person. Qāzīs and executive officers functioned independently of each other. The Qāzīs had no executive duties. The executive officers were not invested with judicial powers. The Qāzīs were considered to hold office under the *Shari'at* with which no one, not even the Sultān, could interfere.

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\*Bombay University copy of the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*, page 648.

*The making of laws.*

Direct legislation, through popular legislature as we understand it now, was obviously non-existent in early times, but indirect methods were available. Law could not be made, but it could be declared. The Sultān, with or without consulting his dignitaries, issued ordinances. For instance, Sultān 'Alā-ud-Dīn made a law according to which no bad woman was to have any inheritance from her husband. This became effective in restraining such women, and is said to have worked well. Sikandar's law forbade *sati* and the use of liquors throughout his dominions. Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had his cabinet for consultation regarding the framing of important laws. A noteworthy feature of this cabinet was the presence in it of the leading scholars of the day. He accordingly drew up a code, and had most of his commands inscribed on copper tablets, and sent them to every town and village. Muhammad Khān, the brother and the Prime Minister of Bād Shāh, was his "counsellor in matters of policy and a judge in the investigation of law." The king "revised the disregarded laws of previous kings as the spring revives the plants destroyed by the winter."<sup>1</sup> The Sultān's law against theft is noteworthy. If any theft occurred, the headman of the village, or town where the theft occurred, was held responsible. The result was that theft was banished from the country. Akbar issued ordinances about revenue and other features of administration. With other important ordinances we shall deal later on.

*The attitude of Islamic Law towards non-Muslims.*

When Muhammad bin Qāsim conquered Sind, his superior, Hajjāj Ibn Yūsuf-as-Saqafī, the celebrated Governor of Arabia and 'Irāq, passed a decree applicable to Hindus. Hajjāj decreed: "As they have made submission and agreed to pay taxes to the Khalifa, nothing more can properly be required of them. . . . . Permission is given to them to worship their gods. Nobody must be prevented from following his own religion. They can live in their houses in whatever manner they like." Which modern Government of today, asks Mirzā Bāqir 'Alī,<sup>2</sup> in these days

1. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 26.

2. *Hindu-Muslim Problem* by Mirzā Bāqir 'Alī, B.A. (Oxon.), Thacker & Co. Ltd., Bombay, 1944, Patna Extension Lectures in December, 1938, page 23.

of individual liberty can improve on it ? The much-abused tax, the *Jizya*, was a very light and graded tax, ranging from Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 10-0-0 (in modern currency) per annum according to income, and formed part of the Muslim system of taxation that was levied on non-Muslims for the maintenance of the army, and was sometimes levied on non-combatant Muslims also. It stands no comparison with what was India's foreign contribution, or the capitulation taxes of Egypt and China. It is also forgotten that Muslims had to pay *Zakāt*, the  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent of their revenue, from which non-Muslims were exempted, and that there were no other taxes besides the land revenue under Muslim rule. As taxation was simple, Muslim kings sometimes had to levy the *Jizya* for additional revenue. Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr, for instance, having to maintain a large army in the Deccan for fighting, for which his ordinary revenue was insufficient, and, being ignorant of our modern system of taxation, could only have recourse to the *Jizya* as a source of additional revenue. While coupling religion with taxation it is worth noting that in Islam the Salt Tax is forbidden. It is nevertheless imposed on the people and they are paying it today.

In reading history, it is also necessary to take into account the spirit of the age, continues Mirzā Bāqir 'Alī.\* The history of the Middle Ages is a history of religious persecutions: the map of Europe was coloured red with religious warfare. And during that period of religious mania the toleration of Hindus and Muslims is a glorious chapter in world history. This does not mean that every Hindu or Muslim king was a saint. Possibly one or two were mad or religious maniacs who played into the hands of priests. Perhaps some did destroy idols. But what of that ? You must remember that when Brāhmans gained ascendancy over the Buddhists, they wiped out completely all the Buddhist temples. Some of that also is tagged on to Muslims. If Brāhmans' destruction of Buddhists is pardonable, then why should it be such a crime if some Muslim king destroyed idols ? And if history ignores the former and gives prominence to the latter, then surely that history is propaganda. It must also be remembered that temples were store-houses of wealth and money more than the gods. This was a great attraction. Did not

\* *Hindu-Muslim Problem*, page 24.

Rizā Shāh cast greedy eyes on Muslim shrines in December 1938? It must be quite understandable if some Muslim kings could not resist the temptation for treasures that temples offered. We must not lose sight of the fact that we are dealing with a period when there was personal rule and limitless power in the hands of individuals, and who were unaware that posterity was going to judge them with the then unknown standard of religious tolerance. And to give emphasis to isolated acts and allow them to colour the whole period of history is like judging America by the Ku-Klux-Klan, the one organization hostile to all alien influences. The historian who does that lends himself to the suspicion that he has some ulterior motive in writing history. With this perspective in mind, compare the tolerance that pervaded the whole of the Hindu-Muslim period with the Danish massacre of monks and of nuns in England, the Inquisition in Spain, the persecution of Jews and Catholics in modern Germany and of Freemasons (that secret society of Protestants which has become a social ornament in Protestant England) in modern Spain.

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### Five concrete cases of strict justice in Muslim courts against Muslim Monarchs and a Muslim Empress.

*Muhammad Tughluq sued by two Hindu complainants.*

Muhammad ibn 'Abdullāh, commonly known as Ibn Battūtah,\* states in his well-known *Travels* (originally edited, on dictation by Ibn Battūtah, by Muhammad ibn 'Juzayy, the principal secretary of the Sultān of Fez; whither Ibn Battūtah returned after his adventures) that Sultān Muhammad bin Tughluq, on summons issued on the plaint of a Hindu charging the Sultān with his brother's murder, presented himself, unaided by any attendant, in the court of the Qāzī, who had been previously instructed not to stand up on the Sultān's arrival, or to show him any respect, but to treat him like other accused. The Qāzī decided that the Sultān must pay with his life unless the complainant was satisfied and withdrew his complaint. The Sultān satisfied the Hindu complainant who, then, withdrew his complaint. On another occasion, the son of a nobleman accused the Sultān of giving him 21 stripes. On

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\*Urdū Translation of Volume II, by Maulavī Muhammad Husain, M.A., 1898, Dār-ul-Ishā'at, Lāhore, page 130.

the Qāzī's judgment, the Sultān offered to receive the same number of stripes at the hands of the boy, and actually was given these stripes in open court, when the Sultān's cap also fell off his head while receiving these stripes.

*Sher Shāh Sūr's drastic action against his own son on a Hindu plaint.*

A thrilling instance of justice by Sher Shāh Sūr noted by the almost contemporary historian, 'Abbās Sarwānī,\* is here reproduced in the words of William Erskine from *A History of India* (Longman, London, 1854, volume 2, pp. 444-5):—One day, Sher Shāh Sūr's eldest son, 'Ādil Khān Sūr, "riding on an elephant through a street of Agra, in passing a house the walls round which were in disrepair, observed the wife of an inhabitant, a shopkeeper, undressed and bathing herself. Struck with her beauty, he fixed his eyes upon her, threw her a *bīrā-pān* (beetle-leaf), and passed on. The woman, considering that, by this freedom, he had treated her as a wanton, and feeling her honour wounded, resolved not to survive the affront. Her husband, when informed of the incident, had great difficulty in preventing her intention. He went straight to the levee of Sher Shāh, and, among other suitors, proffered his complaint. The King, having investigated the circumstances, pronounced judgment ordering the law of retaliation to be enforced; and that the shopkeeper, mounted on an elephant, should, in his turn, throw a *bīrā-pān* (beetle-leaf) to the prince's wife, when undressed and preparing for the bath. Great influence was exerted to mollify the King, but in vain. Such, he said, was the law of their religion, and in administering justice, he knew no difference between prince and peasant: that it should not

\*'Abbās Khān, son of Shaikh 'Alī Sarwānī, was descended from 'Abbās Khān, whose son, Hasnū Khān, married a sister of Sher Shāh's. He himself received a command of 500 horse from Akbar. 'Abbās Sarwānī is the author of the *Tuhfah-i-Akbar Shāhī*, better known as the *Tārikh-i-Sher Shāhī* and written by order of Akbar, probably soon after A.H. 987=A.C. 1579. It is a valuable biography of Sher Shāh Sūr. The author, a contemporary, was well-informed regarding the life and character of this chief who rose to be the ruler of India. (*Note*.—Sarwān or Sharwān—which should not be confused with Shirwān of the poet Khāqānī, and is in Russian Āzarbāijān—is a city about 60 miles south-west of Qandahār, Afghānistān, and is also the headquarters of the district of that name.)

be said that a man, because his son, could injure a subject whom he was bound to protect. The complainant, in delight, withdrew his complaint, saying that now he had gained his right, his character was restored, and he was satisfied; and, at his entreaty, the matter was ended."

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*Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn of Bengāl sued by a woman.*

Another case is worth mentioning. It is that of the literary but luxury-loving Sultān Ghīyās-ud-Dīn A'zam Shāh who ruled over Bengāl from 795 to 813 A. H.=1393 to 1410 A.C., and corresponded with the great Khwāja Shams-ud-Dīn Hāfiẓ of Shīrāz, Irān, when enjoying royal honours in Sonār-gāon, Bengāl, before his father's death. The *Cambridge History of India*, Volume II, 1928, page 265, narrates this case in the following words:—"One day, while practising with his bow and arrow he accidentally wounded the only son of a widow. The woman appealed for justice to the *qāzī*, who sent an officer to summon the king to his court. The officer gained access to the royal presence by a stratagem and unceremoniously served the summons. A'zam, after concealing a short sword beneath his arm, obeyed the summons and, on appearing before the judge, was abruptly charged with his offence and commanded to indemnify the complainant. After a short discussion of terms the woman was compensated, and the judge, on ascertaining that she was satisfied, rose, made his reverence to the king, and seated him on a throne which had been prepared for his reception. The king drawing his sword, turned to the *qāzī* and said, 'Well, judge, you have done your duty. If you had failed in it by a hair's breadth, I would have taken your head off with this sword!' The *qāzī* placed his hand under the cushion on which the king was seated, and, producing a scourge, said, 'O King! You have obeyed the law. Had you failed in this duty, your back would have been scarified with this scourge!' A'zam, appreciating the *qāzī's* manly independence, richly rewarded him. If this story be true Bengāl can boast of a prince more law-abiding than Henry of Monmouth and of a judge at least as firm as Gascoigne."

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*The Empress Nūr Jahān accused of murder.*

We have noted four instances. We shall refer to a fifth. Jahāngīr passionately loved Nūr Jahān. It is so well known, But when Nūr Jahān shot a casual

intruder in her private garden, and the dead man's wife complained to the Emperor, law took its course. The Empress had to appear as an accused. She was exonerated only on satisfactory indemnification of the complainant, supported by the ruling of the Qāzī of the realm. Only then was the case against the Empress withdrawn. This exciting theme was graphically versified by the Muslim historian of our day, the late Maulānā Shibli Nu'mānī.

Muslim rule maintained itself on the strict enforcement of strict justice, which could call to account even the medieval Muslim monarch or his consort to stand his or her trial in open court. And this was not confined to India. In Christian Europe we have already referred to the Italian traveller, who wished one could appeal from a European court to the Sultān Sulaimān, the Magnificent's Supreme Court at Istanbul (*See p. 616*). When that high sense of justice declined, Muslim rule declined too.

#### *Administration of Hindu Law under Muslim Rule.*

It may be stated on the authority of Sir Roland Wilson<sup>1</sup> that schools of Hindu law flourished continually all through the Muslim period in India. The careful preservation of old, and the very extensive production of new, commentaries is another factor. It may be safely inferred from both that there was plenty of work for Brāhman judges to do. The threat of excommunication would usually suffice to secure obedience to their decisions within their self-centred caste bodies without resorting to the Muslim Qāzī. The Hindu authors of some of the commentaries held high posts under Muslim rulers. The Brāhman lawyer who explained the personal law of the Hindus was designated *Pandit* or *Shāstrī*. And the status of such a Pandit or Shāstrī was the same as that of a *Muftī*. Iltutmish instituted the office of the Pandit in India on the 'Abbāside model.<sup>2</sup> Disputes between Hindus and Muslims would naturally not turn upon family relations or inheritance, but would arise either out of contracts at the great centres of trade or out of personal wrongs. These could, of course, come under the cognizance of Muslim tribunals. In the department of contract, points out Sir Roland

1. *Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, page 75.

2. Ameer Ali's *A Short History of the Saracens*, London, 1896, pages 188 and 422.

Wilson, the Hindus had no special reason for clinging to their own usages in preference to the full and clear precepts of the Muslim law. Mr. Neil B. E. Baillie, in his *Muhammadan Law of Sale*, thinks that the Muslim law of sale regulated the dealings not only of Muslims with Hindus, but of Hindus with each other. It is certain that one of its rules, at all events, that of pre-emption, governed—as it governs today in the Punjab—all sales of land irrespective of the creed of the proprietors. As regards criminal law, the *Shari'at* itself made provision for the exemption of non-Muslims from some of its penal rules, for instance, from the punishment for drinking wine.

### *Under Bad Shāh in Kashmir.*

Zain-ul-Ābidin ruled the Hindus according to their own laws. This is provided for by the Muslim *Shari'at*. "We are commanded," says the author of the *Hidāyah*,<sup>1</sup> "to leave them (non-Muslim subjects) at liberty in all things, which may be deemed by them to be proper according to their own faith." The Prophet of Islam by granting a charter of liberties to non-Muslims had set the example of recognizing the personal law of non-Muslims. History affords numerous instances, points out Mr. Muhammad Bashīr Ahmad,<sup>2</sup> when assurances given by the Prophet were repeated by his successors. On one occasion, as Dr. Vesey Fitzgerald relates (in his *Muhammadan Law*, p. 11), a non-Muslim was granted a decree against the Caliph of Baghdād by his own court of law.

### *Under Akbar.*

Akbar's attitude towards non-Muslims is clear from his proclamation<sup>3</sup> :—"No man should be interfered with on account of his religion, and every one should be allowed to change his religion if he liked. If a Hindu woman fell in love with a Muslim and changed her religion, she should be taken from him by force and be given back to her family. People should not be molested if they wished to build churches and prayer-rooms or idol temples or fire temples."

1. S. G. Grandy's edition of Hamilton's *Hidāyah*, 2nd edition, 1870, Ch. 57, Vol. II, lines 59.

2. *The Administration of Justice in Medieval India* by Muhammad Bashīr Ahmad, M.A., M.LITT., I.C.S., Aligarh University, 1941, page 90.

3. Blochmann's English Translation of the *A'in*, Vol. I, page 207.

Akbar's Chief Trade Commissioner was remorselessly strangled by the Emperor's orders for violently debauching a Brâhman girl.

#### *Under Jahângîr.*

In 1620 A.C. Jahângîr saw Rajaurî Muslim women buried alive along with their dead husbands. A girl of ten or twelve was put alive into the grave along with her dead husband of the same age, at the times of his visit on a Friday in the fifteenth year of his reign. When a daughter was born to a man without means she was put to death by strangulation. Jahângîr promulgated an ordinance declaring such crimes punishable by death.

#### *Under Shâh Jahân.*

On one of his birthdays when Zafar Khân *Ahsan*, the governor of the time, brought the hardships of the people with regard to the plucking of saffron and the levying of taxes to the notice of the Emperor, an ordinance put a stop to these impositions. And this ordinance is inscribed on the gate of the Jâmi' Masjid, Srinagar (*supra page 268*).

#### *Under Aurangzib 'Alamgîr.*

Under Aurangzib 'Alamgîr, non-Muslims continued to "fill public offices and posts of trust," as the Emperor thought matters of state were separate from religion.

The exact words of the *Waqâ'i-'Alamgîr* (p. 59) are :—

امور دنیا را از منصب چه نسبت ؟

Though this dictum of 'Alamgîr, taken literally, may be controversial in the opinion of those who hold that, in Islam, State and religion are not separate, nobody would raise his finger against the appointment of non-Muslims to high posts under the Mughul Government. As a matter of fact, it was both just and politic to make such appointments.

#### *No capital punishment under Aurangzib 'Alamgîr.*

"Capital punishments were almost totally unknown under Aurangzib 'Alamgîr. The adherents of his brothers who contended with him for the empire, were freely pardoned when they laid down their arms."\*

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\* Alexander Dow's *History of Hindostan*, John Murray, Vol. III, p. 424.

On the subject of punishment Pringle Kennedy, the author of *A History of the Great Moghuls*, observes : " My reader will note with surprise that Aurangzib was slow to punish, but the history of his whole reign shows that, save in cases where he feared for his throne, particularly from his relations, he was exceedingly lenient. Pyramids of skulls had no fascination for him. We read nowhere in his reign of massacres, nor of cruelty such as is to be found in the annals of the earlier Mughals." (Vol. II, 1911, p. 75).

Dow, in his *History of Hindostan*, points out that though Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr rewarded proselytes, he did not persecute the adherents of other persuasions in matters of religion. "It does not appear," says Elphinstone, "that a single Hindu suffered death, imprisonment or loss of property for his religion, or indeed, that any individual was ever questioned for the open exercise of the worship of his fathers."<sup>1</sup>

#### *Captives of war—women and children exempted.*

Muslim Law prohibits killing or putting to death children, women and aged men, and those who are bed-ridden, blind, decrepit, or paralytic, also those, who have lost their limbs, are lunatic, insane, etc.<sup>2</sup>

Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr followed this rule strictly. " He never allowed the capture of women and children during war, as was the common practice in Asia in those days. In all his wars and conquests the life and property of the subjects were protected and respected. Prisoners of war were never punished. The great rebels and traitors were immediately pardoned on their repenting.<sup>3</sup> He never made slaves of the prisoners of war. In judicial matters, civil or criminal, he never interfered, and left every case to be tried by judges and decided according to law on its merits.

#### *Suits against the State. Government Advocates.*

Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr issued an edict permitting all subjects and private persons to sue Government in courts of law if they had any claim upon it and wanted satisfaction.

1. Elphinstone : *History of India*, June 1866 Edition, p. 672.

2. The *Hidāyah*, Vol II, Chapter II, pages 148-49.

3. Jaswant Singh and the supporters of Dārā Shukūh were pardoned and restored to favour.

Government advocates were appointed in every district to plead for the government in law-suits brought against it by subjects.<sup>1</sup> Under Muslim Law the state and the subject stand on the same footing. The Caliph is regarded as one of the subjects. The Law allows the subject to sue the state. There are innumerable instances of suits being filed in the court of law against the Caliphs, the Sultans or the sovereigns. When the king was summoned by the court, he had to appear and take his trial like an ordinary suitor, and the decree, passed against him, was enforced by the court.<sup>2</sup> Already five concrete cases to this effect have been cited.

During Mughul and Afghān rule, Kashmīr was a province subject to laws administered in important matters from the Mughul and Afghān capitals. Provincial governors issued regulations which were in the nature of bye-laws.

### Administrative Units.

The whole Valley of Kashmīr was subdivided for administrative purposes into a considerable number of smaller units, known during Hindu rule as *vishaya*, and *paryana* during Muslim rule. Abu'l Fazl's account is the first, says Sir Aurel Stein,<sup>3</sup> which presents us with a systematic statement of Kashmīr parganas. It is of special interest, because it shows us how their number could be increased or re-adjusted within certain limits according to fiscal requirements or administrative fancies. The return of Āsaf Khān, reproduced by Abu'l Fazl, shows thirty-eight parganas, while the earlier one of Qāzī 'Alī indicated forty-one. The difference is accounted for by the amalgamation of some, and the splitting-up of other, parganas. The parganas varied greatly in size, as shown by the striking contrasts in the revenue assessments. Thus, for instance, Patan was assessed at about 3,500 *kharwārs*, while the revenue from Kamrāj amounted to 4,46,500 *kharwārs*.

The number of parganas, continues Stein, had changed but little during Afghān times. For, the Sikhs on their conquest of the Valley, seem to have found thirty-six as the accepted traditional number. But there have been various

1. Sādiq 'Alī: *A Vindication of Aurangzib*, pages 142-43.
2. Wahid Husain's *Administration of Justice during Muslim Rule in India*, Calcutta University, 1934, pages 53-55.
3. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmīr*, pages 134-35.

changes in the names and extent of these parganas. Frequent changes and re-distribution of the parganas continued during Dogrā rule. The list for the year 1865 A.C. shows a total of forty-three. Subsequent reforms introduced *tahsils* after the fashion of Indian Provinces in order to reduce the number of subdivisions. In Lawrence's time, in 1889, there were fifteen *tahsils* which, in the map at the end of his *Valley of Kashmir* (1895), are shown as eleven only. In their constitution little regard was paid to the historical divisions of the country.

The present day distribution of the Valley is into two districts or *wizārats*: the Bārāmūla or the Northern Wizārat and the Anantnāg (Islāmābād) or the Southern Wizārat which includes Srinagar. These two Wizārats consist of seven Tahsils. The Wizārat-i-Anantnāg comprises: 1. Srinagar Khās, 2. Pulwāma (or Avantipōra), 3. Anantnāg (or Islāmābād), and 4. Kulgām. The Wizārat-i-Bārāmūla embraces: 1. Bārāmūla, 2. Badgām (or Sri-Partāp-Singhpōr) and 3. Handwāra. The Tahsildārs who are in charge of these *tahsils* are under the Wazīrs or Collectors or Deputy Commissioners. The Tahsils have *Niyābats* with Nā'ib Tahsildārs in charge of them. They all form the revenue collecting agency of the State.

The population was much larger in olden days in Kashmir than it is at present. According to the *Vijayeçvara Māhātamya*<sup>1</sup> (handbook dealing with the greatness of the Vijabrōr Tiratha), Kashmir had, in prehistoric times, 6,063 villages. Deserted village sites and remains of extended systems of irrigation left by Muslim rulers tend to prove it. A series of appalling famines and epidemics wrought terrible havoc in the mass of rural population particularly. The famine of 1878 alone is supposed to have removed a large part if not actually three-fifth of the population from the Valley. It is noteworthy, at the same time, that the population which, in 1835 A.C. during Sikh rule, was estimated at about 2 lakhs rose to 8 lakh and 14 thousand in 1891.<sup>2</sup>

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, April 1910, Vol. VI, No. 4, p. 197.

2. *The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, page 136.

## The Revenue System of Kashmir

In order to be able to understand the revenue system of Kashmir, it would be well to have a glance at the system of revenue in India under Muslim rule. The period of the Tughluqs would perhaps give us a better idea, as the early Sultans of Kashmīr were the contemporaries of the Tughluqs of Hindustān. We shall single out the reign of Firūz Shāh, the contemporary of Sultān Shihāb-ud-Din of Kashmīr, as a type for its peace and plenty, and orderly government. Apart from the land revenue in Firūz Shāh's time, there were the following sources of state income, by means of imposts :<sup>1</sup> (1) market dues ; (2) brokerage (of bāzārs); (3) slaughter-houses ; (4) amusement tax ; (5) perfumery ; (6) betel ; (7) octroi on cereals; (8) tax on scribes; (9) indigo ; (10) fish ; (11) cotton cleaning ; (12) soap manufacture ; (13) silk ; (14) oils ; (15) parched gram ; (16) ground rent of stalls in markets ; (17) gambling houses ; (18) tax on balconies ; (19) town dues ; (20) tax on brick kilns or potteries ; (21) house-tax ; (22) pasture-tax ; (23) fines and amercements ; (24) zakāt, that is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. of property on Muslims or *māl-i-nisāb* ; (25) *jizya* or capitation-tax on non-Muslims;<sup>2</sup> (26) *res-reicta* or *māl-i-lāwāris* ; (27) one-fifth of all spoils and produce of mines. The land revenue was assessed at one-tenth on the cultivated land.

In general the same broad, general heads of revenue must have obtained in contemporary Kashmīr.

### 1. From the Persian Ms. فتوحات فیروز شاہی or *Achievements*

of Sultān Firūz Shāh, which has since been printed by the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1941, and the Aligarh Muslim University. See *The Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire* by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, page 5. The first twenty-three were abolished by Firūz Shāh in 1375 A.C. The *Futūhāt* has been translated and edited by Shaikh 'Abdur Rashid, M.A., and Muhammad Akram Makhdūmī, M.A., M. ED., of Aligarh. The year of publication is not given.

2. It must be noted here that the *jizya* was sometimes collected, sometimes not (*vide* Sir Roland Wilson's *Introduction to the Study of Anglo-Muhammadan Law*, London, 1894, page 75). It was just like the zakāt, due from Muslims though, as a matter of fact, as Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī puts it, it was rather the exception than the rule for the *jizya* to be exacted.

Sir Walter Lawrence has, however, given in his *Valley* (page 236), the heads of revenue in Kashmīr for the year 1871-72 A.C. These I give below for the information of the reader, to enable him to construct, by inference, in the light of contemporary Indian practice, his own picture of the sources of income available to the state during Muslim rule in Kashmīr.

(1) Government's share of rice crops (2) Revenue in cash (3) Receipts from the Shawl Department (4) Tribute from petty chiefs (5) Town duties and customs (6) Timber (7) Sheep and goats (8) Offerings of pious Hindus (9) Cows and buffaloes (10) Ferries (11) Tobacco (12) Courts of Justice (13) *Charas* or hemp drugs (14) Saffron (15) Silk (16) *Khutna* or circumcision fee (17) Receipts from the Dal Lake (18) Singhāra, or water-nuts (19) Government ponies hired (20) *Zar-i-Qazāya*, i.e., fines on petty quarrels, and wedding fees (21) Mint (22) Stamps (23) Miscellaneous fines (24) Post Office (25) Sale of wild fruit (26) Sale of Government horses (27) Sale of Chinār leaves (28) Fruit of Government gardens (29) Taxes on shops, artificers and others. The details of this last are:—(1) Sugar makers (2) Fruiterers, makers of pickles and sweetmeats (3) Bakers (4) Corn-chandlers (5) Porters (6) Masons (7) Carpenters (8) Sellers of betel-nut (9) Butchers (10) Cotton-carders (11) Blacksmiths (12) Goldsmiths (13) Braziers (14) Dyers (15) Sellers of woollen thread (16) Prostitutes (17) Cloth merchants (18) Sellers of glass bangles (19) Menial Muslims or Halāl-Khōrs (20) Soap-boilers (21) Polishers of arms (22) Gardeners (23) Fringe and tape makers or *hāshiyā* and *fīta* makers (24) Farmers and saddlers (25) Cloth brokers (26) Turners in wood (27) Cloth dressers (28) Knife makers (29) Painters (30) Basket-makers (31) Shoe-makers (32) Grave-diggers (33) Boatmen who carry stones (34) Earth cutters (peat) wood-cutters (35) Money-changers (36) Cutters and polishers of precious stones (37) Leather sellers (38) Makers of woollen garments (39) Bow-makers (40) Cowherds (41) Weavers (42) Friars of grain (43) Leech-sellers and dealers in medicine (44) Comb-makers (45) Sellers of Firewood (46) Mungrīs (makers of rice-bread) (47) Paper-makers (48) Miscellaneous.

We may first begin with land-revenue.

According to the *Hidāyah*, the well-known treatise on Islamic law, there is due an '*ushr*, or tenth, upon everything

produced from the land, whether the soil be watered by the annual overflow of rivers or by periodical rains, excepting wood, bamboos or grass, which are not subject to tithe. Lands watered by means of buckets or machinery, such as the Persian wheel, or by canals, are subject to only half tithes. This rule of taking one-tenth the produce as land revenue was, however, scarcely followed in India and rulers realized what they could. The immemorial tradition in Kashmîr was that the whole of the land was considered the property of the ruler. Of some portions of the *khâlisa*<sup>1</sup> lands viz. lands belonging to the state, the sovereigns divested themselves by grants in *jâgîr* for various periods. Since we are concerned with the Muslim period, we shall begin with Sultân Shams-ud-Din, as we can hardly get material for the reign of Rînchan or Sultân Sadr-ud-Din.

According to Firishta, Sultân Shams-ud-Din fixed the revenue at one-sixth of the produce in 1341 A.C., while Abu'l Fazl says that the Sultân levied a tax of one-sixth<sup>2</sup> on all imports into Kashmîr. During the reign of Sikandar, Saif-ud-Din (Sûhabhattâ) had imposed food rates of which no details are given, which Zain-ul-'Abidîn, however, abolished altogether.

It is on record that Zain-ul-'Abidîn revised the land assessment. He fixed it at one-fourth of the total produce in some places and at one-seventh in others. As Shams-ud-Din had fixed his revenue at only one-sixth of the produce, it either was enhanced by his successors, or

1. W. H. Moreland defines *khâlisa* as land reserved for the state as opposed to land assigned or granted to individuals. This is land administered directly by the Revenue Ministry for the benefit of the Treasury. A Superintendent of Reserved Lands is mentioned in the *Tabaqât-i-Nâsirî* (p. 249). The word *khâlisa* means "pure" or "free," here, "unnencumbered," and its use in this special sense would be natural in the Revenue Ministry, but "reserved" gives the actual position more clearly, because, at any moment, certain lands were kept apart for the Treasury, while the remainder was assigned. The common rendering "Crownlands," Mr. Moreland thinks, is misleading, because in modern use the phrase carries with it the idea of permanence, while throughout the Muslim period, he says, there was no permanence whatever, reserved land being assigned, and assigned land being reserved, at the will of the ruler or his minister concerned: the distinction between the two classes was permanent, but a particular area might pass from one to the other at any moment.—*The Agrarian System of Moslem India*, Heffer, Cambridge, 1929, p. 29.

2. This is from Firishta, *vide* the *A'in*, Vol. II, page 387 note.

perhaps Zain-ul-Ābidin's long and peaceful rule, by extensive irrigation works, enormously increased the area of cultivation and promoted the prosperity of the people. The rice crop alone is said to have gone up to 77 lakhs of *kharwārs*.<sup>1</sup> The village folk and farmers were protected from the exactions of revenue officers by a law which prohibited the latter from accepting any gifts, or, as Rodgers puts it, Zain-ul-Ābidin forbade the acceptance of gifts by *tahsildārs* or revenue collecting officers. The length of the *jarīb*, says Abu'l Fazl,<sup>2</sup> was added to for the benefit of the landholder, but no detail is forthcoming.

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According to Mirzā Haidar,<sup>3</sup> there were four kinds of land : (i) *ābī*—cultivated by irrigation, (ii) land not needing artificial irrigation, (iii) gardens and (iv) level ground. “On the level ground, on account of excessive moisture the crops do not thrive, and for this reason the soil is not tilled which constitutes one of its charms.”<sup>4</sup> A broad division of land in modern days is: *Sailāba* or land subject to flood; *darmiyāna* is central or *maidānī*; and the *kandī*, that is, land bordering on hills and liable to extensive damage by cold winds.<sup>5</sup>

Abu'l Fazl notes that the system of revenue in Kashmir was by appraisement and division of crops. “Assessments by special rates, and cash transactions were not the custom of the country.” (*A'in*, Vol. II, p. 366, also the Persian text, p. 570). Some part of the *sair jihāt* cesses, (which means a variety of imposts, such as customs, transit dues, house fees, market taxes), were, however, taken in cash. Payments in coin and kind were estimated, in *kharwārs* or ass-loads of *shālī* or unpounded rice. “Although one-third had been for a long time past the nominal share of the state, more than two shares was actually taken.” But it appears that Akbar reduced the assessment to one-half, and also remitted the cess known as *bāj tamgha*, signifying inland toll. The whole kingdom was divided under its ancient rulers into two divisions, *Marāj* on the east, and *Kamrāj* on the west. Srinagar itself, curiously

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1. Literally, as explained on page 251*n*, ass-loads. See also p. 644.

2. The *A'in*, Volume II, page 388.

3. The *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation, page 425.

4. *Economics of Food Grains*, pages 10-11.

5. *Ibid.*, page 366.

enough, being known as Yamrāj. Incidentally, we read in the *Akbar-nāma*: "In India, the land is divided into plots each of which is called a *bīghā*." In Kashmir "every plot is called a *patta*. This should be one *bīghā* one *biswa* according to the Ilāhi *gaz*, but Kashmiris reckon 2½ *pattas* and a little more as one *bīghā*." (H. Beveridge, Vol. III, pp. 830-31). In the 34th year of his reign, Akbar visited Kashmir, and issued several ordinances regarding the taxation of the country, and fixed the land-tax at one-fourth. This was during the governorship of Yūsuf Khān Sayyid Rizāvī Mashhadī.

In Chapter VI, on page 247 of *Kashir*, we have mentioned the fifty-one days' rebellion caused by the excessive assessment of the Valley in the time of Yūsuf Khān Mashhadī. While discussing the revenue system of Kashmir, we have here to take note of the nature of this rebellion of the peasantry, shortly after the annexation of the Valley by Akbar, due to the oppression exercised by the new assignees, who (besides other mistakes) had foolishly demanded the full *jama'*, viz., valuation. The point is, as W. H. Moreland,\* points out that the original valuation on which the assignments were granted was excessive; and the attempts of the assignees to realize their full expected income, without consideration of the actual position, drove the peasants into rebellion. That this is the true reading is clear from the action taken by the Emperor. First, in order to deal with the actual emergency, he limited the assignees' income to one-half the produce, in accordance with the local standard of demand, and ordered them to refund to the peasants whatever they had collected in excess of this amount; next, in order to provide for the future (*Iqbāl-nāma-i-Jahāngīrī* of Mu'tamad Khān, ii, 453), he ordered the preparation of a new valuation, which should be in accordance with the facts, and would thus prevent the recurrence of similar trouble.

In the 39th year of Akbar's reign, Āsaf Khān was sent to Kashmir, Yūsuf Khān having been recalled. Āsaf Khān re-distributed the lands of the *jāgīr*-holders. The cultivation of *z'afrān* (saffron) and hunting were declared monopolies. The revenue was fixed according to the assess-

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\**The Agrarian System of Moslem India* by W. H. Moreland, C. S. I., I. C. S., W. Heffer & Son Ltd., Cambridge, 1929, p. 214.

ment of Qāzī 'Alī, the Mīr Bakhshī or the treasurer-general.

Early in Akbar's time, the total revenue of Kashmir was fixed at 22 lakh *kharwārs*. The revenue of Kashmir is explicitly given by the *A'īn-i-Akbarī* (English Translation, Vol. II, p. 368) as 6,21,13,040 *dāms*, but Qāzī 'Alī's assessment, on the preceding page, is 7,46,70,411 *dāms*, while Āsaf Khān's was less than that amount by 8,60,034 *dāms*. This ought to yield a revenue of 7,38,10,377 *dāms* (Rs. 18,45,259-6-10). Probably the first one is correct, says Sir Jādū Nāth Sarkār in his English Translation of the *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh*, etc., entitled *The India of Aurangzib* (Calcutta, 1901, page xxxi). Again, the revenue of Kashmir, according to the *A'īn-i-Akbarī* was Rs. 15,52,826 in the year 1594 A.C. In 1648, in Shāh Jahān's time,<sup>1</sup> it was 15,00,00,000 *dāms* or Rs. 37,50,000 ; in 1654 during Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr's rule, it was 11,43,90,000 *dāms* or Rs. 28,59,750. The revenue of Kashmir, according to the *Khulāsat-ut-Tawārikh* of Sujān Rāi Khattī of Batāla (district Gurdāspur, East Punjāb), was Rs. 31,57,125, in the year 1695. According to the *Dastūr-ul-'Amal* (MS.), or the Revenue Manual, it was Rs. 69,47,784 about the year 1700, while in 1707, before 'Ālamgīr's death, it was 22,99,11,397 *dāms* or Rs. 57,47,734. According to the *Chahār Gulshan*, which is also known as the *Akhbār-un-Nawādir* of Rāi Chatar Bhān Rāi Saksena Kāyasth, the revenue of Kashmir was Rs. 53,20,502 about the year 1720. Sir Walter Lawrence,<sup>2</sup> however, states by calculation that the total revenue of Kashmir under the Mughuls was Rs. 14,47,114, of which the city of Srinagar contributed Rs. 1,77,733, and, therefore, for the Valley minus Srinagar, Rs. 12,69,381, the value ascribed to a *kharwār* being 8 annas 3 pies. It must be pointed out that the Kashmiri rupee remained different from the Chaghtai rupee for long time. And money-changers must have made money in these transactions. Also the figures of revenue cannot be very instructive unless one is certain of the exact value of the rupee as it was in 1594 and the rupee as it was in 1700.

During Afghān rule, the system of the Mughuls was generally adopted but their exactions appear to have been

1. E. Thomas, *Revenue Resources of the Mughal Empire*, pages, 52-53.

2. *The Valley*, pages 234-5.

rather heavy. According to George Forster,<sup>1</sup> who visited Kashmir in 1783 A.C., a revenue of between twenty to thirty lakhs of rupees was collected from Kashmir, of which a tribute of seven lakhs was remitted to the treasury. A portion of this tribute was transmitted to the Afghan capital at Kābul in shawl goods.<sup>2</sup> The revenue return of Kashmir under Zamān Shāh<sup>3</sup> was—

	Rs.
The Treasury ..	22,50,000
Ta'luqadārs ..	6,28,000
Establishment ..	11,40,000
 Total ..	 40,18,000

Mir 'Izzatullāh<sup>4</sup> notes that ten lakhs of rupees per annum were realized by duty on every boat-load of rice during his visit in 1812-13 A.C. The average price of rice, he says, was about Rs. 3 per *kharvār*.

The Sikhs made a general resumption of all jāgirs and ousted their owners with the result that thousands were reduced to destitution. Vigne<sup>5</sup> notes that during Sikh rule two lakhs were paid "in aims and wages to Hindu feasts, processions, shrines and fakirs, etc. Another lak (lakh) for expenses and repairs, and one which the governor was allowed to retain as his salary. So that from seven to ten laks (10 laks of small rupis, about 66,600!) was, as I have stated, the annual amount received by Runjit from this rich but exhausted province.

"The revenue being framed, the governor of course takes all he can get, without diminishing the chances of a sufficiency to meet the demands of next year; and, amongst other modes of filling his own coffers, I was informed that he probably takes many rupis in bribes for decisions, and 3,000 or 4,000 more in casual offerings and presents. There is, of course, the greatest difficulty in collecting information

1. *Journey*, page 32.

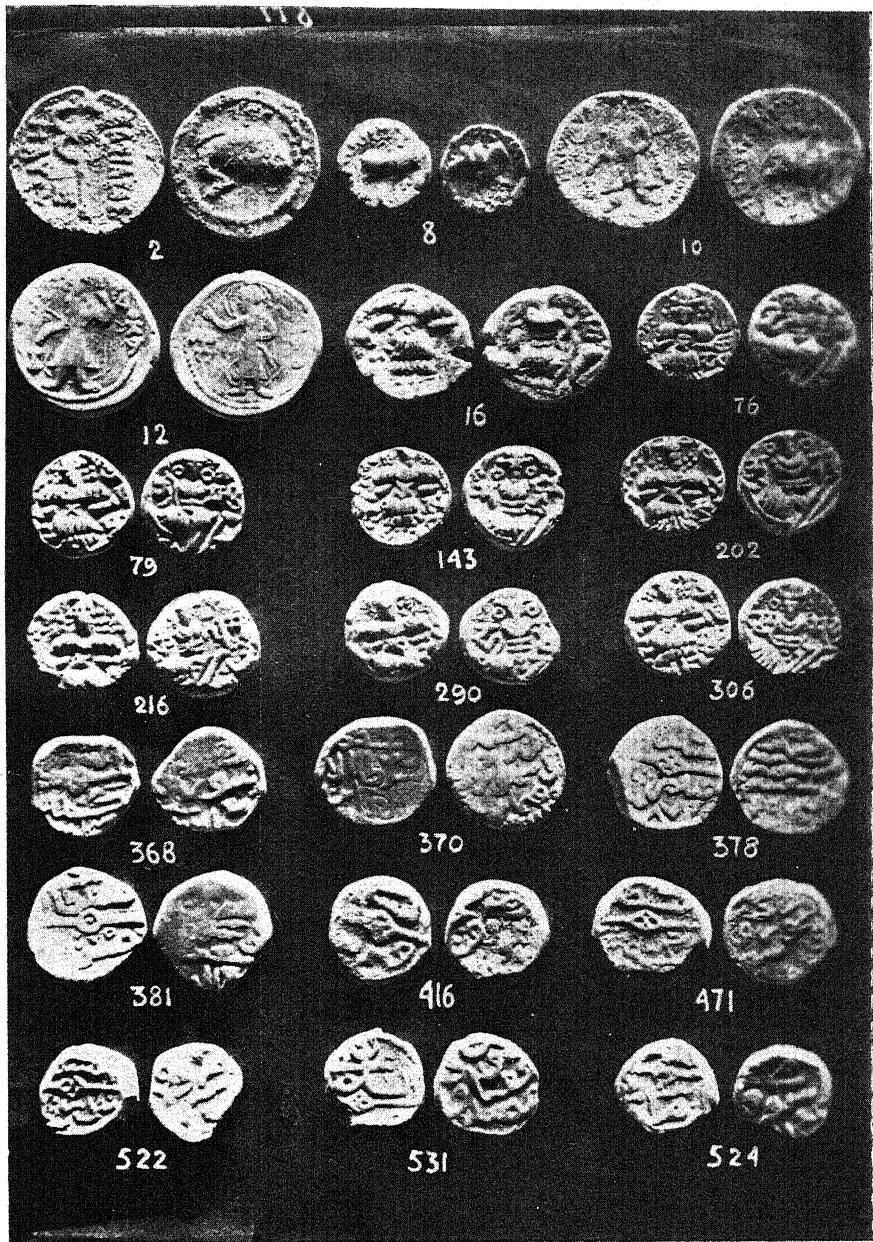
2. *Ibid.*, page 21.

3. Information based on Ghulām Sarwar's papers preserved in the Imperial Record Department, New Delhi. Ghulām Sarwar was deputed by the British Government to Afghānistān during 1793-95 A.C. when Lord Cornwallis was Governor-General of India. Ghulām Sarwar's account, in the words of Sir John Shore, is "the best procurable account of the dominions, forces, revenues and character of Shāh Zamān."

4. *Travels*, page 4.

5. *Travels in Kashmir* by G. T. Vigne, 1842, London, Vol. II, p. 120.

Copper Coins of the Kings of Kashmir, Non-Muslim Rājās and Muslim Sultāns.



[See the reverse for details.]

## COPPER COINS OF THE KINGS OF KASHMIR

Non-Muslim Rajas and Muslim Sultans.

### Rajas

2. Maues.  
(Second half of the 1st Century B.C.)

#### Kushan Coins.

16. Toramāna.

8. Kujula Kadphises

76. Dīḍha-Khēmāguptā.

10. Vima Kadphises.

(950—958 A.C.)

79. Bhīma-Gupta (975—980 A.C.)

12. Kanishka (Circa 125 A.C.)

143. Samgrama-rāja (1023—1028 A.C.)

202. Ananta (1028—1063 A.C.)

216. Kalasha (1063—1089 A.C.)

290. Harsha (1089—1101 A.C.)

306. Jayasimha (1128—1155 A.C.)

### SULTANS

368. Sikandar.

381. Hasan Shah.

522. Nadr (Nazik) Shah.

370. Zain-ul-'Abidin.

416. Fath Shah.

531. Husain Shah Chak.

378. Haidar Shah.

471. Muhammad Shah.

524. Ibrahim Shah.

about the revenue. The shawl manufactory, so I am informed, pays a revenue of 25 per cent ; but this is probably much less than the reality and, in fact, there is little regularity in the system of taxation. Every trade and profession is taxed, even that of the dancing girls, who reside in companies, which are taxed at 4 or 10 rupis each in the month.

"In Kashmir the expenses of a peasant do not amount to more than 2 Huri Singh or small rupis—2s. 8d. a month."

The State took half<sup>1</sup> the share of the *kharif* crop, in addition to four *traks* per *kharwār*. In the words of Mr. A. Wingate, who wrote the Preliminary Report of the Settlement of Kashmir commenced in 1887, "traces of disused irrigation and of former cultivation, ruins of villages or parts of villages, of bridges, etc., local tradition, all point to a greater prosperity, which by the end of Sikh rule in 1846 A.D. had well nigh disappeared."<sup>2</sup> Lawrence's calculation works out the revenue under the Sikhs at 13 lakhs (page 238).

Under Ranbir Singh, in 1870,<sup>3</sup> the revenue of Kashmīr was estimated at 50 lakhs of rupees. But Lawrence notes 15 lakhs for 1861, and 16,07,542 as the estimate for 1887, the actual being unknown. In 1888 the actual revenue was 12,31,258 (p. 238) or just a little over that of the Sikhs.

### The Coinage of Kashmir

The standard coin type of Kashmīr, according to Cunningham, remained unchanged from the type introduced by Kanishka in 78 A.C. down to the Muslim conquest in 1339 A.C., or for 1261 years ; but it is unfortunate that, like the Kashmīr mason of Muslim rule, the die sinkers of that period are disappointing.

#### *Coinage of the Sultāns and Bādshāhs of Kashmīr.*

The oldest Muslim coin available in the Sri Pratāp Singh Museum at Srinagar is that of Shāh Mīr (1339-42 A.C.), while the oldest copper coin available is that of Sultān Sikandar. The complete legend on Shāh Mīr's coin is سلطان الاعظم شاہ and in the central lozenge is ضرب کشیر سمن شاہ. Sultān Sikandar's follows the same legend and lozenge except,

1. *Economics of Food-Grains* by Jiyalāl K. Jalāli, M.A., 1931, page 36.

2. *Ibid.*, page 36.

3. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, written in 1870, page 187.

of course, the change in the name of the Sultān. Mr. Stanley Lane Poole<sup>1</sup> refers to the forty-two Kashmir coins in the British Museum, and says half of them are of silver. The copper issues are round, thin, of the average diameter of ·8 in., with the loop or knot of arabesque design in the midst. The silver coins are square in shape with an average weight of 94 grs., and a breadth of ·6 to ·65 in.

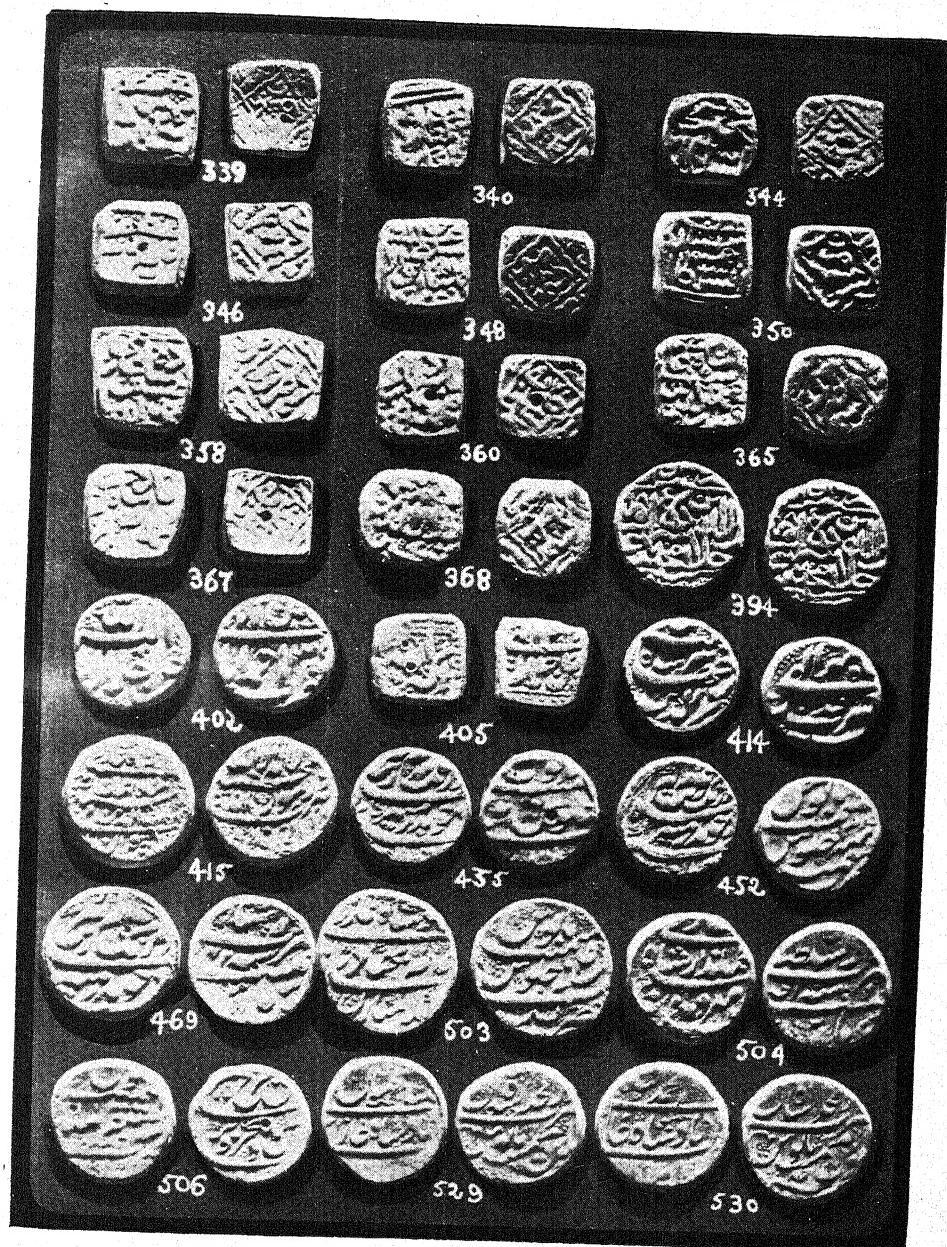
The late Mr. Chas. J. Rodgers, Honorary Numismatist to the Government of India, had made a detailed study of the coins of Kashmīr. His contributions to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal*<sup>2</sup> are valuable for the Islamic period of Kashmīrian history. Two adverse statements emerge out of his criticism : (a) that the coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr have very little artistic value and (b) their dates, in many cases, are confusing. Even the most casual observer would agree with Mr. Rodgers and accept his criticism on the first point. But as regards the second, I believe some of the coins examined by him must have been spurious, as the craze for coin-collection appears to have led cheats to find scope for their activities by counterfeiting old coins, just as the craze for stamp-collection, at times, may give rise to the preparation of counterfeit stamps. At any rate, the Sultāns could not have been so foolish as to give the same dates on the coins of different rulers. But, it is not improbable that rival factions, who set up rival Sultāns on the throne struck coins, or even gave currency to their respective coinage, as we shall presently note in the case of Salim Shāh Sūr and Akbar, much before the latter's conquest of Kashmīr. Mr. Rodgers<sup>3</sup> is also wrong in asserting that the coin of 1162 A.H.=1748 A.C. is that of Ahmad Shāh Durrāni. The fact is that it belongs to the Mughul Emperor Ahmad Shāh, as shown by Mr. R. B. Whitehead, ex-Secretary of the Numismatic Society of India. Sultān Habib's coins bear the name Mahmūd. The British Museum collection too has a coin of 961 A.H.=1553 A.C. in the name of Sultān Mahmūd (page xlviii). Nāzuk Shāh is read as Nādir Shāh in the British Museum collections also.

1. *Catalogue of Indian Coins in the British Museum*, London, 1885, page xlvii.

2. *The Copper Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J.A.S.B., Volume XLVIII, Part 1, No. IV—1879, pages 2822-85.

3. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J.A.S.B., Volume I, IV, Part I, No. 2.—1885, pages 92-139.

Coins of the Sultāns, Pādshāhs and Shāh-in-Shāhs of Kashmir.



[See the reverse for details.]

COINS OF THE SULTANS, OF CHAK PADSHAHHS

AND

SHAH-IN-SHAHS

[Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar].

SHAH MIRIS:

339. Sultān Shams-ud-Din,  
340. Sultān Zain-ul-‘Abidin.  
344. Sultān Muhammad Shāh.  
346. Sultān Nāzuk or Nadir Shāh.  
348. Humayun's nominal coin during the  
days of Mirzā Haidar Dughlat, when  
Nāzuk Shāh sat on the throne of  
Kashmir.  
350. Sultān Ibrāhim Shāh.

CHAKS:

358. Husain Shāh Chak  
360. Zahir-ud-Dīn Ghāzi (?).  
365. Yusuf Shāh Chak.

MUGHULS

- 368, 394, 402 & 405. Jalāl-ud-Dīn Akbar.  
414, 415 & 529. Shāh Jahan.  
435, 452 & 469. ‘Alamgīr Aurangzib.  
503. Shāh ‘Alam Bahadur Shāh.  
504. Jahāndār Shāh  
506. Farrukh Siyar.  
530. Muhammad Shāh of Delhi.

Husain Shāh Chak, 'Alī Shāh Chak, and Yūsuf Shāh Chak took the title of *Bādshāh*, in rivalry of the Mughul emperors, and not that of *Sultān* used by the descendants of Shāh Mīr, as is shown by their coins. Some of the points calling for notice in the coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr may be summed up as follows :—(1) On some coins, dates are given in figures as well as in words. Some have them only in words. (2) In some cases, the date is in Arabic, in others in Persian. (3) The coins vary very little, and there is a certain monotony about them. (4) They are all square, and have the same kind of lozenge on the reverse, namely, *Zarb-i-Kashmīr*. (5) *Nā'ib-i-Khalīfa-tur-Rahmān* appears on some, since the ruler looked upon himself as the lieutenant of the Caliph of the time. In some, *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-ul-Mū'minīn*, and in others the regal title is used. In some of the coins, the honorary titles of *Munīr-ud-Dīn* and *Nāsir-ud-Dīn* have also been noticed. (6) Srīnagar, or as it was called Kashmīr,<sup>1</sup> was the only mint town during the Hindu and the entire Muslim rule. The Sarrafa Mahalla in Zaina Kadal, Srīnagar, is believed to be the locality of the royal mint. Some coins give *Khitta* as the title of the mint town, others Shahr.<sup>2</sup> (7) At the close of Hindu rule, copper coins were the only coins, but in Zain-ul-'Abidīn's reign, silver coins were struck. According to Rodgers, Zain-ul-'Abidīn is the only Sultān who calls himself *Nā'ib-i-Amīr-ul-Mū'minīn*. Some of this Sultān's coins are of brass. (8) The weight of the square silver coins varies from 91 to 96 grains. The weight of the copper coins averages about 83 grains. Stein says that Sultān Hasan Shāh re-issued the old *pūntshu* (derived from *puntsh*, 'twenty-five') or *punsu* in a debased form owing to financial pressure. Črīvara writes that when Sultān Hasan Shāh found that the *dinnāras*<sup>3</sup> of Toramāna had ceased to be current, he gave currency to the new coin *dvitinnāri* made of lead which was impressed

1. See the footnote No. 3 on the preceding page.

2. Dr. Codrington's *Musalman Numismatics*, published by the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1904.

3. Samskrīt Dinnāra is derived from the Roman Denarius which is still used for the coinage current in modern Czecho-Slovakia. In old Kashmīr the term Dinnāra was used generally for any coin as well as for coins of specific value. Dinnāras were coined in gold and silver as well as in copper. A hundred shells or cowries were equal to one copper Dinnāra. When Kalhaṇa refers to salaries of high officers and others R. S. in terms of thousands of Dinnāras, he means the copper Dinnāras.—Pandit's *River of Kings*, page 67, footnote 103. Stein spells Dinnāra.

with the figure of a *nāga*. The old-copper coin was equal to twenty-five *gandas* (or one hundred *kowris*, shells); but owing to the dearness of articles, its value had become somewhat reduced (p. 228). (9) In the case of the halves of some coins, each Sultān seems to have had a style of his own.

### *Mughul Coins.*

It is curious that coins have been discovered of Islām Shāh Sūr (952 to 960 A.H.=1545 to 1552 A.C.) who never ruled in Kashmīr. Probably they are evidence of the conspiracy against Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, who was then in Kashmīr (948 A.H. to 958 A.H. = 1541 A.C. to 1551 A.C.), in a sense, a deputy of Humāyūn, whom he was urging to come to Kashmīr rather than go to Irān. These coins of Islām Shāh naturally remind us of the medals struck by Napoleon in anticipation of his imaginary conquest of England. Mīrzā Haidar also struck a coin in the name of Humāyūn, which is preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.\* Lane Poole also refers (on page xlviii) to Humāyūn's coin dated 953 A.H.=1546 A.C. in the British Museum collection. Again, Mr. Rodgers came across Akbar's coins struck in Kashmīr as early as 965 A.H.=1557 A.C., and another one of 987 A.H.=1579 A.C. The explanation is that these coins were either complimentary, or else struck by factions, who were plotting against their Chak rulers, and were desirous of having Akbar as their king. Akbar's coin struck in Kashmīr in 994 A.H.=1586 A.C., has the Arabic legend, and the date is given in Arabic—a practice which he did not follow in India.

Akbar had a fine currency in gold and silver. Srīnagar retained its seat as a mint-town under the Mughuls. The finest Mughul currency was that of Jahāngīr, some of whose coins are of great artistic merit. With the accession of Aurangzib 'Alamgīr, a standard type of coin was adopted, which endured till the end of the Mughul dynasty.

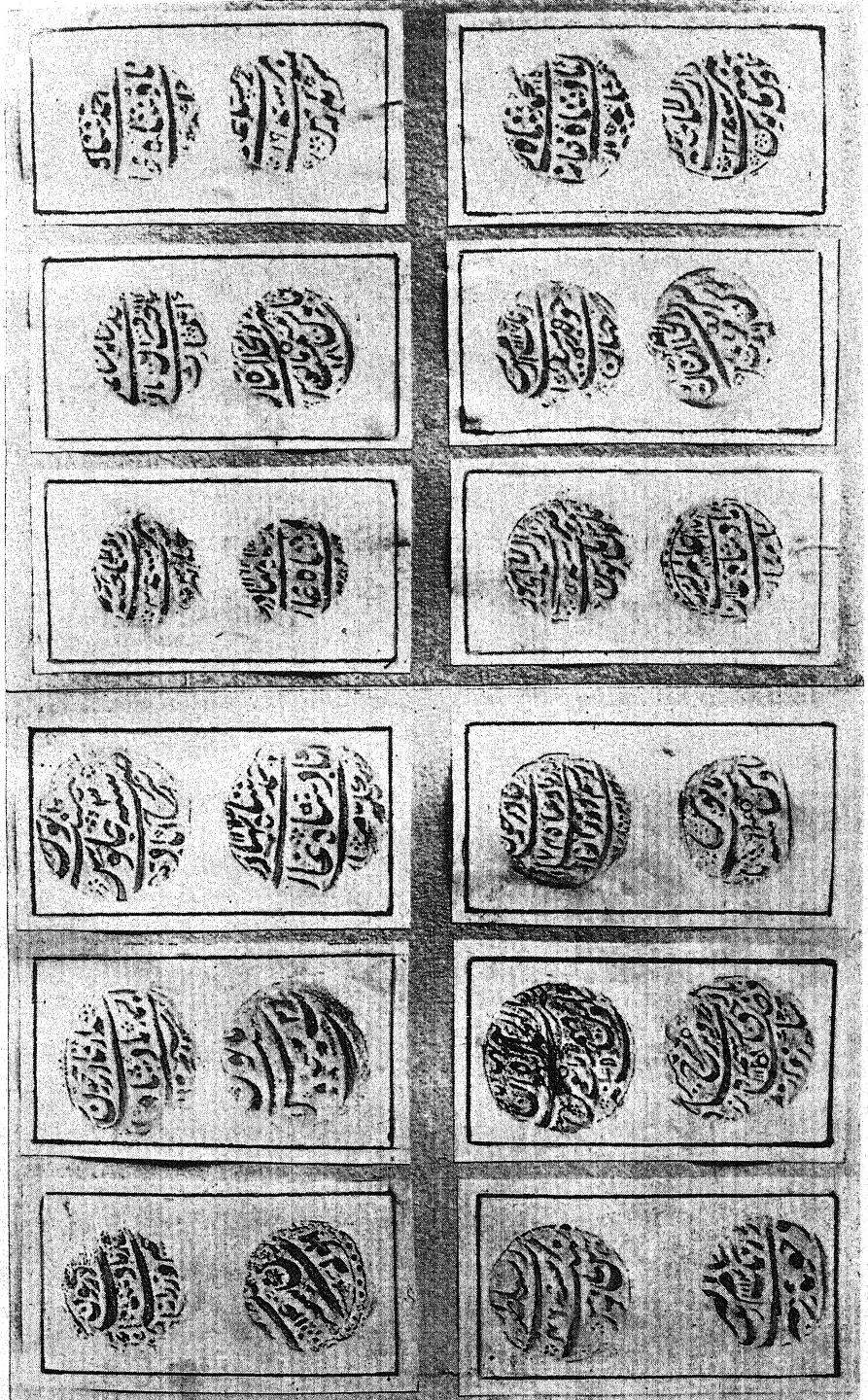
### *Afghān Coins.*

Afghān rulers made no departure from the later Mughul coinage.

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\*Coin No. 27, *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. 2, page 192.

Some Mughul Coins found in Rihāri, near Jammu.



Mughul coins found in Rihāri, a quarter of the Jammu town, in November, 1937. Auranszib's coins shown above were struck at Lahore and Shāhjahānābād, of Farrukh Siyar at Shāhjahānābād, of Muhammad Shāh at Lahore, and of Ahmad Shah at Farrukhābād and Sirat. While digging foundation for a house, these coins were found in earthen pots which were broken by the digger's axe. The coins are deposited in the Jammu and Kashmir State Treasury.



Ahmad Shāh's coin bore the following legend—

حُکم شُد از قادر بیچون بے اجد پادشاه

سکّہ زن بر سیم و ذر از موج ماهی تا ماه

[God the inscrutable commanded Ahmad, the King,  
To stamp silver and gold currency from the legendary Fish to the Moon.]

Ahmad Shāh had a seal made in the form of a peacock  
bearing the following line—

بِ يَارَ فَتَّاحَ

الْحَكْمُ لِلَّهِ

اجد شاه درانی

[O Bestower of Victory.  
Government is God's  
Ahmad Shāh Durrānī.]

چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه

تا گند بزر چهره نقشی سکّہ تیمور شاه

[The sky brings gold and silver from the sun and the moon.  
In order that it may stamp on the face of the coin the name of  
Timūr Shāh.]

قرار یافت بِ حکمِ خداه هر دو جهان

رواج سکّہ و دولت بنام شاه زمان

[By dispensation of the God of both the Worlds  
The coinage became current in the name of Shāh Zamān.]

قرار داد ز الطافِ خوبیشتن بیزاد

نگین حُکم جهان را بنام شاه زمان

[The Lord by His own favour ordered the seal-ring  
For world sovereignty in the name of Shāh Zamān.]

*Coin struck in the name of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn Rīshī.*

In 1223-1225 A.H.=1808-1810 A.C., 'Atā Muammad Khān Bāmīzāī,\* the Afghān governor (grandson of Shāh Valī Khān, Vazīr of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī),

\*Travels in Central Asia in 1812-13 by Mir 'Izzatullāh, English Translation by Captain Henderson, page 4.

who rebelled in the latter half of 1223 A.H.=1808 A.C., issued coins in the name of the popular Patron-Saint, Shaikh Nūr-ud-Dīn, after he had thrown off the yoke of the king of Kābul, because the two ruiers, Shāh Shujā' and Mahmūd Shāh, in turn, sent expeditions against him during 1225-1228 A.H.=1810-1813 A.C. These coins are reproduced in Chapter III, p. 101. The special nature of the occasion is marked by the issue of a handsome silver coin weighing 224 grains, the only piece of this weight in the entire Durrānī series in the Punjāb Museum, Lāhore.\* Fine double *muhurs* of a unique character were struck later. In the central square on the flowered field on the obverse the legend is—

يا شاه نورالدين يا مخدوم جهان

[O Shāh Nūr-ud-Dīn ! O Lord of the world.]

On the reverse is : الدُّنْيَا جِيفَةٌ وَ طَالِبُهَا كِلَابٌ

[The world is carrion and the seekers thereafter are dogs.]

The couplet, appropriately enough on the same, is—

سکہ شد روشن ز شاه نور دین رائج از مخدوم قطب العارفین

[The coin became bright through Shāh Nūr-ud-Dīn.

It became current through the revered Chief of the Pious.]

In another set there is—

يا مخدوم شاه نورالدين

The Sṛī Pratāp Singh Museum at Srīnagar has a collection of Kashmīrī coins during the rule of the Sultāns, the Bādshāhs, Mughul emperors, and Afghān rulers. Several of these are reproduced in two plates on the opposite page.

### Sikh Coins.

The Sikh rulers continued Persian legends on their coins. So did the early Dogrās. The Sikh coin of Ranjīt Singh struck in Srīnagar in 1819 A.C., or 1876 Samvat, had the following couplet on the obverse :

ديگ و تیخ و فتح و نصرت بیدرنگ

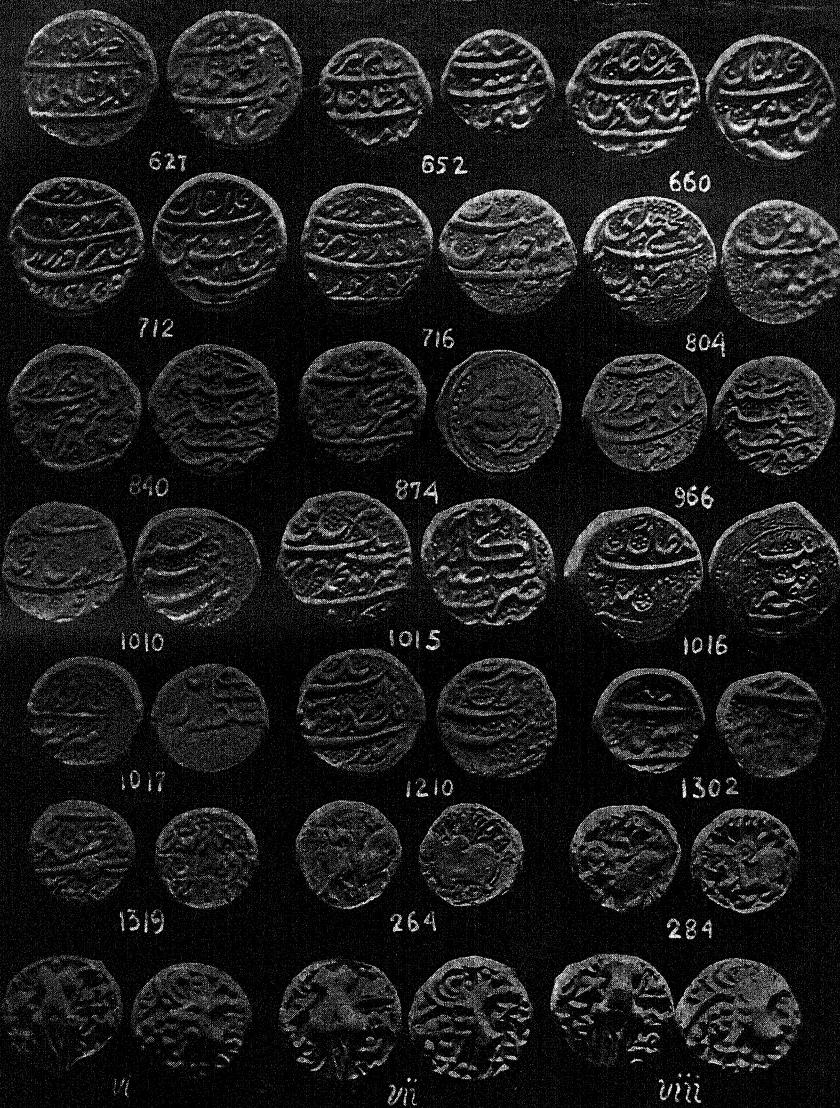
یافت از نانک گرو گوبند سنگ

[Abundance, the sword, victory and ready help Guru Gobind Singh obtained from Nānak.]

\*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum, Lahore, by R.B. Whitehead, I.C.S., Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1934, pages 174-6.

Miscellaneous Coins of Mughul, Afghān, Sikh and Dōgrā Rulers and some  
old non-Muslim Rājās.

-250



[See the reverse for details.]

## COINS OF MUGHUL, AFGHAN, SIKH AND DOGRA

also

### Some old non-Muslim Rulers of Kashmir

627. Emperor Ahmad Shāh. (Farrukhābād Mint)	840. Shāh Shujā' Durrānī. (Kashmir Mint)	1210. Sikh Coin. (Kashmir Mint, 1876 Samvat)
652. Emperor 'Alaangir II. (Dār-us-Saltanat Mint)	874. Mahmūd Shāh Durrānī (Kashmir Mint)	1302 & 1319 Dogrā Coins. (Srinagar Mint, one of Samvat 1901 and the other of 1946 Samvat)
660. Emperor Shāh 'Alam II. (Shāhjahānabād Mint)	966. Aiyūb Shāh. (Kashmir Mint)	264. (1) <i>Two Brāhmaṇ Kings of Kabul.</i> Spalapatideva (875 A.C.)
"12. Ahmad Shah Durrānī. (Shāhjahānabād Mint)	1010 Shaikh Nūr-ud-Din Rishi. (Kashmir Mint)	284 (2) Samantadeva.
"13. Timur Shah Durrānī. (Kashmir Mint)	Nos. 1015, 1016, 1017 are of the Kābul Mint. struck in the name of Amir Dust Muhammad, Amir Sher 'Alī respectively.	vi. Durlabhavardhana of Kashmir. vii. Vinayaditya (8th Century.) viii. Vigraha or Vishramshadeva.
804. Zāmān Shāh Durrānī. (Kashmir Mint)		

*Dogrā Coins.*

Mr. Rodgers' *Catalogue* (page 49) gives the legend of the Dogrā coin as :

سری رکھو ناتھ جی سہاے  
ضرب سری نگر

The date is 1927 Samvat=1871 A.C.

*The Value of Coins.*

As for the value of coins, the *kowri* was, from early times, used as a monetary token in Kashmīr, as elsewhere in India. Eight *kowris* in Kashmīr were equal to one *bāhagain*, two *bāhagains* were equal to one *punsu*, four *punsus* made one *hath*, ten *haths* were equal to one *sāsūn* (or *sās*), a hundred *sāsūn* equal to one *laksa*, hundred *laksas* equal to one *kotī* (crore). The *hath* is represented now by the pice or one-sixty-fourth of a rupee. In Akbar's time, the term *hath* applied to a copper coin equivalent to one *dām* or one-fortieth of a rupee. The *sāsūn* was equal to ten *dāms* or  $\frac{1}{4}$ th of a rupee. The payments in kind were all reduced to equivalents in *dāms*. It may be noted that, in ancient Kashmīr, the value of a *dīnār* was so small as to be equal to one-twelfth of a *bāhagain*. Mīr Izzatullāh in his *Travels* in 1812-13, during Afghān rule, states that 'the rupee of Kashmīr is equivalent in value to 9 or 10 annas ; 15 *tankas* go to a rupee' [page 4].

**Weights and Measures**

Edward Thomas\* has extracted the following weights, current in Kashmīr, from Gladwin's *Ā'īn-i-Akbarī*, Vol. II, p. 156; (also compare Col. Jarrett's *Ā'īn*, Vol. II, p. 354) :—

1 *tola*=16 *mashās* of 6 *ratis* each, or 96 *ratis*.

1 gold *muhur*=16 *dāms* of 6 *ratis* each, 96 *ratis*, or 4 *ratis* more than the Delhī gold *muhur*.

*Rabsāsnū* is a small coin of 9 *māshas* or 54 *ratis*.

*Punchī* is a copper coin, in value  $\frac{1}{4}$  *dām*, also called *kussarah* (*Kasiras*?)

*Bāhagain* is  $\frac{1}{2}$  the *punchī* or  $\frac{1}{8}$  *dām*.

*Shukri* (or *Shakrī*?) is  $\frac{1}{4}$  *bāhagain*.

4 *Punchis* or *kussarahs*=1 *hath*

40 *Punchis* or *kussarahs*=1 *sāsnū* and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *sāsnū*=1 *sikka*.

100 *Sāsnū*=1 *lak*=1000 royal *dāms*.

\* *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, London, Trübner & Co., 1871, page 222.

According to Abu'l Fazl,<sup>1</sup> seven-and-a-half *pals* in Kashmīr were considered equivalent to one *sēr*, two *sērs* equal to half a *man* (a maund), and four *sērs* to a *tarak*, sixteen *taraks* to one *kharwār* (or ass-load), abbreviated as *khar*. A *tarak*, according to the royal weights of Akbar, was equal to 8 *sērs*. The actual *sēr* was not above one pound avoirdupois. A horse-load equalled 22 *taraks*.

The measures are as follows :—

$$1 \text{ gira} = 2\frac{1}{4} \text{ inches.}$$

$$16 \text{ giras} = 1 \text{ gaz.}$$

$$20 \text{ giras} = 1 \text{ gaz} \text{ [in measuring } pashmina \text{ (shawl) cloth.]}$$

### *The Kharwār.*

As explained in the footnote on page 251 of *Kashir*, a *kharwār* means an ass-load. A *kharwār*, equal to three maunds and eight seers in Akbar's time, is now equal to two maunds and sixteen seers. Seers in Kashmīr are of two kinds. One is *pukhta* or standard, equal to 80 *tolas*. The other is *khām* or local, equal to 56 *tolas*. During the Pre-Muslim period, the *khar* was the old *khāri* mentioned in the *Rājatarangīni*, Taranga Fifth, verse 71, which the late Mr. R. S. Pandit says (p. 164, footnote 71, *River of Kings*) occurs in the Rg. Veda IV, 32-17. The Persian form *kharwār* is differently derived, viz., *khar-bār* or *kharwār*, an ass-load.

One Kashmīri *kharwār* has 16 *taraks*. A horse-load is equal to 22 *taraks*. A *tarak* is equal to  $5\frac{3}{16}$  seers. It equalled eight seers of Akbar, or four Kashmīri *man*, one Kashmīri *man* being equal to four Kashmīri seers, and one Kashmīri seer being equal to  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *pals* (a *pal* means a stone). A *kharwār* of 16 *taraks* is equal to 83 seers. A *kharwār* of land, i.e., the area requiring a *kharwār* weight of seeds, is equal to four British acres, when the seer is equal to 90 *tolas* or a little more, as it is in Peshawar today.

A Kashmīri *kharwār* is equal to  $177\frac{12}{17}\frac{9}{5}$  lbs. Wilson's glossary puts the ordinary *kharwār* at 700 lbs. It may here be noted that in Arabic *س* *kurr* means a measure equal to six ass-loads. It is, however, not clear if *س* is derived from *س* *khar*, or vice versa. *Kharwār* in Irān is the measure of a hundred Tabriz maunds.

1. Jarrett's *A'īn*, Vol. II, page 366.

2. The *Akbar-nāma*, English Translation by H. Beveridge, Vol. III, page 831, footnote. Also, Lawrence's *Valley of Kashmīr*, page 243.

Land measures are commonly calculated not by length and breadth, but by the amount of seed required by certain areas of rice-cultivation. Lawrence found by measurements that the *kharwār* of land, that is, the rice area which is supposed to require a *kharwār* weight of rice-seed, exactly corresponds to four British acres, as noted on the preceding page.

[A *bīgha* is a measure of land,  $\frac{5}{8}$  of an acre, or 3,025 square yards. This is the standard *bīgha* as fixed by the Emperor Akbar, but at different times and in different parts of India it has varied considerably. The *tanāb*, *jarib* and *bīgha* seem to have been used as nearly interchangeable terms. Akbar's *bīgha* equalled 3,600 *Ilāhī gaz* or 3,025 square yards of the *bīgha* of Hindustān. Jarrett, in the *A'īn-i-Akbarī*, vol. ii, footnote on page 61, has a reference: 3,600 square *gaz*=3,025 square yards=0.539 or  $\frac{5}{8}$  an acre. In this context, the *gaz*, a yard, also standardized by Akbar and termed the *Ilāhī gaz*, equals 33 inches. A *guntha* equals 121 square yards, or the fortieth part of an acre. Then, again, one acre consists of 8 *kanāls*, one *kanāl* equalling 20 *marlas*, and one *marla* equalling 30 $\frac{1}{4}$  yards. One acre has 4,840 square yards. A *bīgha* has four *kanāls*. The term *kanāl* is commonly used in the Valley of Kashmīr, where it is pronounced *kunāl*.]

In Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's time, the length of the *gaz* or the yard and the *jarib* or the chain was increased, but the exact addition is not known. Possibly the reference is to the standardization of the *gaz* in his time.

### **Agriculture**

RICE.—Kashmīr possesses a large area of alluvial soil owing to its system of rivers. But the Kashmīris have given the greatest attention to the rice crop. It is their staple crop from times immemorial. The *Chronicles* refer to it as *dhānya*, 'grain.' There is, however, no record to show its produce in the past, except that in Bād Shāh's time the annual produce is said to have come to about 77 lakhs of *kharwārs*. After Bengāl, Kashmīr has the next highest percentage area of the rice crop in India, though it is *ēk fasli* or one-cropped.

[According to *Jammu and Kashmir Information*, November-December, 1945 (p. 14), the Department of Agriculture has, for some years past, experimented with a large number of foreign varieties of paddy. Experiments conducted at Khudwani, Tahsil Kulgām, District Islāmābād, have shown that a number of Chinese varieties of paddy can adapt themselves to the Kashmīr soil and its environmental conditions. On the Farm, three of the Chinese varieties have yielded 50 to 60 maunds of paddy per acre, against an average

of 35 maunds per acre yielded by the local varieties. Small quantities of the seed were distributed to the neighbouring *zamīndārs*; the yield is reported, in some cases, as having been about 50 maunds per acre. The paddy makes good, white rice].

Some of the other crops are maize, wheat, cotton, saffron, barley, pulses, etc. Steep mountain-sides have naturally terrace agriculture.

Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr<sup>1</sup> was very interested in agriculture which he both understood and encouraged, and when hunting would study the nature of the soil from this point of view. By way of encouragement to farmers, he issued an edict that the rents should not be raised on those who by their industry had improved their farms. To do so, he rightly considered, was both unjust and impolitic as it checked the spirit of improvement and impoverished the State.

### Saffron

As the cultivation of *kōñg* or *za'frān* or saffron in India is confined to Kashmir alone, it deserves to be specially noted. "The chief seat of its original cultivation appears to have been the town of Croycus, modern Korghoz, in Cilicia, which is a part of Asia Minor above Syria. From this central point of distribution it may not improbably have spread out east and west."<sup>2</sup> Saffron was cultivated by the Arabs in Spain in 961 A.C. The Crusaders introduced it into England. The story is that a pilgrim from Tripoli, Syria, secreted a corm of saffron in the hollow of his staff, and brought it to England. It is being cultivated as an irrigated crop in South America. Kalhana says that the saffron flower in Kashmir dates from the time of King Lalitāditya (725-753 A.C.).

Hien Tsiang or Yüan Chwang wrote : "Its flowers were long ago used to adorn the necks of oxen at the autumn festival in the country, and they were boiled in aromatic spirits to make a perfume. This, or some preparation of the flowers, was largely used in northern countries in the service of worship offered before images in Buddhist temples. The flowers of the saffron plant are still largely used in decoctions, both as a condiment and as a pigment, by many of the inhabitants of Kashmir."<sup>3</sup> "In early Greek

1. *The Emerald set with Pearls* by Florence Parbury, page 36.

2. "Saffron Cultivation in Kashmir" by Mr. M. R. Fotidār, Director of Agriculture, Kashmir, in *Agriculture and Live-Stock in India*, Vol. IV, Part III, May, 1934, pp. 242-247.

3. *Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, by Thomas Watters, page 263.

times orange red colour was a royal colour," perhaps not unlike Hydarābād, Deccan. As a perfume it was strewn in Greek halls, courts and theatres and in Roman baths. Mr. R. S. Pandit notes that the streets of Rome were sprinkled with saffron when Nero made his entry into the city (*River of Kings*, p. 11, last part of the footnote 42).

There is a reference to saffron in the *Akbar-nāma*.<sup>1</sup> where Abu'l Fazl writes : " Formerly each seed yielded less than three flowers and the amount received by government did not exceed 20,000 *taraks* but was not less than 7,000. Once in Mirzā Haidar's time it was 28,000 *taraks*. This year, 1595 A.C., when it became *khālisa* (land under government management), the ruler's share was 90,000 *taraks*. Though there was more land under cultivation, yet the flowers were also more than usual. Every seed yielded up to eight flowers." The annual crop of saffron in Jahāngīr's time was 500 maunds by Hindustān weight, equal to 5,000 Vilāyat (Persian) maunds.<sup>2</sup>

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Pāmpar alluvial *karewa* lands, 5300—5400 feet above sea level, on both sides of the Srīnagar-Islāmābād road between miles 7 and 14, are the fields where it is largely cultivated. Saffron is grown in Kishtwār also, where the fields are flat and not raised in chess-board system as in Pāmpar. The soil is prepared as for other crops. The Kishtwār<sup>3</sup> saffron, however, lacks the sweet smell of Kashmir saffron, though it is rich in dye and spilling properties.

A dry soil is necessary for the growth of *koñg*. In from eight to twelve years, the soil becomes so exhausted that eight years are often allowed to elapse before growing it again on that same ground.<sup>4</sup> It is noteworthy that saffron does not require any manure. Abu'l Fazl's description below holds good today too.

"In the beginning of the month of Urdibihisht (April)," writes Abu'l Fazl, "the saffron seeds are put into the ground, which has

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1. English Translation by Beveridge, Vol. III, 1920, pages 996-7.

2. *The Tūruk-i-Jahāngīr* or Memoirs of Jahāngīr, English Translation by Rogers and Beveridge, Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1909, Vol. I, page 93. In another place, Jahāngīr states that a seer is bought and sold for Rs. 10.—*Ibid.*, Vol. II, page 178.

3. A place in the Udhampur district of the Jammu Province. See the footnote on pp. 67-68.

4. *The Abode of Snow*, page 411.

been carefully prepared and rendered soft. After this, the field is irrigated with rain-water. The seed itself is a bulb resembling garlic. The flower appears in the middle of the month of Ābān (September); the plant is about a quarter of a yard long; but, according to the difference of the soil in which it stands, there are sometimes two-thirds of it above, and sometimes two-thirds below the ground. The flower stands on the top of the stalk, and consists of six petals and six stamens. Three of the six petals have a fresh lilac colour, and stand round about the remaining three petals. The stamens are similarly placed, three of a yellow colour standing round about the other three, which are red. The latter yields the saffron. Yellow stamens are often cunningly intermixed. In former times saffron was collected by compulsory labour; they pressed men daily, and made them separate the saffron from the petals and the stamens, and gave them salt instead of wages, a man who cleaned two *pals* receiving two *pals* of salt. At the time of Ghāzī Khān, the son of Kājī Chak, another custom became general; they gave the workmen eleven *taraks* of saffron flowers, of which one *tarak* was given them as wages; and for the remaining ten they had to furnish two Akbarshāhī *sērs* of clean, dry saffron, *i.e.*, for two Akbarshāhī *mans* of saffron flowers they had to give two *sērs* of cleaned saffron. This custom, however, was abolished by His Majesty on his third visit to Kashmir, to the great relief of the people.

"When the bulb has been put into the ground, it will produce flowers for six years, provided the soil be annually softened. For the first two years, the flowers will grow sparingly; but in the third year the plant reaches its state of perfection. After six years, the bulbs must be taken out; else they get rotten. They plant them again on some other place; and leave the old ground uncultivated for five years.

"Saffron comes chiefly from the place Pāmpar, which belongs to the district of Marāj (areas on both sides of the Jhelum above Srīnagar). The fields there extend over nearly twelve *kōs*, and comprise ten or twelve thousand *bīghas*. Another place of cultivation is in the *parganah* of Paraspōr (old Parihāsapura), near Indrakāl, far from Kamrāj (areas on both sides of the Jhelum below Srīnagar), where the fields extend about a *kōs*"—English Translation of the *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*, by H. Blochmann, M.A., Calcutta, Second Edition, revised by Lieut.-Colonel D.C. Phillot, M.A., Ph.D., F.A.S.B., Volume I, 1942, New Series, pp. 89-90. Dr. King is of the opinion that it takes from 7000 to 8000 flowers to yield  $17\frac{1}{2}$  ounces of fresh saffron which by drying is reduced to  $3\frac{1}{2}$ .—English Translation by Jarrett, Volume II, p. 357 footnote.

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In *Jammu and Kashmir Information* for November-December, 1945, Mr. Jiā Lāl Raina, M.Sc., of the Department of Agriculture, says: "For a long time and even till recent years this industry (saffron cultivation) was a State monopoly. But the ban has

been removed now, and it is being extended to different parts of Kashmir with success" (p. 11). Saffron cultivation experiments in other parts of the Valley are in progress, and no definite conclusion can be derived at this stage. At present, it has been noticed that the corms can come to flower in any soil, but its multiplication in such soils is yet to be seen (p. 12). Rats play havoc in saffron fields. They thrive best in raised beds and cause great damage to corms which they use as food in winter months. But by an ingenious local method resembling fumigation rats are now being checked.

*Pure honey from saffron.*

Apart from the use of saffron as a condiment, a colouring material, and a pigment for the forehead marks of Hindus, it is being used in the Ayurvedic and Unāni systems of medicine. Nectar is found in saffron flower at the base of the style and droplets of a sweet liquid ooze out from the peduncle after the flowers have been cut. Bees collect this liquid. The old bee-keepers of the Valley believed, write Messrs. M. R. Fotedār and S. N. Fotedār in the *Indian Bee Journal*, that no honey is ripe for removal from the hives till the bees have collected their harvest from the saffron flower.—*Jammu and Kashmir Information*, November-December, 1945, p. 15.

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The flowering time of saffron is the middle of October. And if the weather is calm, as it usually is at this time of the year, there is a distinctly noticeable fragrance pervading the whole atmosphere, which is delightful to the senses and produces a subtle vivacity of spirits. This is the origin of the traditional reputation that saffron fields, when in flower, promote a spontaneous uncontrollable mirth in the visitor.

زعفران زار کی خوبی نہ بیان ہو کبتنک  
جسکے ہر بُھول میں ہے لعل بدھشان کی جیلک  
ہمسر اسکا کوئی پیدا نہ ہوا زیرِ فلک  
کھلتے ہی پھیل گئی گلشن عالم میں مہک  
فترطِ بہاجت سے لبِ لعل بھائی خندان دیکھا  
رشک سے زرد رُخ مہرِ درخشان دیکھا  
بابو رام فرخ - جمالِ کشمیر - صفحہ ۲۹

But Jahāngīr's experience is different and accords with Andrew Wilson's. Speaking of the crocus-flower, Jahāngīr,

wrote : " Their appearance is best at a distance, and when plucked they emit a strong smell . . . . . My attendants were all seized with a headache ; and although I myself was intoxicated with liquor at the time, I also felt my head affected."

### Floating Gardens. 'Stealing Land' in Kashmir.

A peculiar and very interesting form of cultivation is provided by the floating gardens on the Dal, which produce several kinds of vegetables, e.g., melons, tomatoes, water-melons, cucumbers, gourds, etc. Dr. Honigberger's description is well worth reproduction here : " I may mention a curious species of theft which is perpetrated here. On the lakes in Cashmere are large numbers of floating gardens, or masses of twigs, upon which earth is thrown, and they serve as beds for cultivating melons, cucumbers, turnips, carrots, cabbages, egg-plant-apples and different other culinary vegetables. If, however, the gardener does not keep a watch over this immovable property, he may perhaps find that, during the night, the garden itself has been cut from its fastenings and removed ; and as, in these cases, the thief joins the stolen mass to a similar one of his own (thus completely altering its shape, position, etc.), it is rarely possible to identify the garden, or discover the perpetrator of the robbery."<sup>1</sup>

These floating gardens in Kashmīr consist of strips about five feet wide of the matted roots of reed-grass which, along with the soil adhering, are cut out and then actually floated on the water. Strength enough to bear the weight of a man is imparted to them by super-imposing one strip over another. These strips function like ordinary soil in productivity, even though they have no sub-soil to rest upon. They produce vegetables in abundance, but as these are very watery, they have a slightly inferior flavour.<sup>2</sup> These strips can be towed about, hence the somewhat mystifying saying that 'land can be stolen' in Kashmīr.

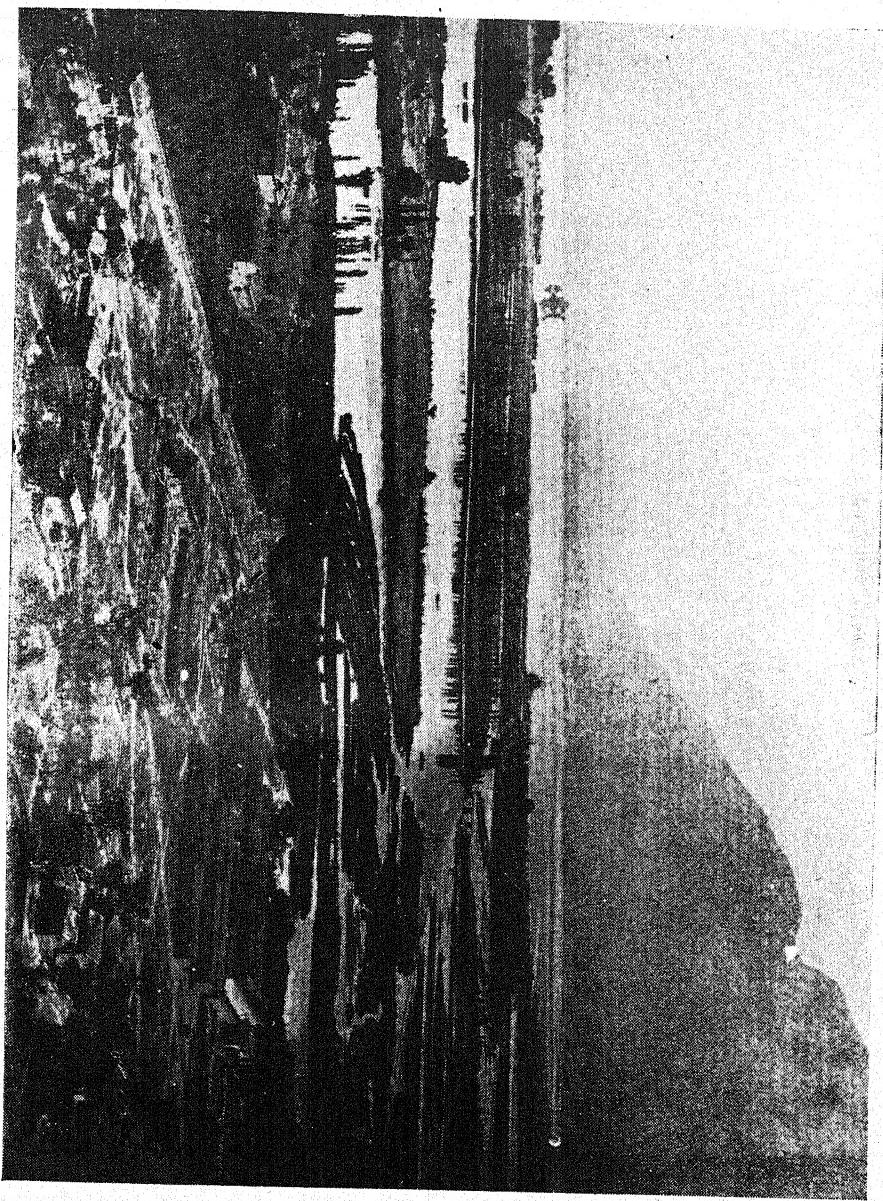
Nawwāb Zafar Khān Ahsan, in poetic vein, attributes, this theft of land to the scarcity of land in Kashmīr thus :—

زمین از بسکھ نایاب است اینجا ز هم دُزند مردم شب زمین را

1. *Thirty-five Years in the East*, 1852, page 180.

2. *Jammu and Kashmir State Handbook*, 1924.

Floating Gardens viewed from the heights of the Hari-parbat, Srinagar.





It is said that there is nothing like it elsewhere in India. A parallel has, however, been quoted by Lawrence in the "Chinampas" of Old Mexico. The Chinampas are floating gardens of Lake Xochimilco to the south of Mexico City. The waters of this lake are no more than a few inches deep. The lake is supplied largely by fresh water springs opening within the lake itself. The gardens were originally planted on mats of interlaced twigs covered with dirt, and were rowed out on the lake.

### *Fruits.*

Kashmīr is the country of fruits. Perhaps no country, says Lawrence, has greater facilities for horticulture, as in the case of the indigenous apple, pear, and the celebrated *baggu gosha* or William Pear, vine, mulberry, walnut, hazel, cherry, peach, apricot, raspberry, gooseberry, currant and strawberry can be obtained without great difficulty in most parts of the Valley. And they come in a pleasant and changing succession. The delicious cherry called the *gilās*, which is said to be a corruption of *cerasus*,\* was introduced from Europe via Arabia, Īrān and Afghānistān. The *Pādshāh-nāma* calls it *shāh ālu* and prefers the same to that of Kābul (page 30).

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Tea is said to have been introduced into the Valley by Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt but is not grown. The climate of the Valley does not favour sugar-cane, mango, orange, plantain and such other fruits as require a warmer atmosphere.

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### *Arboriculture.*

Among arboricultural trees, the place of honour belongs to the native magnificent chinār (see *Kashir*, page 252, footnote 2), the planting of which throughout the Valley was encouraged by the Mughuls. The Nasīm Bāgh is entirely a chinār grove. The chinār trees make delightful camping grounds, where they afford a cool and very welcome shade in the hottest part of the day.

In addition to the mulberry and the walnut, which are extremely useful, the one for purposes of sericulture

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\*Modern Kerasun was the ancient colony of Pontus, the ancient kingdom of north-east Asia Minor on the Black Sea. It is a sea-port of the Black Sea with a population of 11,000. The Turkish variant is Kiresūn which is pronounced *Kerūsūn*. It was famous in ancient times for its cherry trees. Lucullus (c. 110 B.C., to 57 B.C.), the Roman general of Sulla, and governor of Roman Asia, carried a variety of this fruit to Italy.

and the other for the wood-carving industry, there are two other very common trees, the poplar and the willow. Poplars are found chiefly alongside of roads, and are often planted along the boundary lines of orchards and small holdings.

### *The willows for human limbs.*

The willow is grown along the river banks in most of the swampy grounds, and close to dwelling houses in villages. It is now used for important industries. "The picturesque weeping willows of Kashmīr felled between the seventh and the tenth years", writes Mr. Malcolm Gasper, in the *Illustrated Weekly of India*, Bombay, (Sunday, November 17, 1946, pages 32-33), under the caption, *The Walking Willow*, "make fine artificial limbs for disabled soldiers, since artificial limbs of metal that have hitherto been in common use, suffer from the disadvantages of rust and corrosion. The strong, light, close-grained wood of these willows has few knots and can thus be easily fashioned, besides artificial limbs, into bats and other articles which demand lightness and durability. The Kashmīr willow is not inferior to the famous English willow. In pre-war days willows exported from Kashmīr to Australia alone exceeded 120,000 bats annually." Mr. Gasper has filmed the entire process of fashioning the willows in a Siālkot factory. I saw this film in Bombay in January, 1947.

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### *Irrigation.*

The long and peaceful reign of Zain-ul-Ābidīn, according to Stein (*Rāj.*, vol. 2, page 428), was productive of important irrigation works, and the chronicles of Jonarāja and Ārīvara give a considerable list of canals constructed under the Sultān. Among these, deserving special mention, was the canal which distributed the water of the Pohur<sup>1</sup> river over the Zaina-gīr pargana, so also was that by which the water of the Lidar<sup>2</sup> was conducted to the arid plateau of Mārtānda near Islāmābād (Anantnāg).

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1. The Pohur (or Pohru) empties itself into the Jhelum, about 3 miles south-west of Sopōr.

2. The Lidar, or "the yellow river," flows into the Jhelum, north of Islāmābād.

### Famines.

Native historians, says Lawrence, record nineteen great famines regarding which they give gruesome details. But the important fact on which they are all agreed, is that these famines were caused by early snows or heavy rain, occurring at the time when the autumn harvest was ripening. The systematic deepening of the Vitastā by Suyya, King Avantivarman's able engineer (see pp. 55-56), very largely reduced the extent of the waterlogged tracks along the banks of the river and the damage to crops by floods. A Kashmir *Pir* once remarked to me at Dalhousie (East Punjab) that Kashmīr never suffered famine from want of water, but invariably from excess of it. His remark fully supports what Lawrence wrote. This is how famines occurred in Kashmīr.

د آب و اقش است آباد کشمیر از اینها میشود برباد کشمیر

How they were met, we have no definite means of knowing. A severe famine, however, is recorded in 1460 A.C. in the time of Zain-ul-Ābidīn. The Sultān distributed amongst the people the contents of the granaries and, although the famine was severe, it was successfully met. The Sultān reduced taxation thereafter to a fourth part of the produce in some places, and to a seventh in others.

In 1646 A.C., in the time of 'Ali Mardān Khān, one of Shāh Jahān's governors of the Valley, there was also a severe famine in Kashmīr. But the governor took energetic steps to import grain from the Punjab, and saved the Valley from starvation (see p. 272). In 1756, during Afghān rule, at the time of Sukh Jīwan Mal's *nizāmat*, Khwāja Abu'l Hasan Bānde, the Nāzim's Nā'ib, distributed grain from state stores (see p. 310).

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### Roads.

Roads, in Kashmīr, in the sense in which we understand them now in the twentieth century, never existed. Probably the waterways were most frequently used. For purposes of traffic, however, there were thoroughfares along which ponies, bullocks, palanquins and elephants could pass. Villages were connected by means of paths. What roads, however, did exist, as for example, the Mughul route from Srīnagar by way of Khānpur, Shupiān, etc., would now be

really tracks. These tracks were nevertheless well-shaded by trees. The traveller could always find rest underneath the shady planes and walnuts, and delicious water from the innumerable springs. Mulberries, apricots, apples, pears and walnuts were in abundance on the roads, and supplied sumptuous food for the wayfarer to whom nobody grudged these delicious fruits. In Mīrzā Haider's time, it appears, that the streets of Srinagar were paved with cut stone (Briggs, vol. iv, page 445). Magnificent poplar avenues run east and south of Srinagar.

The oldest and finest poplar avenue, says Lawrence, was planted by 'Atā Muhammad Khān, the Afghān governor, and leads almost to the foot of the Takht-i-Sulaimān.

Bridges we have already discussed under architecture in Chapter IX, on pages 521-2.

### *Routes and Rāhdārī.*

In Abu'l Fazl's time, twenty-six different roads led from the Valley, but those by Bhimbar\* and Pakhlī (see p. 87 *footnote*, and p. 238) were the best. The first one, he says, was considered the nearest and had several routes of which three were good, *via* (1) Hastivanj which was the former route for the march of troops; (2) Pīr Panjāl (or Pantsāl), 11,400 feet high, which was traversed by Akbar and his successors, and (3) Tangtala. "The old imperial route to Kashmīr passed through Bhimbar and Rajuari, and crossing the Pīr Panjāl pass, entered the Valley of Kashmīr at the prosperous town of Shupian," says the Kashmīr Archaeological Report for 1920 (page 3).

[Akbar's expedition to Kashmīr followed this route from Lāhore : Shāhdra, Aimanābād, Talwandī (re-named Nankānā Sāhib), Gunakor Dikri, Jaipur Kheri (near the pass of Bhimbar) *via* the defile Ghatibādu, Rajauri, Pīr Pantsāl, or Panjāl, Laha, and Thanna at the foot of the defile of Ratan Pantsāl or Panjāl. On crossing the Ratan Panjāl pass (8,200 feet), he arrived at Bahrām-qullah, now pronounced Bahrāmgalla. From here the route was to Pushiānā, across the valley of Dunts, near the pass of Natti Biravi. Akbar then halted at Hūrapōr, whence he marched *via* Kusu to Khānpōr to reach Srinagar.

This expedition was assisted by three thousand stone-cutters, mountain miners, and splitters of rocks. Two thousand *beldārs*, or diggers, were employed to level the ups and downs of the route.]

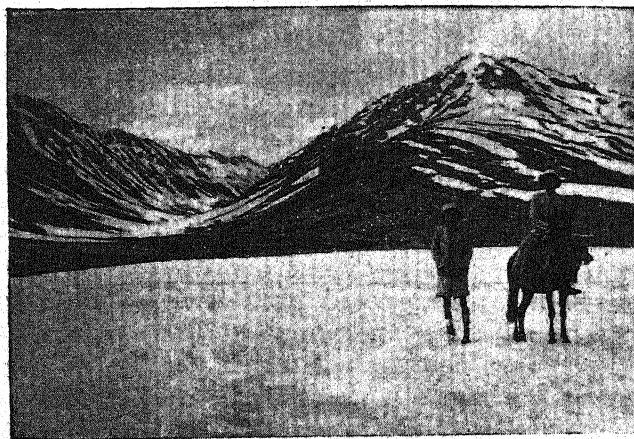
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\*For Bhimbar see the back of the photograph showing the Mosque at Bhimbar in Chapter VI, page 251. Bhimbar to Bārāmūla is fifteen marches.

"The Mughals not only constructed the most frequented caravan route, which until recent times held its own against all other roads to Kashmir, but they also built sumptuous rest-houses at every stage, and often, even at temporary halting places, between the main stages. Most of these are in a fair state of preservation."—*Kashmir Archaeological Report*.

Sharaf-ud-Din 'Ali Yazdi, the author of the *Zafar-nāma*, noted three principal highways into Kashmīr. The one leading to Khurāsān, however, is such a difficult route that it is impossible for beasts of burden with loads to be driven along it; so it is that people carry loads upon their shoulders for several days, until they reach a spot where it is possible to load a horse. The road to India offered the same difficulty. The accident to Aurangzib 'Alamgīr's camp and Qudsi's couplet have already been noted in Chapter IV, page 273. The route which leads to Tibet is easier than these two.

Details of the routes from Kashmīr to Turkistān and China are given by William Finch, whose description, according to Stein,\* is based upon carefully collected information. Finch says that a caravan takes some two or three months from Kābul to Kāshghar. The chief city of trade is Yārqand. From here come silk, porcelain, musk, rhubarb, and other merchandise. These are brought



THE BURZAL PASS.

Dr. Sufi on horseback, Prof. Abdul Hamid Beg of the  
Islamia College, Lahore, standing.

\**The Panjab Historical Journal*, Vol. VI, No. 2, pages 144-5.

from China, the gate of entrance (*meaning* the entrance of the Great Wall near Su-Chou on the border of Khan-su) of which is some two or three months' journey from Kashmîr. It is further related that when merchants come to this entrance, they are forced to remain under their tents, and by licence send some ten or fifteen of their folk to do business. On their return, as many more are allowed in, but the whole caravan cannot enter at once.

From Lâhore to Kashmîr, the way was as from Gujrât (Punjâb) to Kâbul, namely from Gujrât to Bhimbar and then *via* Hastivanj. It may be summed up as follows :— From Lâhore to Gujrât (Punjâb) there is one road. From Gujrât this road divides : one branch leads to Kashmîr *via* Bhimbar, and the other route continues from Kashmîr to Yârqand. According to Lawrence, the distance from Srinagar to Yârqand *via* Margan (11,600 feet high), Zôjî-Lâ (11,300 feet), Qâra Quram (18,317 ft.) and Sugit Dawan (18,137 ft.) passes is 777 miles. Drew, however, had noted five routes (summer route, winter route, western route, middle route, and eastern route) from Srinagar to Yârqand, all *via* Leh. In addition to these, he mentions two more routes one *via* Pâlampur and the other avoiding Leh. These were the routes which brought Kashmîr into contact with Central Asia and imported its learning, culture, and crafts into the Valley. Some portions of the old routes have been altered in time, through the action of glaciers, the shifting and erosion of rivers, landslips or by other natural causes.\*

None of the natural features of Kashmîr geography, says Stein, has had a more direct bearing on the history of the country than the great mountain-barriers that surround it. The importance of the mountains as the country's great protecting wall has, at all times, been duly recognized both by the inhabitants and foreign observers. Anxious care was taken to maintain this natural strength of the country by keeping strict watch over the passes. We have, on page 17 in *Kashir*, quoted from Abû Raihân al-Bîrûnî that in ancient times, none except Jews were admitted. Small forts were constructed which guarded all regularly used passes leading into the Valley. A high State officer known by the title of *Dvârapati*, Lord of the Gate, or some equivalent term, controlled all frontier stations in Hindu times. During Muslim times, feudal chiefs known as Maliks

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\*Major-General F. de Bourbel's *Routes in Jammu and Kashmîr*, Thacker, Calcutta, 1897.

were responsible for guarding the routes through the mountains. These Maliks held hereditary charge of specific passes, and enjoyed certain privileges in return for this duty. The fortified posts were known as *Rāhdāri* (*Chowkīs*) in the official Persian. Nobody was allowed to pass outside them coming from the Valley, without a special permit or pass, called the *Parvāna-i-Rāhdāri*. The system served as a check on unauthorized emigration, and was withdrawn only during the seventies of the last century on account of famine.

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## PART II

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### Military Organization

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**Introductory.** The Army in Kashmir, p. 621. Foreign Relations, p. 665. The Raja of Jamīmu a refugee in Kashmir, p. 666. Local Militia, p. 668. The Afghan method of attack and encampment, p. 668. The Soldier's Pay, p. 670. Troops stationed in Kashmir, p. 670. Vicissitudes in the political conditions of Kashmir, p. 671. System of Government to blame for making people coward, p. 672. Mughul Rule began to break the spirit, p. 675. Afghan Rule rough and harsh, p. 676. Sikh Rule tyrannical, brutal and barbarous, p. 676. Heartlessness of early Dogra Rule, p. 679. The dawn of awakening, p. 684. Need for Tawhid, p. 685. Right form of education necessary, p. 688. Hygiene and Sanitation, p. 691. Existing signs of awakening to be consolidated, p. 697.

In the early days of Islam, Muslims, in their wars with the Byzantines, realized the advantages of Roman military methods and adopted them. The Arabs copied the Romans also in tactics and in strategy. By the tenth century of the Christian era, however, Muslim armies had acquired an art of war of their own. They had advanced very considerably in fortification. They had learnt how to lay out and entrench their camps, and how to place pickets and vedettes. The royal body-guards formed regular troops, while the rest of the army consisted of the war bands of chiefs, miscellaneous bands of mercenary adventurers, and the general levies of tribes, etc. The army made itself formidable on account of its numbers and extraordinary powers of locomotion. The formation of the troops was generally like this. Over every ten soldiers was an '*Arif*', over every 100 a *Naqib*, over every ten *Naqibs* of 1,000 soldiers a *Qā'id*, and over every ten *Qā'ids* of 10,000 men an *Āmir*. The arms consisted of sword and shield, bow and arrow, lance and javelin, and, later on, *minjanīq* and '*arrādah*

(ballista, catapult). There were suitable arrangements for baggage and provisions. During operations in the field, the army was accompanied by a staff of physicians, and a well-supplied hospital, to which were attached ambulances for the wounded in the shape of lifters carried by camels.

As, however, Turks and Irānians began to enter the armies, they gradually transformed the system into military fiefs, as was then the custom in the West. Every Āmir, as it were, received a town or a district as a fief, in which he exercised unlimited powers and the privileges of a feudal lord like a Baron. He had to pay to the sovereign yearly tribute, and, in time of war, supply a fixed number of troops, which had to be maintained and equipped at his own cost. This same system was set up throughout the Islamic world, including India.\* In Kashmīr, as we already know, feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* (the Sanskrit equivalent for which, according to Stein, is *Mārgeča—Rāj*. Vol. II, p. 391) were responsible for guarding the routes of the Valley, and held fortified posts with garrisons all over the frontier stations, and acted as the 'wardens of the marches', called in Persian *Marzbān*. Nature protected the Valley by an encircling and impregnable wall of hills, and from an early period, the people of Kashmīr have been wont to pride themselves on their country's safety from foreign invasion, a feeling justified by the strength of their natural defence. We find it alluded to, says Stein, by Kalhana, who speaks of Kashmīr as unconquerable by force of arms, and of the protection afforded by its mountain walls. Abu'l Fazl has expressed himself similarly. This feeling is also very clearly reflected in all foreign records of the country as the reader will note hereafter, for instance, in the remarks of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.

The rulers of Kashmīr took advantage of these natural defences, and bestowed anxious care on constructing fortified posts all over the frontiers, on all regularly used passes leading into the Valley. The forts were committed to the charge of feudal chiefs known as *Maliks* of whom we have spoken above.

#### *Filing of armies in the field.*

Ordinarily armies were arranged in the field in the following order : *Quddām-i-Lashkar* (Vanguard), *Maimana* (Right),

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\*S. Khudā Bukhsh, *The Orient Under the Caliphs*, Calcutta, page 266.

*Maisara* (Left), *Qalb* (Centre), and *Sāqah* (Rear). *Talī'ah*, *Muqaddama-i-Paish*, and *Yazk* were the terms applied to a squadron which served as road guides or scouts. They were specially trained to reconnoitre and obtain news of the opposite camp. They also sometimes had preliminary encounters with the enemy. Each rank of the army was under an officer of its own. The Vanguard was led by the *Muqaddam* or the *Salār-i-Lashkar-i-Muqaddama*. The right and left wings were under the *Sar-i-Fauj*. The centre was usually commanded by the King or the Chief, surrounded by the '*Ulamā*,' physicians, astrologers, favourite attendants, and expert archers. The royal standard, the military band consisting of drums, trumpets, *damāna*, *nafīrī* and *sarnā*, etc., were placed in front of the King or the Chief. If the King did not take the command in person, the *Sar-i-Lashkar*, who was either a prince of the blood royal, or the prime minister, or some other noble of the state, occupied that position. The Vanguard, the Right, the Left and the Rear were held by *Khāns*. The *Khān* had under him a *Malik*, and the *Malik* had an *Amīr* who was a superior officer to the *Sipāh Sālār*. The *Sipāh Sālār* had under him a *Sar-i-Khail*. A *Malik* commanded ten thousand horsemen, an *Amīr* one thousand, a *Sipāh Sālār* one hundred, and a *Sar-i-Khail* ten horsemen. Boy slaves accompanied the King or the *Sar-i-Lashkar* to the field, and were supervised by the *Amīr-i-Ghilmān*. For the Infantry the Officer-in-Charge was designated *Sahm-al-Hasham*, *Nāib Sahm-al-Hasham* and *Shimla-i-Hasham*. The *Akkur Bak* looked after horses. The armoury was in charge of the *Sar-i-Silahdār*. A *Chā'ūsh* saw that every body was at his proper place in battle. The *Naqib* proclaimed orders and announced instructions.

The position of the Infantry and the Cavalry could be changed according to the need of the occasion. Ordinarily foot-soldiers, wearing armour and armed with broad shields, bows and arrows, formed the first row, and served as a wall of protection. Foot-soldiers wearing breast-plates and armed with shields, swords and spears occupied the second row. Foot-soldiers with swords, quivers, large knives and iron-bound sticks stood in the third row. The fourth row was also composed of foot-soldiers armed with lances and swords. Each of these rows was broken into several parts in order to leave an open space between them for the horsemen and other warriors behind the lines to

see what was happening in front, and to charge at the enemy when necessary, or to retreat to the camp.

Behind the Centre was the *Sāqah*, i.e., the Rearguard. It had different rows in which stood the royal *haram*, kitchen, treasury, armoury, ward-robés, spare horses, prisoners and the wounded. There was a contingent to guard against an attack from behind. The Rearguard was encamped at a distance of some miles from the Centre. Some squadrons lay in ambush (*kamīn*) for a surprise raid on the enemy or for the rescue of the wings needing aid.

Timūr, the contemporary of Sultān Sikandar of Kashmīr, arrayed his horsemen in this order : (1) *Qarāwal* or Skirmishers, (2) *Harāwal* or the Vanguard (3) *Jaranghar* or the left Wing, (4) *Baranghar* or the right Wing and (5) *Qol* or the centre. The *Qarāwal* was also called the *Muqaddamat-ul-Jaish*, *Mangala*, *Talī'ah*. The *Bakhshā-ul-Mamālik* arranged the army, determined its plans, and assigned posts to the Van, Centre, Right, Left, and the Rear. This official had under him a number of *Bakhshīs*. Every file of the army was under a *Sardār* or a *Sālār*. The divisions of the file were called *Qushūn*, *Tumān*, or *Chowkī*. The gunners (*Tufangchī*), the match-lock men, the cannoneers (*Topchi*), the *Deg-Andāz* or the mortar-bearers, and the artillery or the *Rā'd-andāz* (who threw grenades), rocket-men (*Takhsh-andāz*) were under the *Mīr Ātish* or *Ātash*. Each rank had its horses under an *Akhia Begī*.

#### *The Battle-ground and the War Council.*

The battle-ground had to be chosen with great care taking into consideration nearness of water, protection of troops, visibility of the enemy, and spaciousness of the field. Regard was to be had to the rays of the sun not dazzling the eyes of the troops. Trenches secured the ground. Earthworks, entrenchments and redoubts were specially constructed for the Artillery and were called *Murchal* or *Malchar*.

Before the actual fighting commenced, the council of military officers was summoned to appraise difficulties and to think over the crucial issue of the battle, and was presided over by the *Sar-i-Lashkar*. This council was called the *Anjuman*, or the *Majlis* or the *Majlis-i-Maliki* (Council of Maliks). Timūr calls it *Majlis-i-Kingāsh* or the *Anjuman-i-Kingāsh* or *Kingāsh*. (Note.—The preceding four paragraphs were abstracted from "Conduct of Strategy and Tactics

during Muslim Rule in India," by S. Sabāh-ud-Dīn, published in *Islamic Culture*, Hydarābād, Deccan, April, July and October, 1946).

"Although righteous warfare was supported and even extolled in olden times," says Dr. P. Banerjee,<sup>1</sup> "the ancient teachers did not regard war in general as a profitable business. They seem to have clearly realized the fact that war inflicts heavy losses on both parties, and that even the victorious party does not derive much advantage from it." The spirit of this quotation, it would appear, must have influenced the enlightened rulers of the Valley of Kashmīr in the early and middle ages of the history of the land, as throughout we find that Kashmīr has not been, generally speaking, an aggressive state. But the maintenance of the state must necessarily involve the maintenance of armies. And Kashmīr has had to bear its share. Nevertheless, nature has helped the Happy Valley in lightening its cares in the matter of its defence. In the words of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī,<sup>2</sup> the historian of Timūr, the country is protected naturally by its mountains on every side, so that the inhabitants without the trouble of fortifying themselves are safe from the attacks of enemies. Nor have they, continues Yazdī, anything to fear from the revolutions worked by time, or by rain or by wind though, of course, we should not understand Yazdī to refer to crops that were spoilt by excessive rain, or winds that blew houses to bits.

### The Army in Kashmīr.

The main divisions of the army in Kashmīr during Muslim rule were infantry and cavalry. And the relative usefulness of the divisions evidently depended on the seasons and the nature of the operations, in which the army was engaged. The families of Māgres and Chaks supplied the officers of the army, almost throughout the reigns of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. They were the bravest of the people of the land and soon became proficient in the art of war.

1. *Public Administration in Ancient India*, London, page 221.

2. Ross and Elias, English Translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-Rashidī*, 1895, page 432. [Extract from the *Zafar-nāma* of Sharaf-ud-Dīn 'Alī Yazdī.]

The recruitment of the army was furnished by men from Pūnch, Rajaurī, Budil, Bārāmūla and Muzaffarābād areas. It should be remembered that the Ghakkar country lying on the banks of the Indus from the Salt Range to the borders of Kashmīr was under the Sultāns of Kashmīr.<sup>1</sup> Regiments had distinguishing flags and badges, and also different kinds of trumpets, kettle drums and conch-shells. Communications were made by homing pigeons and various other devices. Warriors were also clad in armour made of iron or skin. In the arrangement of troops, veterans and soldiers noted for their strength and courage were naturally stationed in the van and in positions of danger. The weaker combatants formed the rear of the army. It seems to have been the practice for the king or the commander to address words of encouragement to the soldiers.

The weapons used were the sword, bow, arrow, lance, javelin, spear, and the iron-bound stick. The warrior put on armour, breast-plates, shields, helmets, iron chests, protection for thighs, shanks, fore-arms, the neck and other parts of the body.

Explosives were employed as an additional weapon by the soldiery of Zain-ul-Ābidīn and an expert was commissioned to teach the art. Habib made gunpowder in Kashmīr. 1466 A.C. is the date which saw the introduction of firearms into Kashmīr. A thunder-weapon or cannon made at the time is described by Ārīvara<sup>2</sup>: "It destroys forts, pierces the hearts of men, strikes horses with terror, throws balls of stone from a distance, and remains unseen by the soldiers from encampments" (p. 105).

We do not have details of all the other weapons used by Kashmīr armies. A reference to contemporary Indian practice is, therefore, the only thing possible under the circumstances. The Delhi<sup>3</sup> army used grenades, fireworks, and rockets against Tīmūr, which is about the time of Sikandar in Kashmīr. The best defence against fire was provided by vinegar. The term *Khushk-anjir* seems to have been a crude form of cannon. The translation of *Sang-i-Maghribi* derived from the Western Caliphate as

1. Ross and Elias, English Translation of the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, pp. 479-80 *footnote*.

2. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 105.

3. *The Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi*, pages 138-39.

*midfa'* in the *Zafar-ul-Wālih* (the Arabic *History of Gujarat* by 'Abdullāh Muhammad bin 'Umar Makki known as Hājjī-ad-Dabīr) lends support to the idea that artillery was already in use under 'Alā'-ud-Dīn Khaljī. But the Sultanate of Delhī neglected this arm and suffered defeat at Pānipat by Bābur. Gujarat and the Deccan developed it. Sher Shāh Sūr so greatly overshadowed the Mughuls in the strength of his guns that Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt advised Humāyūn to entrench himself in Kashmīr (*Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī*, English Translation, page 480), whither Sher Shāh would never be able to take his gun-carriages. And Sher Shāh could never hazard a battle without them. Under the Mughuls, the chief engineer of the artillery, who was also a military commander, was called *Mīr Ātish* or *Ātash*.

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It has not been possible to get any useful information about military organization during the reign of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn (Rinchen), except that his brother-in-law, who embraced Islam, was his commander-in-chief. We shall start with Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn Shāh Mīr. This Sultān raised two families to eminence, the Chaks and the Māgres. From these two families, the chief generals and leaders, and from the others, already enumerated, soldiers were drawn. During the reign of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn, the son and successor of Sultān Shams-ud-Dīn, there is nothing noteworthy to record. We therefore, pass on to Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the younger brother of 'Alā'-ud-Dīn. In the words of Rodgers, "he was a great conqueror and the day that passed without the receipt of a report of some victory or other obtained by his troops, he did not count as a day of his life. Qandahār and Ghaznī feared him. He himself went to Peshāwar and threaded the passes of the Hindu Kush."\* Shihāb-ud-Dīn planted his tents on the banks of the Sutlaj, and brought to submission the Rājā of Nagarkot (Kāngṛā). This Rājā was then just returning from a plundering expedition in the direction of Delhī, and a part of the plunder was given as a present to Shihāb-ud-Dīn. Tibet also sent a message desiring peace. Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn subdued the Jām of Sind, a fact noted by Jonarāja, Abu'l Fazl, Bakhshī Nizām-ud-Dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt-i-Akbarī*, and Muhammad Qāsim, the author of the *Gulshan-i-Ibrāhīmī* commonly known as the *Ta'rikh-i-Firishta*.

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\*Rodgers—*J. A. S. B.*, No. 2, 1885, page 99.

یاد ہے کشمیر کیا عہد شہاب الدین تُجھیے  
 یاد ہیں کیا آسکی صُلْح و جنگ کے آئیں تُجھیے  
 آسکے فیض پا سے تھی ہر دم نشی تریش تُجھیے  
 دیکھ کیا کیا نعمتیں اللہ نے بخشیں تُجھیے  
 بے تکلف تُجھکو وہ فرمانرو حاصل ہوا  
 ایک دن کِشور کُشاشی سے نہ جو غافل ہوا—فرق

We have to pass over the reign of Hindāl or Sultān Qutb-ud-Dīn, and to come to that of his son, Sikandar, who ascended the throne in 1389 A.C. He was a prince of undaunted courage. He conquered Tibet. His political sagacity saved Kashmīr from the visit of Tīmūr, and all that it might have brought in its train. In fact, he so tactfully handled the situation that the great Central Asian conqueror sent him presents as a mark of his esteem.

When Sultān Zain-ul-Ābidīn succeeded to the throne, the army consisted of 100,000 infantry, and 30,000 cavalry. His organization of the army was so skilful that there was hardly any possibility of an internal rebellion or rising, or an external aggression except that he had trouble from his own sons as Akbar had from Jahāngīr. Zain-ul-Ābidīn's charming personality had a magnetic effect on his officers, who were ever ready to meet any foe and to take their men right into the jaws of death. He extended his sway over the Punjāb,<sup>1</sup> from Purshāwar, or Purshur<sup>2</sup> as Peshāwar was then known, to Sarhind, which was regarded as the south-eastern frontier town of the Punjāb from the days of the Ghaznavids. In the course of his conquest of the Punjāb, his halt at Amritsar, and the digging of the Bad Khū there, have already been noticed on page 170. Though Bad Shāh may not have personally visited Amritsar, the conquest of the Punjāb by Bad Shāh's army under Jasrat Kokhar is clearly mentioned in the *Maāsir-i-Rahīmī* of Mullā 'Abdul Bāqī Nihāwandi (Royal Asiatic Society of Bengāl edition by S. U. Dr. Hidāyat Husain, 1924, Vol. I, p. 208).

1. Lawrence, *The Valley of Kashmīr*, page 192.

2. Purushapura was the old name when it was the capital of Gāndhāra. In Al-Bīrūnī's time it was called Purushāwar.—Nando Lal Dey, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India*, Luzac & Co., London, 1927, page 162. General Cunningham spells it as Parshāwar, in his *Archaeological Report*, 1863-4, Simla, 1871, Vol. II, p. 87.

Western Tibet was also added to Bad Shāh's dominions. Tibet,<sup>1</sup> it may be noted in passing, was to Kashmīr what Algiers or Tunis was to France in the eighties of the last century. According to Abu'l Fazl, the Sultān also overran Sind.<sup>2</sup> Since Zain-ul-'Ābidīn was friendly with Jām Nanda of Sind, this overrunning of that country must have been prior to their friendship. Oppressed by the king of Delhī, Jasrat Kokhar Ghakkar<sup>3</sup> took shelter under the king who naturally enough protected him in view of Jasrat's assistance to Zain-ul-'Ābidīn in his own hour of need, and used him for the conquest of the Punjāb, as mentioned above.

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### Foreign Relations.

The foreign relations of the Sultāns of Kashmīr with their neighbours were, generally speaking, quite friendly. Sultān Shihāb-ud-Dīn, the great conqueror, was feared at Qandahār and Ghazni. The rājā of Nagarkōt was a subordinate ally. Tibet alone gave trouble and had to be invaded more than once. The rājā of Jammu sought refuge in Kashmir. Sultān Ibrāhīm Lodi, at one time, took shelter with Sultān Muhammad Shāh. Envoys from foreign powers were received with due courtesy, and representatives of the Sultāns of Kashmīr in foreign courts acquitted themselves with becoming dignity, and showed tact and geniality in dealing with foreign potentates. Sultān Sikandar won the regard of the great Timūr.

Zain-ul-'Ābidīn had friendly relations with Indian rulers like Buhlūl Lodī of Hindustān, Sultān Mahmūd Begarha of Gujarāt and Jām Nizām-ud-Dīn or Nanda of Sind. And he sent ambassadors to Bābur's grandfather, Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā of Khurāsān, Jahān Shāh of Āzarbāijān and Gilān, and also to the ruler of Turkey, the Burjī Mamlūk of Egypt, and the Sharif of Mecca. He exchanged letters and complimentary gifts with them all. Sultān Abū Sa'īd Mīrzā sent him, on the authority of Abu'l Fazl, a present of horses, mules and camels.

1. Great Tibet was the name then generally applied to what is now known as Ladākh. Little Tibet is still applied to Baltistān. See p. 219.

2. Jarett's English Translation of the *A'in-i-Akbārī*, Vol. II, page 388, says Zain-ul-'Ābidīn overran Tibet and Sind."

3. *Kings of Kashmīra*, page 79.

After a long and prosperous rule extending over 50 years, Zain-ul-'Abidin died at the age of 69. During the reign of his successor, Haidar Shāh, Ādam Khān, marching down to Jammu, made himself useful in courageously resisting the Mughuls, who were then disturbing the land. Ādam Khān gave up his life rather than submit to the Mughuls. His son, Fath Khān, was, at this time, at Sarhind reducing forts and towns by order of Sultān Haidar Shāh. On hearing of his father's death, Fath Khān hastened to Kashmīr.

### *The Rājā of Jammu a Refugee in Kashmīr.*

In the reign of Sultān Hasan Shāh, the son of Sultān Haidar Shāh, it appears that Tātār Khān Lodi re-established the sovereignty of Delhī over the Punjāb. Tātār Khān, began to harass the borders of Jammu, the rājā of which applied for assistance to Kashmīr. In the words of C. J. Rodgers,<sup>1</sup> "at the time, the rājā of Jammu was a refugee in Kashmīr from the tyranny of Tātār Khān Lodi, the governor of the Punjāb." Malik Bārī who was deputed by the Sultān, encountered Tātār Khān Lodi, devastated the Punjāb and reduced Siālkōt. On further pressure, later on, from Tātār Khān Lodi, the rājā of Jammu had to seek refuge in Kashmīr.

### *Ibrāhīm Lodī a refugee in Kashmīr.*

In the time of Sultān Muhammad Shāh, even Ibrāhīm Lodī, the emperor of Delhī, had to take shelter in Kashmīr on account of disturbances in his own dominion. The exact words of Rodgers<sup>2</sup> are : "Ibrāhīm Lodī, owing to disturbances in Delhī, took refuge in Kashmīr." Sa'īd Khān, son of Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī, king of Jaunpur from 1401 to 1440 A.C.,<sup>3</sup> fled to Srinagar on the annexation of Jaunpur by Buhlūl Lodī in 1474 A.C. Sa'īd Khān was killed in an encounter (in Srinagar in 1484 A.C.) between two factions in the time of the minor king Muhammad Shāh.

1. *The Square Silver Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr*, J.A.S.B., No. 2, 1885, page 109.

2. *Ibid.*, page 113.

3. *The Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Dehli* by Edward Thomas, London, 1871, page 320.

The inscription on his grave in the cemetery surrounding the *ziyārat* of Khwāja Bahā-ud-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh reads :—

*To the north of the grave—*

عاقبت بخیر باد

*To the east—*

رسول ما بُدَّه فرزند شاه ابراهیم

سپُرِد جان بخداوند و در بهشت رسید

*To the west—*

بِه سال هشتم و هشتاد و نه شهادت یافت

بِه تخت گاه سلیمان سعید خان شهید

*To the south—*

فِي يَوْمِ التَّجْمُعِ

Kashmīr had also given shelter to Anandpāl,\* the son of Jaipāl, in 1006 A.C., on his defeat, near Peshāwar, by Sultān Mahmūd of Ghazni. Was not, then, Kashmīr in medieval days, a haven of refuge and rest for those unfortunate potentates as is England in our day ?

In the early days of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh, the Tibetans made an incursion into Kashmīr. An army was expeditiously dispatched to Tibet by way of Lār. Forts surrendered one after another, and the Tibetans sued for peace.

Kashmīr soldiery had thus won many a battle, and fought many a formidable foe during the rule of the Sultāns of Kashmīr. Sir Muhammd Iqbāl was perfectly justified when he wrote of the Kashmīri :—

در زانِ صفتِ شکن بم بوده است پیرو و جان بازو پُردم بوده است  
ربیان

Internal dissension, however, proved the Kashmīris' undoing. The warlike families of Chaks and Māgres fought between themselves, espousing the cause of rival claimants to the throne. Kashmīr thus became the scene of internal strife. The schism between the Sunnī and the Shī'a further weakened the tottering strength of the rulers of the land. Mughuls who were hovering on the borders entered the Valley, first, under Mirzā Haidar Dūghlāt, and later under Akbar, and subdued it.

\**The Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. XX, 1908, pages 114-5 (under Peshāwar).

*Local militia under Mughul rule.*

When Mughul rule was fully established in the Valley a part of the grand army was withdrawn, and the local militia consisting of 4,892 cavalry and 92,400 infantry were entrusted with the control of the defences of the land of the Kōshur. The history of the subsequent military organization of Kashmir merges into the military history of the Mughuls and the Afghāns, whose province Kashmir then became. Let us, therefore, briefly note the Mughul and Afghān mode of warfare.

The Mughul bowmen were considered to be specially expert with their weapon, for instance, Bernier writes of "a horseman shooting six times before a musketeer can fire twice." On long Mughul campaigns, the *haram* with its attendants seems to have accompanied the emperor and the chief men. On the day of battle, these women were put on elephants and carefully guarded by the force forming the rear guard, which was posted at some distance behind the centre, where stood the emperor or the chief commander. (p. 200).<sup>1</sup>

The flag of the sovereign or the commander was carried on an elephant during the march. There was a special officer, entitled *Qurbegī*, entrusted with the insignia and standards (p. 205).

The beating of drums, accompanied by the playing of cymbals and the blowing of trumpets, at certain fixed intervals, was one of the attributes of sovereignty. The place where the instruments were stationed, generally at or over a gateway, was called the *naggār-khāna*, the latter name coming from *naggāra*, a kind of drum used (p. 207).

Any river, if unfordable, was crossed by a temporary bridge of boats. Elephants could cross such bridges. The *Mir Bahr* was charged with the construction of these bridges and the provision of boats (p. 211).

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*The Afghān method of attack and encampment.*

Every Afghān soldier carried his food in a leather bag slung behind his saddle.<sup>2</sup> At home a lover of fine fare,

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1. *The Army of the Indian Mughals* by William Irvine, Luzac, London, 1903.

2. *Later Mughal History of the Panjab* by Dr. Hari Rām Gupta, Lāhore, 1944, pages 285-291.

he was extremely temperate and frugal in his journey. He could live on whatever was handy. Though a disorderly and undisciplined mob, looked at in the light of modern warfare, the Afghān army moved with great rapidity over long distances. While on the march, the army was divided into three parts, the advance-guard, the main body, and the rear-guard. At the time of battle they were converted into the right, the centre and the left respectively. The advance-guard scouted for intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts, seized stores of food and fodder, killed spies or soldiers to suppress the news of their own approach, and tried to take the enemy unawares.

At the time of actual fighting the invaders rushed on the enemy most fearlessly. All energies were directed to the central spot, which was the main theatre of operations. The enemy was attacked in lines parallel to its ranks on all points. When exhaustion was noticed on the part of the enemy the reserve could come up to deliver the final assault. Of course, loud cries were uttered in the course of fighting. The Afghāns were excellent skirmishers and daring foragers. Each contingent was independent in its manoeuvres. The dominating factor with an Afghān was his love of war. In the 18th century, war was to him neither an art nor a science but a trade. And he threw on it. The success of the Afghāns was chiefly due to their unhesitating dash and courage, more than to any organized knowledge of military operations, strategy or tactics, though Ahmad Shāh Durrānī did not lose sight of these.

The favourite arms of the Afghāns were the long firelocks and swords. As marksmen in musketry they were perfect and, in hand-to-hand fight, they plied the sword most dexterously. Indeed the Afghān was an excellent swordsman. Among other arms employed were the swivel-gun, the carbine, the lance and the bow. The firearms were heavy and rough. The shield, a foot and half in diameter, was covered with the hide of an elephant or a horse, or with copper.

Camps were pitched generally by the side of a village in order to ensure a regular supply of water. The tent of the chief was pitched in the centre, and around it the contingents formed an irregular circle. The King's tent had the appearance of a two-storied mosque. In the

camp there were some bankers and cloth merchants, grocers, bakers, butchers, fruit-sellers, carpenters and saddlers. The whole establishment had sufficient supplies of flour, rice and butter.

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### *The soldier's pay.*

The soldier's pay must have varied at different times. No definite data about Kashmīr having come to the notice of the writer, a reference to Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi's *Administration of the Sultanate of Delhi* shows that 'Alā'-ud-Din Khalji, who ruled from 1296 to 1316 A.C., paid a fully equipped cavalryman two hundred and thirty-four *tankas* per annum. Muhammad bin Tughluq paid about five hundred *tankas* with food, dress and fodder. The *Khān* was paid two lakhs of *tankas*, a *Malik* fifty to sixty thousand, an *Amīr* thirty to forty thousand, a *Sipāh-sālār* twenty thousand or so, and petty officials received one to two thousand a year. These salaries must have been paid in black *tankas*. Soldiers were paid directly by the state. Under the Lodis, the army became tribal, and was attached to nobles, instead of being under the direct control of the Sultān. The nobles were given assignments (pp. 146-47). Bernier gives the pay of foot-soldiers at Rs. 20, 15 and 10 a month. Daily rations, when issued to these men, were as follows:—Flour  $1\frac{1}{4}$  seer, *dāl*  $\frac{3}{4}$  seer, salt  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a *dām*, ghee 2 *dāms*.

### *The number of troops stationed in Kashmīr.*

Abu'l Fazl relates that, in 1594, the fortieth year of Akbar's reign, the number of troops in Kashmīr was 4,892 cavalry, 92,400 infantry. It may be remembered that the *Sarkār* of Kashmīr was included in the *Sūbah* of Afghānistān.

The Afghāns, as Hügel<sup>1</sup> has mentioned, had 20,000 soldiers in Kashmīr, though in Āzād Khān's time in 1783, George Forster<sup>2</sup> found "about three thousand horse and foot, chiefly Afghāns."

In 1835 during Sikh rule, Hügel notes that the Sikh garrison of the Valley had "two regiments of infantry of

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1. *Travels*, page 123.

2. *Journey*, pages 32-33.

some twelve or fourteen hundred men" (p. 123). Vigne's view is : "Kashmīr and the isolated forts in the neighbourhood, particularly those at Muzaffarābad and the Baramula pass, gave employment to three Sikh regiments as a garrison, and the expenses of the whole military establishment of the valley were reckoned, I believe, at about two laks of small rupis—about 13,500*l* a year. In his late years, Ranjīt became shamefully irregular in the payment of his troops ; one of the regiments in Kashmīr had not been paid for 14 years. They determined, at length, upon repairing to Lahore, and conducted themselves on the way in the most peaceable and orderly manner, paying for what they took from a stock purse, and acting under the direction of officers whom they had chosen to command them, from their own body. I do not know whether Ranjīt paid them all their arrears, but he put them under the command of an English Officer."<sup>1</sup>

Ranbīr Singh's army was forty to fifty thousand strong.<sup>2</sup>

### *Vicissitudes in the political conditions of Kashmīr.*

The vicissitudes of fortune are very striking in the case of Kashmīr. At one time, it gave shelter to one emperor of Hindustān (Ibrāhīm Lodi). At another, another emperor of Hindustān (Akbar) reduced the Pādshāh of Kashmīr (Yūsuf Shāh Chak) to the status of a refugee in a far-off corner (in Patna) of his kingdom. Again, the Rājā of Jammu, as we have already seen, ran to Kashmīr, and implored help. The wheel has turned. And the Rājā of Jammu is now the Mahārājā of the Valley. In fact, he designates his State as the "State of Jammu *and* Kashmīr." And he thus relegates Kashmīr to a secondary and subordinate position even in name, on paper and in print !

And we read this from the pen of the ex-Army Member of Jammu and Kashmīr, Mr. G. E. C. Wakefield, c. i. e., o.b.e., who died only recently, and to whom we referred on page 141 : "In the Army re-organization I pleaded for the enlistment of a double company of Kashmīris, but one day H.H. told me that his grandfather, Maharaja Ranbir Singh, had raised a whole regiment, and having uniformed, and

1. *Travels*, Volume II, pages 119-20.

2. *Letters from India and Kashmīr*, page 348.

drilled them for six months in Srinagar, gave orders that they should march to Jammu. A deputation of their officers waited upon him with a petition, pointing out that in making arrangements for their march, no provision had been made for police for their protection. The regiment was disbanded. But time has wrought some change. During the riots which occurred in 1931, the wounds of dead Kashmīris were all in front.”<sup>1</sup> This is the attitude of His Highness Mahārājā Sir Hari Singh Bahādur, the great-grandson of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh who insisted upon his claim to have come from the line of the Rājā of Jammu, who took refuge in Kashmīr and was saved by Kashmīris. His Highness’ Army Member, an Englishman, older in years than the Mahārājā Bahādur and with a broader outlook based on experience derived from service in different parts of India, pleads for the enlistment of a company of Kashmīris, and asserts that the wounds of Kashmīris in the riots of 1931 were on their front and not on their back, but His Highness ridicules the plea by citing an amusing occurrence over sixty years ago—not without its reflection on the training, discipline and organization of the State authorities of the time under his own grandfather. Not only this, but the entire character of the Kashmīri is changed. The poor man is dubbed ‘a coward, frightened even to touch a gun.’

آج وہ شیر ہے جنکوم و مجبور وقتیں کل جسے اہل نظر کتے تھے ایران صنیع  
سینہ افلاک سے اٹھتی ہے آہ سوزناک مردختی ہوتا ہے جب مغرب گلستان امیر  
کمرہ بہے داستان بیدردی ایام کی کوہ کے دامن میں ہر چشم خانہ و بحقان پیر  
آہ قدم شکیب و چب دست و تر دماغ ہے کمال روز مکافات اے خدائی در گیر  
رقباں ارمنیان جزار

### System of Government to blame for making people cowardly.

But it must be remembered that nobody can escape calumny be he ever so faultless. Hume<sup>2</sup> says : “The

1. *Recollections—50 years in the Service of India*, “C. & M. G.” Press, Lāhore, 1943, pages 193-94.

2. *Essays, Literary, Moral and Political* by David Hume, the historian, Ward Lock and Bowden Limited, London, XX—Essay on National Characters—pages 116-127. David Hume (1711-1776) is the well-known British philosopher, historian and political economist.

vulgar are apt to carry all national characters to extremes, and having once established it as a principle that any people are knavish or cowardly or ignorant, they will admit of no exception, but comprehend every individual under the same censure." "Men of sense," he continues, "condemn these indistinguishing judgments, though at the same time, they allow that each nation has a peculiar set of manners and that some particular qualities are more frequently to be met with among one people than among their neighbours." Discussing this point further, Hume assigns different reasons for national characters. According to him, some account for these from moral, others from physical, causes. By moral causes, he means all circumstances which are apt to work on the mind as motives or reasons, and which render a peculiar set of manners habitual to us. Of this kind are the nature of the Government, the revolutions of public affairs, the plenty or penury in which the people live, the situation of the nation with regard to its neighbours, and such-like circumstances. By physical causes are meant those qualities of the air and climate which are supposed to work insensibly on the temper, by altering the tone and habit of the body and giving a particular complexion, which though reflection and reason may some time overcome it, will yet prevail among the generality of mankind, and have an influence on their manners.

That the character of a nation will much depend on moral causes must be evident to the most superficial observer, since a nation is nothing but a collection of individuals and the manners of individuals are frequently determined by these causes, remarks Hume. As poverty and hard labour debase the minds of the common people, and render them unfit for any science or ingenious profession, so, where any Government becomes very oppressive to its subjects, it must have a proportional effect on their temper, and must banish all freedom of thought and action from among them. It is doubtful therefore if air, food, or climate does really seriously affect the character of the people (page 119). The fact is that the human mind is of a very imitative nature, and it is not possible for any set of men to converse often together without acquiring a similitude of manner and communicating to each other their vices as well as virtues. And if we run over the globe, or revolve the annals of history, points out Hume, we shall discover everywhere signs of a sympathy

or contagion of manners, and not of the influence of food, air, or climate. It can thus be established without any fear whatsoever of contradiction, that it is the Government which does very greatly affect the character of the people. In ancient times, Athens and Thebes were but a short day's journey from each other. But the Athenians were as remarkable for ingenuity, politeness and gaiety as the Thebans were for dullness, rusticity, and a phlegmatic temper. The explanation is easy. "The same national character commonly follows the authority of the Government to a precise boundary" (page 120). The Kashmiris and Afghāns, with a few hills dividing them, prove the veracity of this assertion.

There is another important consideration. The manners of a people change very largely from one age to another either by great alterations in their Government as already referred to, or by the mixtures of new people or by that inconstancy to which all human affairs are subject. The ingenuity, industry and activity of the ancient Greeks have nothing in common—in the words of Hume—with the stupidity and indolence of the present inhabitants of those regions. Candour, bravery and love of liberty formed the character of the ancient Romans as "subtlety, cowardice and a slavish disposition do that of the modern." The old Spaniards were restless, turbulent and so addicted to war that many of them killed themselves when deprived of their arms by the Romans. One would find an equal difficulty, says Hume, to rouse up the Spaniards of his day to arms though it may here be pointed out that the Spaniards did engage themselves in fighting during their recent civil war in Spain. The Batavians,\* Hume adds, were all soldiers of fortune, and hired themselves into the Roman armies. Their posterity makes use of foreigners for the same purpose that the Romans did their ancestors. Though some few strokes of the French character be the same as Caesar has ascribed to the Gauls, yet what comparison between the civility, humanity and knowledge of the modern inhabitants of that country and the ignorance, barbarity and grossness of the ancient? Benito Mussolini as the Ducé, reviewing Italy's armed forces in March 1938, said: "The legend that Italians are not fighters must be dispelled." Finally, if

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\*Batavia is the ancient name of that part of Holland which lies between the branches of the Rhine and the North Sea.

we realize the great difference between the present possessors of Britain and those before the Roman conquest, we shall at once find that the ancestors of the English, a few centuries ago, "were sunk into the most abject superstition," and, according to St. Bonifice,<sup>1</sup> English prostitutes infested the towns of France and Italy in the eighth century. And yet Major-General Sir Alexander Cunningham in a sober, serious study entitled *The Ancient Geography of India*, London, 1871, is not ashamed to call the Kashmiris "the most immoral race of India" (page 93).

Hume quotes an eminent writer as affirming that all courageous animals are also carnivorous, and that greater courage is to be expected in a people such as the English, whose food is strong and hearty, than in the half-starved commonalty of other countries. But Hume's reply to this eminent writer is characteristic. He says that the Swedes, notwithstanding their disadvantages in this particular, are not inferior in martial courage to any nation that ever was in the world. This should give the lie direct to the assertion that Kashmiris can never be brave because they are given to excessive rice-eating. Do the Hindu Rājpūt and the Punjābī Hindu Jāt eat flesh? "Many agricultural races are almost entirely vegetarian." Do not the Gurkhas, for instance, eat rice? Have they not been among the mainstay of the Indian army? Rice is one of the most important foods of the world and feeds a large section of the human race. In Japan rice is the staple crop. Is a Japanese a cowardly being? Is he not one of the bravest in the world?

### *Mughul rule began to break the spirit.*

Mughul rule, if it conferred several benefits on Kashmir, tended to weaken the courage of the people of the Valley. Colonel T. H. Hendley, sometime Vice-President of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, says that Kashmir, in a past age, was inhabited by brave men, but the Mughul conquerors broke their spirit.

In his anxiety to subjugate the Valley, Akbar is believed to have constructed the fort of Kūh-i-Mārān (Hari-parbat) to overawe the people. "Means were at the same time adopted," says Lieutenant Newall,<sup>2</sup> "of rendering the

1. *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* edited by Professor Seligman, 1934, page 556. See also f. n. 1, p. 28.

2. *J.A.S.B.*, No. 5, 1854, page 433.

native Kashmirians less warlike and of breaking their old independent spirit." Lieutenant Newall wrote in 1854 A.C.: "At the present day, although remarkable for physical strength, the natives of Kashmir are totally wanting in all those qualities for which they were formerly distinguished." In another place (p. 436), Newall writes that Nawwāb I'tiqād Khān, who became Mughul governor in 1622 A.C., was cruel and commenced a systematic destruction of the Chaks,\* whom he hunted down and put to death. "Bands of this fierce tribe still infested the surrounding hills, especially the range to the north of Kashmīr, from which strongholds they issued on their predatory excursions. This had the effect of almost exterminating that ill-fated tribe, the descendants of which, at the present day, are the professional horse-keepers of the valley, and in their character, still, in some degree, display remnants of that ancient independent spirit, which led to their destruction." These horse-keepers were called *galawān* from the Persian word *galla-bān*.

### *Afghān rule rough and harsh.*

The Afghāns, though they improved the cuisine of the Kashmīri, signalized their stay by roughness and harshness. Their chief victims were again the bold Chaks and the brave Bambas—reputed to claim origin from Banī-Ummayah, but are classed as Rājputs—as also the Shi'as. The Sunnis did not fare better. It is said of the Afghāns that they thought no more of cutting off heads than of plucking flowers :

سر بُریدن پیشی این سنگین دلان گل چیدن است!

[Cutting off a head to these stone-hearted people is like plucking a flower.]

\*The Kashmīris have a story that the Emperor Akbar, enraged at the brave and prolonged resistance offered by the Chaks to his general, Qāsim Khān, determined to unman and degrade the people of this country. And so he ordered them, on pain of death, to wear the *pheran*, which has effeminated them and hindered them in battle and in all manly exercises. Before Akbar's conquest, they all wore coats and vests and trousers. . . . If this story is true, then they would not have required the *kāngar*. Indeed they would have found it extremely inconvenient, except as a charcoal burner, as it is used in Italy or as the *chauffe-pied* of Switzerland and other parts of the continent of Europe—Rev. J. Hinton Knowles, F.R.G.S., C.M.S. in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XIV, October 1885, page 266. Scholars like Stein regard it as a silly story. Pir Hasan Shāh, a historian of Kashmīr, believes that the *pheran* and the *kāngri* were introduced during the time of Zain-ul-'Ābidin.

This line is presumably by a Kashmīrī Pandit.

When Kashmīr was lost to the Afghāns, they realized its importance. Dūst Muhammad Khān is reported to have remarked that "without the possession of the rich Valley of Kashmīr, no king of Afghānistān has been, or ever shall be, able to maintain a large army and the royal dignity."

The case of the treatment of Bulgars by Turks is an interesting parallel with the treatment of Kashmīris by Mughuls and Afghāns. "The contemptuous indifference with which the Turks regarded the Christian *rayas* was not altogether to the disadvantage of the subject race. Military service was not exacted from the Christians, no systematic effort was made to extinguish either their religion or their language, and, within certain limits, they were allowed to retain their ancient, local administration and the jurisdiction of their clergy in regard to inheritance and family affairs" (*The Historians' History of the World*, Vol. XXIV, page 176). Mughuls and Afghāns and Kashmīris, however, were Muslims. It is true the Mughuls and the Afghāns did not interfere with the language of the Kashmīrī or his culture or his local laws. But the Mughuls and Afghāns, no doubt, disconcerted the Kashmīrī's military service and spirit.

*Sikh rule tyrannical, brutal and barbarous.*

The Sikhs, however, were the worst offenders. William Moorcroft who was in Kashmir in 1824, but five years after the Sikh conquered the Valley, wrote\* : "The Sikhs seem to look upon the Kashmīris as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the Government, of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two rupees if he was a Mohammedan." This is in strong contrast with the savage Abyssinian custom according to which even a woman over fifty is worth five shillings, while an ordinary human life is worth £20, and a headman about £100.

[Though not strictly relevant, we have an American estimate of the cost to the nation of a soldier's life, according to information

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\**Travels*, Vol. II, pages 293-4.

from New York in May 1945. It is stated to be as follows : In Julius Caesar's time three shillings and six pence ; in Napoleonic wars £750 ; in the American Civil War £1,250 ; in World War 1914-18 £5,250 ; in the last World War £12,500. The actual value of individual life, therefore, is necessarily very much higher ! ]

G.T. Vigne,<sup>1</sup> who was in Kashmîr from June to December, 1835 A.C., writes : "The entire suppression (of Chaks) was one of a few measures that Sher Singh, the present Maharaja of the Punjab, could claim any credit for during his tyrannical viceroyalty in Kashmîr." Baron Schönberg<sup>2</sup> who visited Kashmîr during the later part of Sikh rule, says : "I have been in many lands, but nowhere did the condition of the human being present a more saddening spectacle than in Kashmîr. It vividly recalled the history of the Israelites under Egyptian rule, when they were flogged at their daily labour by their pitiless task-masters. And here the same picture presents itself : man raises his hand against his fellowman and for no other object than to excite physical pain."

تُوڑس دستِ جنگلش کو بارج بنے روح آزادی کشیر کر پاہل کیا  
ایقان۔

"A few thousand stupid and brutal Seikhs (Sikhs) with swords at their sides or pistols in their belts," wrote Jacquemont, the French Naturalist on May 16th, 1831, "drive this ingenious and numerous, but timid people, like a flock of sheep (page 76). . . . Cashmir surpasses all imaginable poverty" (page 87). Three days earlier, on May 13th, 1831, Victor Jacquemont had written : "I mention to you a man hanged at Koteli. There were a dozen suspended on trees near my camp on the banks of the river. When the Governor (Bhima Singh Ardalî) visited me, he told me with a very careless air that in the first year of his government, he had hanged two hundred but that now, one, here and there, was sufficient to keep the country in order. Now mark that the country is miserable and almost a desert province. For my part, if I had to govern it, I should begin putting in irons the governor and his three hundred soldiers, who are robbers *par excellence*, and I would make them work in the formation

1. *Travels*, Vol. I, page 302.

2. *Travels*, Vol. II, page 73.

of a good road. They now live lazily on the labour of the poor peasant : they would continue to subsist on the same rice, but there they would earn it (*Letters*, pages 58-59). Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff, D.D., LL.D., in his *Narrative of a Mission to Bokhara* in the years 1843-1845, published in London in 1846, states :—“I left Cashmer on October 21st, 1832. On our route we were accompanied by fugitives from Cashmer, flying from the oppression of Ranjit Singh. Women, walking destitute of everything, carrying their children on their heads : they told me in their powerful language that they inherited the beauty of angels, but that all beauty had withered under the dominion of the Seikhs” (page 17).

Baron Hügel<sup>1</sup> wrote on Saturday, 21st November, 1835 : “On the ground, to his (Mehān Singh’s) right, sat many of the Mohammadan Rajas, from the Baramula and Muzaffarabad mountains, tributaries of Ranjit Singh. One of every family is detained as a hostage in Kashmir, and from time to time, they are obliged to bring large gifts to the Governor, otherwise their tribute is raised : their present condition is mainly owing to their former habits of independence, which made it necessary for Ranjit Singh to lead his troops against their hill fortresses. The poor princes coming from warmer regions were evidently freezing in their Indian garb ; and their eyes sparkled with indignation at the degradation of sitting at our feet, particularly when Mehan Singh proud, no doubt, at showing me the humbled position of half a dozen princes, pointed out each one to me by name.”

#### *Heartlessness of early Dogrā rule.*

Gulāb Singh’s administration was “extremely oppressive and tyrannical,” says Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra,<sup>2</sup> M.A., PH.D., Bar-at-Law, sometime Lecturer, School of Oriental Studies, London, till recently Lecturer, Government College, Lāhore, and Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab. Gardner, who served under Gulāb Singh for several years, characterized his rule as nothing short of “a ruthless barbarity and a system of terror.” “In the light of other accounts, his expressions are not too strong,” adds Dr.

1. *Travels*, page 116.

2. *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, with a Foreword by Mr. H.L.O. Garrett, Principal, Government College, Lahore, and Keeper of Records of the Government of the Punjab, 1928, Lahore, page 157.

Chopra. "His own influence with Ranjit, and more than this, the influence of his brother, allowed Gulāb to practise all kinds of severities on the people under his charge. When summoned to Lahore to render accounts or to offer explanation, he always presented himself before his sovereign in all humility and submission. This, together with the ready payments of large sums of money always saved him from disgrace."

Gulāb Singh, with such antecedents, naturally broke down whatever was left of the spirit of the people during his decade of authority in Kashmīr. And the reader will realize it more vividly when he reads of Gulab Singh's repressions in the relevant paragraph on page 783 in Chapter XII. And the result of continued oppression, in one form or the other, was that the people became 'hewers of wood and drawers of water.'

Even a Viceroy so sympathetic to Indian princes as Lord Ripon remarked about Ranbir Singh's\* rule that "the people of that country (Kashmir) have long been subjected to misgovernment, and this was sometimes since brought prominently into notice by Mr. Henvey; we did not take action at once conceiving that a favourable opportunity would offer on the occasion of a fresh successor."

The late Sir Walter Lawrence, when Settlement Commissioner, writing about the condition of the people during forty years of Dogrā rule observed : "When I first came to Kashmīr in 1889, I found the people sullen, desperate and suspicious. They had been taught for many years that they were serfs, without any rights but with many disabilities. They were called *Zulm-parast* or 'Worshippers of Tyranny'; and every facility was afforded to their cult. They were forced by soldiers to plough and sow, and the same soldiers attended at harvest time. They were dragged away from their houses to carry loads to Gilgit. Every official had a right to their labour and their property. Their position was infinitely worse than that of the *tiers etat* before the French Revolution. While the villagers were thus degraded, the people of the city were pampered and humoured and the following passage from Hazlitts' *Life of Napoleon Bonaparte* gives a fair idea of Kashmīr before the settlement commenced : 'The peasants were overworked,

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\**Condemned Unheard* by William Digby, page 202.

half-starved, treated with hard words and hard blows, subjected to unceasing exactions, and every species of petty tyranny . . . while in the cities a number of unwholesome and useless professions and a crowd of lazy menials, pampered the vices or administered to the pride and luxury of the great.' It was no wonder that cultivation was bad, that revenue was not paid, and that the peasants were roving from one village to another in the hope of finding some rest and freedom from oppression. . . . Pages might be written by me on facts which have come under my personal observation, but it will suffice to say that *the system of administration had degraded the people and taken all heart out of them*. The country was in confusion, the revenue was falling off and those in authority were 'making hay while the sun shone.'<sup>1</sup> Such is the testimony of Lawrence, "whose life and work brought him into close contact with the villages and officials." The line in italics is so put as to confirm independently the view presented by the philosopher-historian, David Hume, on pages 672—75.

Under such incessantly oppressive rule, the Kashmīrī should have, in a body, left the land and migrated elsewhere. But, as Baron Schönberg explains (*Travels*, Vol. 2, pp. 138-39), the Kashmīrī is so deeply attached to his native land that the idea of emigration is, to him, insupportable. "Many efforts," writes Baron Schönberg, "have been made to induce them (Kashmīris) to form colonies, away from the valley in which they were born; but, rather than break that mysterious tie, that filial bond which binds them to "Fatherland" they endure oppression and injustice, they toil and are unrepaid; but they still behold the blue sky reflected in their own unruffled lake, they inhale the balmy air, cooled and purified in its passage over the snowtopped mountains." "Their oppression," continues the Baron "cannot deprive them of these enjoyments and they live on, slaves in their native land."

It was recently estimated<sup>2</sup> that about 60 per cent. of the peasants have holdings of about 16 *kanāls* each, a *kanāl* being one-eighth of an acre. The net annual income of a family cultivating a holding of 16 *kanāls* is approximately

1. *The Valley of Kashmir*, London, 1895, pages 2-3.

2. *Kashmir*, January 1939, published by the General Secretary, All-India States' Peoples' Conference, Bombay, page 2.

Rs. 74-8-0. The per capita income of such a family has been calculated at Rs. 10-10-3 per year, or 0-14-2 per month which comes to 5½ pies per day!

Sir Muhammad Iqbāl has most appropriately described the Kashmīri's condition in the following tragic verses :—

کشیری کہ بائندگی خوگفتہ بُتے می ترا شد زندگی مڑاے  
ضمیرش تھی از خیالِ بلندے خودی ناشنا سے، زخوذ شرمسائے  
بیشیم قباخواجہ از محنتِ او تصبیتِ تنشیں جامنہ تارے  
نہ در دیدہ اوفِ رونگ نگاہے نہ در سینہ اودلِ بقیارے

And Abu'l Asar Hafiz Jallandhari reproduces his own reactions on the subject in Urdu—

یہ چون ان غیار کی شُعْل خرامی کے لئے یہ شیریں میں اپنی تمعنج کامی کے لئے  
زندگانی ہے یہاں مرگِ وامی کے لئے مائیں جنتی ہیں یہاں بچے غلامی کے لئے  
ہر نفس اک سلسلہ ہے قید بے زنجیر کا  
ایک پہلویہ بھی ہے کشیر کی تصویر کا  
یہ غریبِ مُفلس و مجبور ہیں ہم کیا کریں! کم سخن کمزور دل مزدُور ہیں ہم کیا کریں!  
حُسن و صنعت کیلئے شہر ہیں ہم کیا کریں! ان کے گھر فالس سے معنویں ہم کیا کریں!  
ان کی صورت ہے نو شہر کا تبِ تقدیر کا  
ایک پہلویہ بھی ہے کشیر کی تصویر کا  
دیکھ کر باشندہ کشیر کو اندوگیں ہنستے ہیں اہلِ تماش کوئی ہمدردی نہیں  
غیر ملکی زائروں کو ہو گیا ہے یہ یقین جنتی ہے مزدُور ہی اس بانیِ جنت کی زمین  
یہ نتیجہ ہے کسی ناگفتنی تصصیر کا  
ایک پہلویہ بھی ہے کشیر کی تصویر کا

Hafiz, further on, comments poignantly—

ابن زکر شمیریوں کے حوال پہنچتے ہیں آج نام ہے ان کا فربی جیسے گروہ مزاج  
بے دلی بے اعتمادی غسلی اور احتیاج بندگی صدھارپرس کی اور سال سامراج  
کس قدر سامان فراہم ہے یہاں تھیں کہا  
ایک پہلو یجھی ہے کہ شمیری کی تصویر کا  
دیکھنے والے مگر اس بات کو سمجھنے نہیں حوصلے والوں کی نفیات کو سمجھنے نہیں  
ان سبق آموز تعمیرات کو سمجھنے نہیں اور کیا سمجھیں گے اپنی ذات کو سمجھنے نہیں  
تو وہ کریمہت کھلونا بن گئے تقدیر کا  
ایک پہلو یجھی ہے کہ شمیری کی تصویر کا

*Kashmīris concealing their identity.*

John T. Platts' *A Dictionary of Urdu, Classical Hindi and English*, written at Oxford in May, 1884, defines a *Kashmīran* or *Kashmīrī* as "a dancing woman" and a *Kashmīri* as "a dancing boy" (Fourth Impression, 1911, page 837). The poor Kashmīri need not, however, be unduly perturbed at this dictionary definition of his, as his bigger compatriot, the Hindu, is called "Black. A servant. A slave. A robber. An infidel. A watchman" in *A Dictionary, Persian, Arabic, and English* by Francis Johnson, published under the patronage of the Honourable East-India Company—Wm. H. Allen & Co., 7, Leadenhall Street, London, 1852, page 1403, column 2. But the fact is that there has been a time when the Kashmīri has suffered unjustified calumny, and malicious misrepresentation. No wonder, therefore, that even respectable, not to say distinguished families in the Punjab, Delhi, and the United Provinces, Bihar and Bengal and elsewhere, about three decades back, disowned their Kashmīri origin or their long domicile in Kashmīr, and called themselves Arabs, Turks, Irānians or Afghāns to escape the galling degradation and appalling humiliation of being called Kashmīri, with all that the expression connoted at one time. Sir Aurel Stein once suggested to me that an investigation of the

details of distinguished persons and families that migrated from Kashmīr would show what type of people has been produced by Kashmīr in order to serve as a stimulus and a beacon-light to the present and future generations of Kashmīris to retrieve the lost status ! The disowning Kashmīri forgot that a race which maintained its independence for so many centuries, even though assisted by the great natural difficulties of entrance into their country, could not have been altogether destitute of manly character :

از غلامی جذبہ مانے اور بُرُد آئشے اندر گت تاکش فُرُد  
اقبال - جاوینام

### *The dawn of awakening.*

Having touched almost the lowest depth of degradation, the Kashmīri is, however, showing signs of life, and can no longer be bullied so easily and frightened so quickly. The educated Kashmīri of Srinagar, Sopōr, Bārāmūlā, or Islāmābād, and of other towns in the Valley has gradually begun to think seriously of himself, and is averse to being led by others, and would refuse to do what is not dictated by his own intellect. Those who have closely studied the character of the Kashmīri, and take a broad view of the situation as a whole, need not, therefore, be unduly pessimistic about his future. Already there are, under different party labels, bands of bold, brave workers in the field, led in one notable case by a leader who had, so far, shown admirable courage. May these bands carry on work with wisdom ! And if all continue to work unflaggingly, unselfishly, zealously and *unitedly* for the real uplift of the masses, concentrating specially on the re-formation of the Kashmīri character in certain respects too well-known to need detailed reference, Kashmir is indeed assured of a very bright future. The Kashmīri will take time but he must rise. He must, however, remember that he should, at once, give up the blind following of the ignorant Mulla and the *ta'vīz*-hawking or the charm-dispensing *pīr* for whom some useful avenue of employment must be found.

The Prophet's strong injunction embodied in the *Sahih-Bukhārī* is—

يَدْ حُلُّ الْجَنَّةِ مِنْ أَمْنٍ سَجُونَ الْفَأَ بِغِيرِ حِسَابٍ - هُوَ الَّذِينَ لَا يَسْتَرِقُونَ -  
وَلَا يَكْتُونَ وَلَا يَتَبَرَّونَ وَعَلَى رَبِّهِمْ يَتَوَكَّلُونَ -  
—مروری از احمد حنبل۔ تفسیر ابن کثیر۔ جلد نوہ۔

[Thousands of my followers will enter Paradise without question. They are the people who do not indulge in exorcising, nor in branding, nor believe in omens, but trust in their Lord.]

Should the exorcising of the *pir* be permitted in the circumstances and in face of this Hadīth? Particularly when we see that the meek-looking *pir* or the *pīrzāda* is a positive agent in the spread of superstition. He exploits the illiteracy of the masses, particularly of the womenfolk. His only virtue, in certain cases, has been his silent stand against the cult of the Christian missionary in rural areas. Otherwise, he himself rots, is a waste, and tends to create waste in the Valley's human society. Turkey and Irān have restrained him, and now get useful work out of him by making him earn his livelihood honourably.

Instead, people should learn to welcome the 'Ulamā' of progressive views, catholic sympathies, clear vision and wide travel. Women's institutes, widows' homes, orphanages and ward clubs for men will bring about healthy activities and corporate spirit. The *takiyas*, where secret smoking of opium is indulged in, must be summarily stopped. The Kashmīrī should rise above abject superstition and all forms of un-Islamic saint-worship. He should show by action that he really earnestly believes in *Tawhīd* or the Oneness of God. Read what a godly Kashmīrī has said—

فِيمَتْ مُبُودٌ بِمُحْقِنِ مُوْجُودٌ غَيْرِ الشَّدِيقِ مِنْهُ أَبِي قَوْلِ نَذْكُرَاهُ يَنْهِيْنَ أَبْرُوشُدَهُ  
بَادَارَدَنَانَ

*Need for Tawhīd.*

Why I lay special stress on true *Tawhīd* for the Kashmīrī is because the Unity of God is the first essential of faith in Islam. It is indeed the keystone of our faith. On this essential Islam "admits of no compromise, just as no state spares the rebel, and no military court shows mercy to the renegade." Islam admits of no elasticity or

subtlety in this respect. *Tawhīd*\* in Islam is an urge for activity. *Jihād*, from *jahd*, in the sense of ceaseless activity, is a necessary corollary of *Tawhīd*—not the *Jihād* misunderstood by the opponents of Islam as wanton attack by Muslims on non-Muslims. Although defensive even in the ordinary sense, *Jihād* is not offensive. One who understands the meaning of *Tawhīd* cannot but lead a life of *Jihād*. *Jihād* is but an endeavour to actualize the purposes of *Tawhīd*, that is, the purposes which the Muslim's conception of God implies. And this activity is to be directed and given its whole complexion by the fear of God alone, and not that of man or objects associated with superstition to which the Kashmīrī is so pitifully prone.

فرد از توحید لاہوتی شود میلت از توحید جبروتی شود  
 چیست میلت اے که گوئی لالہ با هزاران چشم بُون یک نگہ  
 میلٹے چون میشود از توحید مست قوت و جبروت می آید بدست  
 رِقبال - جاوید نامہ۔  
 مطبوعہ حیدر آباد دکن - ۱۸۷۵ء صفحات < ۲۲۶-۲۲۷

If one truly believes in the Oneness of God why then should he spread his hand of prayer to a dead saint or invoke that saint's intercession by the subtle use of the *wasīla* on one pretext or an other? There is no *wasīla* or intermediary between man and his Creator.

کیوں خالق و مخلوق میں حائل رہیں پرے  
 پیران کلیسا کو کلیسا سے اُٹھا دو  
 رِقبال - بال جبریل۔

مطبوعہ لاہور - جنوری ۱۹۳۵ء - صفحہ ۱۷۹

This habit of the *wasīla* is, I am afraid, responsible for the habit of *sifārīsh* in life, so rampant throughout the Valley. This saps self-reliance. The *sifārīshī* is more anxious to seek the *wasīla* than to work hard to improve his prospects.

The great Shaikh-ul-Islām 'Allāma Taqī-ud-Dīn Imām ibn Taimiyya, who flourished in the 7th century A.H., and was the contemporary of Sultān Sadr-ud-Dīn (Rinchān)

\*The Eastern Times, Lahore,—Tuesday, 29th February, 1944, page 2, column 3.

of Kashmīr, in his well-known book *Al-Wasīlah*, has exhaustively dealt with a variety of aspects of this practice of *wasīla* or intercession. He clearly draws upon the Qur'ān and the Hadith to state that the veneration for the graves of saints has been the starting-point of *shirk* or co-partnership with God or polytheism in the world (Urdu Translation by Maulavī 'Abdur Razzāq Malīhābādī, Lāhore, 1925, pp. 35 and 209). We can approach any good pious living Muslim to pray for us in our hour of need but not a dead human being. The great 'Umar approached Hazrat 'Abbās, the Prophet's uncle, for prayer at the time of a famine, but did not turn to the grave of the great Prophet of Islam for aid or intercession (pp. 76 & 104). The Prophet has emphatically prayed to God not to let his grave be worshipped as an idol. His exact words are :—

اللَّهُمَّ لَا تَجْعَلْ قَبْرِي وَثَنَاءً يُعْبَدُ

Maulānā Altāf Husain Hālī Pānipatī accordingly puts this prayer of the Prophet in his well-known *Musaddas-i-Hālī*.

بنانا نہ تُربت کو میری صنم ٿُ  
نہ کرنا میری قبر پر سر کو خم ٿُ  
نهیں بندہ ہونے میں کچھ مُنجھے سے کم ٿُ  
کہ بیچارگی میں برابر ہین ہم ٿُ  
مُنجھے دی ہے حق نے بس اتنی بزرگی  
کہ بندہ بھی ہوں اُسکا اور ایلچی بھائی

Imām ibn Taimiyya points out that it is only our own good deeds that are the means of our intercession (p. 228). And this is a great lesson in self-reliance and self-respect without which no people can rise in the world.

The type of Islam that prevails in Kashmīr was commented upon (*Supra*, Chapter I, pp. 19-20) by Mīrzā Haidar Dūghlāt, whose stay in the Valley lasted for ten years from 1541 to 1551 A.C. In fact, a Puritan like an Akhwān resident of the present-day al-Riyād in Najd, Sa'ūdī Arabia, would hardly believe that a number of the practices of the Kashmīrī Musalmān are at all Islamic. Perhaps, to him, Islam in Kashmīr would be but a definitely deformed version of the

real teachings of the Prophet of Arabia. As Mr. 'Abdullāh Yūsuf 'Alī points out, the Buddhist worship of relics<sup>1</sup> has insidiously crept into India's Islam. It is nowhere so prominent as in Kashmīr. Hazrat-bal is an outstanding instance. On the occasion of the exhibition of the Prophet's Hair there—which, according to a *tête-à-tête*, was thrown into the fire by Āzād Khān, an Āfghān governor, in order to test its genuineness—crowds of Kashmīris assembled, are seen weeping and wailing like the Jews before the Wailing Wall of the Aqsā in Bait-ul-Muqaddas (Jerusalēm). Again 'the mystic teachers known as the *pīrs*, ascetic and holy men have almost created a priesthood and hereditary sacred caste. Necromancy and a belief in omens and magic has gained ground, in spite of the Qur'ānic protest against them.' The *tāvīz* and the *gandā* have nowhere such vogue as in Kashmīr. "Pure monotheism and the moral fervour of a society based on social equality" has in practice nowhere receded more into the background. The ringing of a bell precedes the call to prayer in several mosques in the Valley today ! And so Dr. Arthur Neve, a Medical Missionary of Kashmīr, is not far wrong when he says that the Kashmīri Muslim has "transferred reverence from Hindu stones to Muslim relics."<sup>2</sup> "The Prophet and (among some Shi'as) Caliph 'Alī are raised almost to divine rank" despite the Prophet's definite declaration of his being a *bashar*, or a human being, a mortal. "Muslim saints are worshipped almost like Hindu gods and godlings."<sup>3</sup> And yet the Muslim prides himself on being the most exclusive monopolist of Unitarianism in the world ! Atāturk closed up the so-called *ziyārāt* of Istanbūl. Ibn Sa'ūd demolished them in Mecca. Rizā Shāh Pahlaví discouraged visits to Karbala. Did not the great and glorious Prophet of Islam rid the Haram of Lāt, Manāt and 'Uzzā ?

سطوت توحید قائم جن نمازوں سے ہوئی

وہ نمازیں ہند میں نذر بروہمن ہو گئیں—إقبال

*Right form of education necessary.*

The Kashmīri should take to the right type of education including specially physical and military education. He

1. *Modern India and the West*, edited by O'Malley, 1941, page 391.

2. *The Tourists Guide to Kashmir, Ladakh, Skardo, etc.*, 16th edition, 1938 page 103.

3. *Modern India and the West*, page 391.

should increasingly send out promising young men to Europe and America, who, on their return, should vow themselves to improve their indigenous arts and crafts, and to unfold the wealth hidden in its herbs and hills. This is what the West did when the East could teach it. This is what the East is now doing as is evidenced by the examples of China, Irān, Afghānistān, Japan and Turkey. Surgeon-Major H. W. Bellew<sup>1</sup> wrote, as far back as 1875, that the Kashmīris' "shawls and embroideries, their silver work and papier-mâché painting, their stone-engraving and wood-carving, etc., all exhibit proof of wonderful delicacy and minute detail, but tell of no active expenditure of muscular force." James Milne, too, means the same thing when he says that Kashmīris are "not stout fellows in armour." The health, recreation and amusement of the workers, referred to above, is a matter of grave concern to the nation at large.

There is one boys' primary school, on an average, for 66 square miles of area and for 3,850 of population, or one boys' school for every 8 or 9 villages. In the case of girls, the average is one girls' school for 467 square miles of area and 25,670 of population, or one girls' school for 57 villages.<sup>2</sup> The education budget in 1939 amounted to  $20\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs of rupees out of a total income of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  crores. Education thus gets a little more than 8 per cent. of the total income of the State. Mysore spends 19·5 per cent. on education. Out of the expenditure on education about  $16\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs is spent on boys' education and about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  lakhs on girls' education. The percentage of literacy among males works out at 5·8, and among females at a little over ·5 percent., or 5 per thousand. "If the present rate of progress is maintained it will take about 300 years to make the whole population literate." In Travancore, which covers Comorin at the other end of the Union of India, the percentage of literacy among females is 13·89. In Kashmir 99·5 per cent. of the women are illiterate.<sup>3</sup> According to the census of 1941, the percentage

1. *Kashmir and Kashghar*, London, 1875, page 63.

2. Report of the Education Re-organization Committee, Srinagar, 1939, pages 10-11.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-16.

*Note.*—It may, however, be added that the number of examinees for the matriculation from the State in 1925 was 827. In 1938 this number rose to 1250. There has also been a large increase in the Intermediate, B.A., B.Sc. candidates during the period. The total number of all students from 1925 to 1938 for the Panjab University

of literates is 6·6. The number of women literates is only 42,151 out of a total female population of 18,91,744 of the State. According to reports, U.S.S.R., by opening libraries, has increased literacy from 30 per cent. to 93 within the last fifteen years. Baroda started libraries as far back as 1910, and in a few years spread a net-work of libraries in the whole State. Mysore, Travancore, Cochin followed the example of Baroda, but, deplores Pandit Prithvi Nāth Kaul, B.A., Librarian, D. A.-V. College, Srinagar, that Kashmīr lags behind all States in the whole of the entire sub-continent (*The Hamdard*, Srinagar, 17th May, 1946).

علاجِ اس دلّت و إفلاس کا پوچھو اگر مُسْبَحَہ سے  
 تو چلتا نُسبَتَہ اس کے واسطے تعلیم کا دیکھا  
 اگر ہو اتفاقِ اس کثوتِ تعداد کے ہمراہ  
 تو یہ جانو کہ تمنح کام اپنا سب بنا دیکھا  
آئینہ کشمیر از پیروزادہ محمد حسین عارف

When literacy is so low, one cannot talk of higher education. Hydarābād has a University. Mysore has a University. Travancore has a University. Rājpūtāna States now have a University at Jaipur. Baroda, Indore and Cochin have announced the establishment of their respective Universities. But the State of Jammu and Kashmīr, covering 84,471 square miles of mountains and valleys, lakes and lowlands—its boundaries touching the Union of India, and Pākistān, Republican China, Buddhist Tibet and Soviet Russia—has not yet even seriously talked of a University! As a matter of fact, there is not even M.A. teaching except in one subject and in one State college in the whole of Jammu and Kashmīr ! In 1948, however, one is proposed.

No wonder, then, that the capital of Kashmīr, in the words of Stein, recorded in 1900, should be “the hot-bed of political and other gossip and fertile nursery of false and amusingly absurd rumours.” [*Rājatarangīni*, Vol. II, page 56 footnotes.]

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examinations has risen from 1,199 to 2,395 or over 100 per cent. But it is not known how far the Muslims have shared in this large increase, and what reasons prevented them from doing so.

*Hygiene and Sanitation.*

Sanitation must be vigorously improved all round. Above all, no amount of anxious care should be spared to improve the condition of women and children in respect of education and hygiene. Jahāngīr does not conceal his disgust at the dirtiness of "the common women" of Kashmīr when he wrote in 1620 : they "do not wear clean, washed clothes. They use a tunic of *pattu* for three or four years. They bring it unwashed from the houses of the weaver, and sew it into a tunic. It does not reach the water till it falls to pieces." What beautiful babies Nature brings forth in Kashmīr and how Man spoils them by squalor ! The present rigid segregation of women is altogether un-Islamic. It is undermining their health, dwarfing their intellect. It is most adversely affecting the upbringing of children, on whom alone the future depends. Women's emancipation and enlightenment are the means of man's freedom and glory. The lazy-looking *pheran*, worn in the public, must be burnt with the fire of the *kāngṛī* and the *kāngṛī* must be thrown into the waters of the Vitastā. It is believed that cancer is induced by the hot *kāngṛī* being always pressed against the same part of the body. The moderate use of the *kāngṛī* on special occasions is however a different thing. Houses must have suitable chimneys to avoid frequent outbreaks of fire. On account of its abundance and cheapness, electric energy should be applied to industry more widely, and central heating should be installed as largely as possible. The excessive use of scalding hot tea must be steadily discouraged.

میسر ہو نہ کھانے کو تو کچھ پروا نہیں انکو

مگر دہ باش و شہری کو فداء آب چا دیکھا

علاوه صرف بیجا کے بھی ہے نقصان اس چا میں

کہ چہروں پر جو رنگت تھی اُسے بالکل اُڑا دیکھا

—پیر زادہ محمد حسین عارف—

But these changes must take decades if the will to effect them is at all seriously roused in the Kashmīri. Or, else, the Kashmīri will have to wait for the enlightened advent of healthy Socialism suited to the conditions of Kashmīr.

*No condemnation of one's own people.*

Talk to a Kashmīrī on the subject of his countrymen, he will speak of them with abhorrence, warn you against having aught to do with them, apparently forgetting that he, too, is of the race he would taboo, wrote Colonel Torrens in 1862, eighty-five years ago. "The Dogra Dewan abuses the Hindoo Pundit and *vice versa*; through all ranks of society extends this amiable feeling of natural distrust." I am afraid this goes on even now. Should it continue? Should not the disgraceful and oppressive *nās-mushka* or the offensive bribe from brother to brother cease?

Where is sympathy from a Kashmīrī for a Kashmīrī? Is Hafiz wrong when he says:

ہم وطن ہی جب نہ اپنے ہم وطن کے کام آئے سر پر ہمایہ کے ہمایہ ہی جب طوفانِ اٹھائے  
کیا بنا سکتی ہے پھر اے دوست تیری ٹائے ٹائے یہ مناظر دیکھتا جا اور نہ کراٹھا اور آئے!

Was not Nawwāb Zafar Khān *Ahsan* rightly disgusted when he satirized the Kashmīrī by saying:

دریں کشور گر این آدم نمی بود ز جنت هیچ چیزش کم نمی بود  
—مشنوی هفت منزل

And Munshī Ghulām Husain Tabātabāī in *Siyar-ul-Mutakhhirin*, perhaps, repeats this very satire in Persian prose:

کشمیر از تعریف و توصیف مُستغنى است و عیبیسے غیر از کشمیریان ندارد  
جلد اول - صفحہ ۱۰۹

[Kashmīr is above praise and plaudit. Its reproach is none other than the Kashmīrī.]

The Kashmīrī must learn to rely on himself. There is really no Hindu-Muslim problem in the Valley of Kashmīr. Both are sons of the same soil. They are kith and kin, are of the same flesh and blood, speak the same language, eat the same food, namely *batah*, *hākh*, and *māz* or rice, potherb, and mutton. Already outsiders have noticed that a Battā or Kashmīrī Pandit would prefer a Kashmīrī Musalmān to a non-Kashmīrī Hindu in State employment. A Kashmīrī Musalmān would similarly prefer a Battā or Kashmīrī Pandit to a non-Kashmīrī Muslim. The only difference between the two is the extent of modern education. The one took to it earlier and moved on. The

other has taken to it later, and will need a little time to come into line. Some friction is natural to a family in any quarter of the world. Why should this be allowed to be exploited ?

The Muslim should cease the parrot-cry of backwardness as it has an adverse psychological effect on him. He should give up foolish 'begging' for special consideration and extra concession. He must, however, fight for his due right. But reform, if it is to be real and lasting, must come from within. 'Heaven helps those who help themselves.

العزم دانشمند حب کرنے پر آتے ہیں سمندر چرتے ہیں کوہ سے دریا بھاتے ہیں

How stirring is the appeal of Dr. K. Abdul Hakim M.A., LL.B., Ph.D., formerly Director of Education, Jammu and Kashmīr, State, and what a lesson it has for the Kashmīri !

انگور ہیں گو خڑکہ منٹ کا سے اُگتے اوڑتاک سے اُگتے  
تاروں کے گلیں والا ہیں افلاک سے اُگتے لولاک سے اُگتے  
إنسان ہیں حُریت بے باک سے اُگتے کب خاک سے اُگتے؟  
ہوشوق شہادت تو تری خاک ہوا کسیر  
اے خڑک شمیرا!

وادی تری ایمن ہے تو پربت ترا سینا دھرتی کا نیگینہ  
اُس پر یہ غلامانہ مشقّت کا پسینہ افگار ہے سینہ  
مرنے سے ہے بزر ترا اس طرح کاجینا یوں زہر کا پینا  
کر باد ذرا موسیٰ عمران کی تدبیر  
اے خڑک شمیرا!

دادی یہ جگر پارہ گھسارِ ہمالہ کوڑکا ہے پیالہ  
 ہیں روکش فردوس، جہاں کے گل والالہ سبحان تعالیٰ  
 یوں تختہ ہو ہر جو رکا نہ سلم کا آله ظالم کا نوالہ  
 صد حیف کہ اس خلد میں دفعخ ہو گلگیر  
 اے خطۂ کشمیر!

صدیوں سے یہاں حالت انسان ہی خستہ پر بآل شکستہ  
 آزادی و توقیر کا مسدود ہے رستہ ہر باب ہے بستہ  
 جیوال یہاں مہنگا ہے تو انسان ہے ستا یہ نوع خجستہ  
 ہے خون رو لاتی مجھے آدم کی یہ تحقیر  
 اے خطۂ کشمیر!

ما تھا اُس کے ہنر خیز فضا اُس کی گُربیز ذہن اُس کا بہت تیز  
 یہ لعل گراں مایہ یہ مزدورِ عرق ریز مٹی میں ہے آمیز  
 افسوس کہ ہونکبنت و افلاس سے لبریز یہ خطۂ زرخیز  
 اور آئے نہ آنکھوں کو نظر صورتِ تغییہ  
 اے خطۂ کشمیر!

انسان کا ہے فردوس نہ پھولوں سے نہ پھل سے جل سے نہ گنول سے  
 نے وادیٰ گلریز نہ آئینہ ڈل سے نے نہ عسل سے  
 دُنیا بھی عمل سے ہے تو عقبِ ابھی عمل سے ہمت ہی کے بل سے  
 کر جد سے تدبیر کچھ اے بندہ تقدیر  
 اے خلّۃ کشمیر!

دُنیا میں ہر اک سہمت میں اب حشر بپا ہے ماضی کو فنا ہے  
 حیرانی سے ٹکتا ہے ثواب تک کہی کیا ہے؟ پیکارِ بقا ہے  
 تذلیل تری، جان بچانے کی سزا ہے آئین قضا ہے!  
 قربانی کی دعوت ہے ہر اک نعرہ تکبیر  
 اے خلّۃ کشمیر!

اس چال سے ٹون کیا اسلام کو بدنام اس نام کو بد نام  
 سب پھل بیال پختے ہیں پرانال ہی ہاخام یہ بندہ اوہام  
 ہیں جاہل و مظلوم ترے خاص نرے عام ہے صبح تری شام  
 اندر ترے تنوری نہ باہر ترے تنوری  
 اے خلّۃ کشمیر!

افسوں کو اٹھتی نہیں سینے سے فعال ایک  
 ہے گرچہ زبان ایک  
 مقصد نہیں رکھتے ہیں تے پریوجوال ایک  
 مطلب ہے کہماں ایک  
 لازم ہے کہ ہوتوم عیاں ایک تھاں ایک  
 سب خود وکال ایک  
 وابستہ ہوں باہم صفتِ حلقة زنجیر  
 اے خطہ کشمیر!

کچھ لعل تری کان کے بیرون وطن ہیں جو خسرو زمیں ہیں  
 بیرون چین بھی تے کچھ سردوسمن ہیں اور تا پہ دکن ہیں  
 جن نافول کی خوشبو سے معطر ہوئے بن ہیں بیرون ختن ہیں  
 ما تم میں ترے صورتِ گل سینہ دیا پیر  
 اے خطہ کشمیر!

ڈاکٹر خلیفہ عبد الحکیم

William Moorcroft wrote in 1824 A.C. : "The natives of Kashmîr have been always considered as among the most lively and ingenious people of Asia, and deservedly so. With a liberal and wise government they might assume an equally high scale as a moral and intellectual people." (*Travels*, Vol. II, page 128). G. T. Vigne, in his (*Travels*, Vol. II, page 68), 18 years later in 1842 A.C., wrote : "Kashmîr will become the focus of Asiatic civilization ; a miniature England in the heart of Asia." Kashmîr is the largest Valley lying in the lap of the largest mountains of the world, occupying a central position in Asia. In the whole of this sub-continent it is Kashmîr that has had the fullest and closest contact with a vast variety of cultures. Elphinstone wrote in his *History of India* (p. 515, Cowell's edition of

1866, John Murray, London): 'Kashmire still maintains its celebrity as the most delicious spot in Asia or in the world.' Although itself remote, Kashmir lies within that part of Central Asia which at one period was "the clearing-house of several separate civilizations and the influences of these found their way into this natural retreat." It has imbibed the best of Buddhism and the best of Hinduism and the best of Islam. Let it also show that it can use all that to its advantage to the best. Therefore, let every Kashmiri endeavour to make Kashmir the focus of Asiatic civilization. Pandit Anand Narayan Mullā has well put it:

فدائیں ملک ہونا حاصلِ قسمت سماجیتے ہیں  
وطن پر جان دینے کو ہم جنت سماجیتے ہیں  
کچھ ایسے آئے ہیں تنگ ہم کنج اسیری سے  
کہ اب اس سے تو بہتر گوشہ تربیت سماجیتے ہیں  
غلامی اور آزادی بس اتنا جانتے ہیں ہم  
نہ ہم دوزخ سماجیتے ہیں نہ ہم جنت سماجیتے ہیں  
زمانہ - کانپور - جنوری ۱۹۴۱ء - صفحہ ۲۰

#### *Existing signs of awakening to be utilized.*

The existing signs of awakening, therefore, must be honestly and energetically utilized if the blood of the martyr and the suffering of the patient Kashmiri are to bear fruit at all! Unity among themselves and readiness to suffer for a common cause are the most potent means of success against the heaviest odds, provided there is also wise leadership.

عُلَمَىٰ میں نہ کام آتی ہیں شمشیریں نہ تبریزیں  
جو ہو ذوق لقین پیدا، تو کٹ جاتی ہیں زنجیریں  
رِبَال

The patriotic Pandit, the author of *Inside Kashmir*, published in May 1941, writes: "Kashmir needs a leader with great qualities and immense capability. Like Kamal Ataturk he must be bold to face the Mulla and introduce

social reform of a revolutionary character. Like Riza Shah he must be endowed with a passionate, patriotic zeal, and must be a believer in the greatness and glory of the past of his motherland. Like Zaghlul, he must deal liberally with the minorities of his country. Such a hero is destined to appear on the scene, and the forces of nature are bound to throw him up on the surface to lead the needy masses. When he will appear no one can say. I believe that for obvious reasons he must be born. I have cherished this belief all these many years" (pages 411-12).

These worthy sentiments have already been expressed by one of the greatest Kashmīrī thinkers when he said :

نصیبِ خطہ ہو یارب وہ بندہ درویش  
 کہ جس کے فقیر میں انداز ہوں کلیمانہ  
 بیدار ہوں دل جس کی فناں سحری سے  
 اس قوم میں مرت سے وہ درویش ہے نایا۔  
 اے وادی لولاب!

رقبال (ارخان جگان)

There should be no talk of Sunnī and Shī'a, of Pir or Pandit, of Hindu or Muslim. All must unite to work for the common good. The philosophy of the Hindu, the arts and crafts of the Muslim, and the other virtues of both must strive to make the land really the Happy Valley that it should be. The honoured names of Lalitāditya-Mukṭapida and Avantivarman, and of Shihāb-ud-Dīn and Zain-ul-Ābidin, and their grandeur and greatness should inspire the Kashmīrī in order that Kashmīr should become a real paradise for the sons of the soil too, and not for the hurried visitor alone!

# CHAPTER XI

## KASHMIR UNDER THE SIKHS

[1819 A.C. TO 1846 A.C.]

We now resume the continuity of consecutive account in the history of Kashmir left over at the close of Chapter VII, on page 342. Afghān rule was very unfortunate. Brāhmans, Shi'as and the Bambas of the Jhelum valley were not treated properly, at times even in quite an arbitrary manner. A change was therefore longed for. But when it came, it made for a worse condition than they had had; and the Kashmīris found themselves out of the frying-pan into the fire. The despotic rule of the Afghāns and the consequent discontent of the people, coupled particularly with the transfer of several Afghān armies from Kashmir to Kābul to fight Kāmrān, gave Ranjīt Singh his opportunity.

### A brief account of the earliest Sikh contact with Kashmir. Also the Sikh Gurus.

In order to know Sikh contact with Kashmir, we shall briefly refer to the visit of Gurū Nānak to the Valley. Nānak—the contemporary of Martin Luther about the end of the 15th century A.C.—was born in 1469 A.C., in Bahlūl Lodi's time, in Talwandī, re-named by Ranjīt, or according to another tradition, during the days of the *Misl*s before Ranjīt, as Nankāna Sāhib, in the Shaikhupura District of the West Punjāb. The Gurū died in Humāyūn's days at, what the Gurū himself called, Sri Kartārpūr, commonly known as Dera Bābā Nānak in the Gurdāspur District, East Punjāb, in 1538 A.C.

In 1485 Nānak married Sulakhnī, daughter of Mula, a Khatri of Pakhokī, in the old Baṭāla Tahsil of the Gurdāspur District. From his two sons by this marriage—Sri Chand and Lakhmidās—are sprung, by spiritual descent, the two sects of Udāsīs and Bedīs. Nānak

NOTE.—(1) Sardār Mohan Singh *Dīwāna*, M.A., Ph.D., D.LITT., lately University Reader and Head of the Department of Panjābī, Oriental College, Lahore, kindly read this Chapter in 1944.

(2) Sardār Tejā Singh, M.A., Vice-Principal and Professor of History and Sikh Divinity, Khālsa College, Amritsar, now Principal, Khālsa College, Matunga, Bombay, 19, kindly read this Chapter in March, 1948.

seems to have lived a great deal at Pakhōkī on the south bank of the river Rāvī, his wife's village, but he died in 1538 at Kartārpur, on the opposite bank of this river, some four miles off, where a small shrine exists. This Kartārpur should not, however, be confused with Kartārpur on the railway line (near Kapūrthala), where also some minor Sikh shrines exist. "It was there (i.e., at Kartārpur on the Rāvī) that the celebrated dispute occurred between his Hindu and Muslim followers as to whether his (Nānak's) body should be burnt or buried, which was solved by the body itself disappearing."<sup>1</sup> Dera Nānak, or Dera Bābā Nānak is now a town in the Batalā Tahsil of the Gurdāspur District, on the south bank of the river Rāvī, 22 miles from Gurdāspur town. Nānak's descendants, the Bedis lived at Pakhōkī until the Rāvī washed it away about 1744. They then built a new town further south of the river and called it Dera Nānak. The Dera has the Udāsī shrine called the Darbār Sāhib.

The anonymous author of the *Dabistān*<sup>2</sup> (see pp. 366-70 of *Kashir*)—be he Muhsin Fām Kashmīrī, or Zulqadr Khān alias Zulfaqār Ardistānī, who met the 6th Gurū, Hargobind, at Kartārpur in 1053 A.H.=1643 A.C., and who was the personal friend of the 7th Gurū, Har Rāi—notes that "a *darvīsh* came to Nānak and subdued his mind in such a manner that he (Nānak) having entered the granary of Daulat Khān Lodī, Ibrāhīm Lodī's Governor of the Punjab, in whose service Nānak was a grain factor at Sultānpur, gave away the property of Daulat Khān and his own, and abandoned his wife and children. According to Max Arthur Macauliffe,<sup>3</sup> "Gurū Nānak was accompanied by Hassu, a smith, and Sīhān, a calico printer. The party went as far as Srīnagar in Kashmīr, and made many converts." A meeting is recorded to have taken place between the Gurū and Brahm Das, a notable Kashmīr Pandit, represented as ultimately falling at the feet of the Gurū. The Gurū thereafter went further into the Himālayas. Macauliffe is inclined to accept that Nānak was a fair scholar of Persian, but some Sikhs and Hindus reject this idea.

Gurū Angad, who was responsible for the first biography of Gurū Nānak, written in Gurmukhi characters—the common script of the Sikhs—was installed as his successor by Bābā Nānak. Gurū Amar Dās was the third successor, and the founder of the diocesan *gaddī* or the *manja*, which latter literally means a bedstead. Amar Dās cultivated

1. *Gurdaspur District Gazetteer*, 1914, part A, pp. 16-17.

2. *The Dabistān*, English Translation by David Shea and Anthony Troyer, Paris, 1843, Vol. 2, p. 247.

3. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. I, pages 163-169.

friendly relations with Akbar, who visited the Gurū at his own residence in Goindwāl, on the Beās, about 5 or 6 miles from Taran Tāran, in the Amritsar District, and granted him a large estate of twelve villages.<sup>1</sup> Gurū Rām Dās was the fourth Gurū and son-in-law of Gurū Amar Dās. He excavated the tank or rather reconstructed the old village pool for devotional ablution on the large plot of land given to him by Akbar, (or according to another version, this land was acquired in 1577), and called it *Amrit-Sar* 'The Pool of Immortality' in 1588, the year of the Spanish Armada. Gyānī Gyān Singh's *Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsa*, first edition, p. 88, says that the Muslim saint, Miyān Mīr of Lāhore, laid the foundation of the temple, Sri Darbār Sāhib, at Amritsar.

Gurū Amar Dās and Gurū Rām Dās do not seem to be specially concerned with Kashmīr. We, therefore, come to the time of the fifth Gurū, Arjun Dev (1581-1606 A.C.) in Akbar's reign. The *gaddī* or the *manja* (the see) henceforth remained in its founder's family. Arjun Dev's *chabūtra* or the dais later became the *Akāl-Takht* or the 'Imperishable Throne' of Gurū Hargovind in 1608. Gurū Arjun Dev was consequently called the *Sachchā Pādshāh* or the 'True King.' Gurū Arjun Dev was a thinker and a poet and compiled the *Gurū Granth Sāhib*. Macauliffe mentions a Sikh deputation from Srīnagar representing to Gurū Arjun Dev that the Pandits of Kashmīr were advising them to discontinue the reading of his hymns, and to turn their attention to Sanskrit sacred compositions and Hindu worship. The Pandits otherwise threatened to excommunicate them. They, therefore, prayed that the Gurū might send a competent Sikh to Kashmīr to silence the Pandits, and win them over to his own faith. The Gurū accordingly sent Mādho Sodhī on that important errand. He commissioned Mādho Sodhī to instruct the Kashmīris "to rise before day, perform their ablutions, repeat and sing the Gurū's hymns, associate with holy men, observe the Gurū's anniversaries, distribute sacred food, give a tithe of their earnings to the Sikh cause, share their food with others, speak civilly, live humbly, and adopt the rules and observances of the Sikhs."<sup>2</sup> The Gurū laid aside the garb of a *fāqīr*, dressed in costly attire and organized a system of tithing his followers. Gurū Arjun Dev's "support to Prince Khusrav, the rival of Jahāngīr,"

1. *Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsa* in Gurmukhī, p. 613. Also *Mukhtasar wa Mukammal Tavārīkh Gurū Khālsa* in Urdu, p. 83.

2. *The Sikh Religion*, Vol. III, pages 66-67.

by "advancing him a considerable sum of money and praying for his success," incurred the displeasure of Jahāngīr who likewise "dismissed to Mecca" Pir Shaikh Nizām-ud-Dīn bin 'Abd-ush-Shakūr Balkhī, the Khalīfa of Shaikh Jalāl-ud-Dīn Thānesarī as he also wished well to Khusrav. Moreover, there was some intrigue on the part of Chandū Lāl, finance minister of the Mughul Governor of Lāhore. The Gurū's eldest brother, Prithvī Chand, never forgave him his own supersession in the *Gurūship*. The Gurū consequently disappeared in the Rāvī. Arjun Dev had amicab'e relations with the famous saint Mīr Muhammad Qādirī Sindī, commonly known as Miyān Mīr, who, accord'ng to a Sikh version, interceded with Jahāngīr when he put the sixth Gurū into the prison at Gwāliār.

Gurū Arjun's son and successor, Gurū Hargobind—the contemporary of Mullā Muhsin *Fānz* Kashmīrī—provoked with Shāh Jahān, according to Sir Jadunāth Sarkār,<sup>1</sup> by encroaching on the Emperor's game preserve, and attacking the servants of the imperial hunt. The tendency on the part of Hargobind to relish flesh-eating is confirmed by a contemporary of his in the *Dabistān*, from which we learn that Nānak "prohibited his disciples to drink wine and to eat pork, he himself abstained from eating flesh, and ordered not to hurt any living being. After him, this precept was neglected by his followers; but Arjunmal, one of the substitutes of his faith, as soon as he found that it was wrong, renewed the prohibition to eat flesh, and said: 'This has not been approved by Nānak.' Afterwards Hargobind, son of Arjunmal, eat flesh and went to hunt, and his followers imitated his example" (p. 248).<sup>2</sup> The author of the *Dabistān* saw Gurū Hargobind in 1053 A.H.=1643 A.C. at Kartāpur. There is a tradition that Hargobind was fostered by a Muslim wet-nurse, had entered Mughul service, and quelled the revolt of the Rājā of Nalagarh during the reign of Jahāngīr. Gurū Hargobind died a refugee in the Kashmīr hills in 1645 A.C., where he is stated by a Sikh scholar to have re-converted many Hindus who had gone over to Islam. Then followed the Gurūs in this order: (i) Har Rāi, the grandson of Hargobind. Har Rāi was a great friend of the author of the *Dabistān*, who narrates several anecdotes both of Gurū Hargobind and of Har Rāi (Shea & Troyer's English Translation, pp. 282-88).

1. *The Cambridge History of India*, Vol. IV, p. 245.

2. Sheas Troyer's English Translation of the *Dabistān*.

(ii) Harkishan superseded his elder brother Rām Rāi who complained to the Emperor against Harkishan. In the meantime, Harkishan died of small-pox. During this time, Sikh activity spread a network of organizations as far as Patna and even Dacca, and its influence is said to have travelled down south to Ceylon. (iii) Tegh Bahādur, the youngest son of Hargobind. He was, according to one version, decapitated in 1675 A.C., by orders of the Mughul Government on account of his own elder brother Gurditta's representation that "the Gurū was capable of exciting a rebellion"<sup>1</sup> against the Emperor's authority. As Tegh Bahādur's installation led to dissensions among the Sikhs, he was obliged to seek refuge in the Jaswān Dūn (*Dūn* meaning a valley) beyond the Siwālik hills, and there, in 1665, on his return from Bengāl, he founded Ānandpur<sup>2</sup> Makhkhowāl (at some distance from Rupar), the site of which was purchased from the rājā of Bilāspur. But the fact is that Gurū Tegh Bahādur, according to Sohan Lal's '*Umdat-ut-Tawārikh*', challenged any swordsman to cut off his head while he had a paper (charm) written by himself on his neck, when a swordsman took up the challenge and cut off the Gurū's head. (iv) Lastly, the tenth of the line, was Gurū Gobind Singh, Tegh Bahādur's son, born at Patna in 1666, Tegh Bahādur being engaged in fighting in the Assam war under Rām Singh of Āmber. Gobind Singh was installed at Ānandpur. He "abolished the personal Gurūship" or the apostolic succession. Instead he set up the Khālsa, as it were, the federative commonwealth of the Sikhs. Gurū Gobind Singh gave to the Sikhs, collectively, the name of the *Khālsa*, i.e., 'Pure.' *Khālisa* is a Persian word signifying ownership by the highest power in the land, but the spelling of the same word adopted by the Sikhs is *Khālsa*. It was applied by them to the entire community as belonging to God, whence 'the chosen or elect of God.' And this subsequently gave rise to the slogan that the Sikhs were born to rule—*Rāj karegā Khālsa*.

1. *The Zafar-nāma-i-Ranjit Singh* of Kanhaiyā Lal, English translation by E. Rehatsek.—*The Indian Antiquary*, October 1887, page 306.

2. Ānandpur.—Gurū Gobind Singh bought a piece of land from Rājā Bhim Chand of Kahlur, and established himself in the village of Makhkhowāl which later developed into the town of Ānandpur.\* It appears that the actual spot of the residence of the Gurū was given the name of Ānandpur by himself, which later covered Makhkhowāl itself.—\*Pp. 56, 70, 71, *Evolution of the Khālsā* by Dr. Indubhusan Banerjee, M. A., Ph.D., Head of the Department of History, Calcutta University, Vol. II, June 1947.

The mode of salutation introduced was *Wāh Gurūjī kā Khālsa*, *Wāh Gurūjī ki Fateh* (correctly Fath) : The Lord's is the Khālsa, the Lord's be the Victory. The adoption of distinctive symbols like (*i*) the *Kēs* (long hair), (*ii*) the *Kangah* (a comb), (*iii*) the *Kirpān* (a dagger), (*iv*) the *Kachch* (short drawers), and (*v*) the *Kara* (a steel bracelet) by the Sikhs is also due to Gurū Gobind Singh. Gurū Gobind Singh was stabbed in 1708 A.C. by Gul Khān whose father he had killed.<sup>1</sup> "The Gurū had purchased horses from this Pathān (Gul Khān's father) and had not paid him."<sup>2</sup> Gurū Gobind Singh lies buried at Nānded, originally known as Nau Nand Dehra, or the dwelling of nine Rikhis in prehistoric times, but called by the Sikhs Abchalanagar, in the Deccan, where the Mughul Emperor Bahādur Shāh had appointed him to a military command. The land was given by Bahādur Shāh on which the Gurū's shrine was raised. Bahādur Shāh also sent his surgeon to attend to the Gurū's injuries and the Gurū recovered. But one day while bending a bow the wound burst open. Blood flowed copiously and the Gurū breathed his last. The Nizām of Hydarābād has made an endowment for the upkeep of Gurū Gobind Singh's mausoleum (originally built partly by Ranjit Singh's money in 1832) at Nānded by the grant of five villages in addition to the salary of the Granthī, or the expounder of the Granth Sāhib.

Educated Sikhs and others often mention the help given in a very critical moment of his life to Gurū Gobind Singh by Sayyid Badr-ud-Dīn Qādirī Jilānī, commonly known as Buddhu Shāh of Sādhaura (supposed to be the corrupted form of Sādhū-wāra or the resort of Sādhūs) in the Ambāla district of the East Punjāb, which formed a link of affectionate friendship between the two. But it is said that the Gurū's successor, Banda, slaughtered the family of the Sayyid, looted the locality, and burnt the bones of Buddhu Shāh's great ancestors, Ganj-i-Ilm and Qutb-ul-Aqtāb.

In a booklet published in 1932 by the Punjāb University Sikh Association, Dr. Mohan Singh *Dīwāna* has dwelt on the beauties of the poetry of Gurū Gobind Singh and has mentioned eleven works on ten different themes like God, Nature, Man, Love, Music, Painting, etc.

1. For another version, see Senāpatī's *Gūr Sobhā*, p. xviii, 8,37.

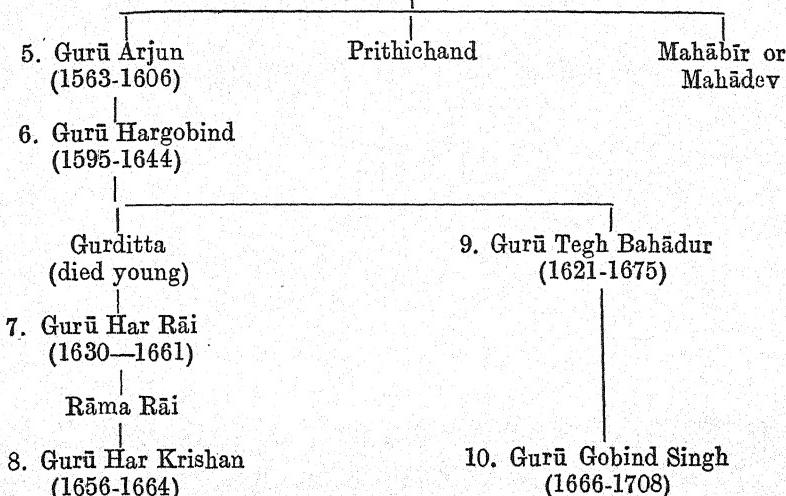
2. C. J. Rodgers—*On the Coins of the Sikhs*.—J.A.S.B., Calcutta, 881, Vol. L, page 76.

**The lineal order of the Sikh Gurus**

Gurū Rām Dās (1534-1581 A.C.), the fourth Gurū, was the son-in-law of the third Gurū, Amar Dās, having married his daughter Bhānī. Gurū Amar Dās had succeeded, in 1552, Gurū Angad (1504-1552), the second Gurū after Bābā Nānak, the founder of Sikhism. Bābā Nānak, Gurū Angad and Gurū Rāmdās had no blood relationship among themselves.

Gurū Rām Dās, the son-in-law of the third Gurū, Amar Dās, was the fourth Gurū of the Sikhs.

(1534-1581 A.C.)



Lachhman Dās, best known as Banda Bairāgī, was a Sāsan\* Brāhman, son of Sukh Rām and Sulakhnāī. The family had originally migrated from Ayodhia to Rāwali-pindī, and then moved down to Mendhar, a tahsīl of Pūnch, where in the village Golad, Lachhman Dās was born in 1670 A.C. He took service for some time as a *shikārī* under a Muslim chief, and on the death of his mother, repented on killing a pregnant doe, left his native land, and settled on the bank of the river Godāvarī in the Deccan as a *Sādhū*. Gurū Gobind Singh baptized the Brāhman Lachhman Dās who bowed and called himself *Banda*, or the Gurū's slave. The Gurū gave him the name

\*Giyānī Budh Singh of Pūnch, the author of *Chhōnwen Rattan*, supplied this information when I met him in Pūnch. But Mr. Gandā Singh, M.A., Research Scholar in Sikh History, Khālsa College, Amritsar, in his book *Life of Banda Singh Bahādur*, 1935, Amritsar, says that Banda was a Rājpūt, and gives different names of Banda's parents.

of Gurbakhsh Singh and appointed him the temporal leader of the Sikhs. On account of "open rebellion against Government" Banda was captured and executed in 1716 A.C. After Banda's vicissitude were experienced by Sikhs when the Khālsa was divided into twelve *misl*s and continued so till the rise of Ranjīt Singh.

The early Gurūs won the reverence of the Mughul emperors by their saintly peaceful lives, writes the *Cambridge History of India* (Vol. IV, p. 244). "But their successors aspired to a temporal domination for themselves, and made military discipline take the place of moral self-reform and spiritual growth." The followers of the Gurūs, however, may not accept the truth of this statement.

**The Granth Sahib.**—The sacred book of the Sikhs is the Gurū Granth Sāhib. The word *grantha* is Sanskrit, meaning a book, treatise, code or section. From *grantha* is accordingly derived *Granthī*, an expounder of the Sikh scriptures, a reader or custodian of the Granth. The Granth Sāhib contains (i) the compositions of six out of the ten Gurūs, viz., Gurū Nānak, Gurū Angad, Gurū Amar Dās, Gurū Rām Dās, Gurū Arjun, Gurū Tegh Bahādur, (ii) a couplet of Gurū Gobind Singh, (iii) eulogistic characterizations by eleven bards of the Gurūs whom they admired, and (iv) hymns of fifteen medieval Indian saints called *Bhagats*. The word *Bhagat* is derived from the Sanskrit *Bhakti* which means devotion, love, etc. The Gurū Granth Sāhib is also called the *Ādī Granth* or 'Original Book.' The *Dasam Pādshahā dā Granth* (abbreviated to *Dasam Granth*) or Book of the Tenth Reign, i.e., of the 10th Gurū, Gobind Singh, consists of—(1) Hymns in praise of God, (2) the *Vachhitra Nātak*, the wonderful drama, which is Gurū Gobind Singh's autobiography, and (3) miscellaneous compositions by Hindi poets whom Gurū Gobind Singh kept in his service. But this *Dasam Granth*, compiled several decades after the death of the tenth Gurū, is however no part of the Sikh Scripture, which is the exclusive domain of the Gurū Granth Sāhib. It was, however, Gurū Gobind Singh who finalized the compilation of the Granth Sāhib in 1705 at Talwandī Sābo, now called Damdama Sāhib in the Patiāla State of the East Punjāb, by including his father's compositions and making a few other changes.

#### *Kabir, Farid, Bhikan and others' contributions to the Granth Sāhib.*

The Ādī Granth was written out by Bhāī Gurdās at the dictation of Gurū Arjun, and, after much arduous labour, it was completed in 1604 A.C. Gurū Arjun selected for inclusion in the Granth the writings of fifteen Hindus like Nāmadev (1270-1350 A.C.), Rāmanānd (1300-1411 A.C.), Rav Dās (d. 1415), Sūrdās (c. 16-17th century), etc., and Muslims like Kabir, Farid and Bhikan. Mardāna *rabābī* (or bard) is also added. Kabir is well-known. So is Farid. But Farid whose contributions are given in the Granth Sāhib—and sometimes commented on by Bābā Nānak—is not the Farid-ud-Dīn Mas'ūd (A.H.

569=A.C. 1173 to A.H. 664 =A.C. 1265) well-known as Ganj-i-Shakar of Pāk-pattan, District Multān, West Punjāb, but Shaikh Ibrāhīm, the tenth lineal descendant of the great Farid and called Farid-i-Sānī, or 'the Second' on account of his piety. Shaikh Ibrāhīm is called by the Sikhs *Brahm*, the shortened Punjābī way of pronouncing Ibrāhīm. Shaikh Ibrāhīm died in A.H. 960=A.C. 1552. It appears that Bābā Nānak met Shaikh Ibrāhīm Farid-i Sanī in his lifetime, but that the influence of Shakar Ganj is clearly visible to those who study the Granth closely. Shaikh Bhikan probably belonged to Kākaurī, near Lucknow, and was learned and pious. He died in A.H. 981=A.C. 1573-4.

As conflicting theories are advanced from time to time about Kabīr, it may be stated here that Kabīr was born a Muslim. He was buried, as a Muslim, at Maghar, 15 miles from Gorakhpur, U. P., where his tomb was built by Bijli Khān, an admirer of Kabīr. There is no justification, as Dr. Mohan Singh points out, for the suffix *Dās* after Kabīr, as Kabīr is one of the well-known ninety-nine holy names of God mentioned mostly in the Qur'ān and referred to in the Hadis. Kabīr's two sons are Kamāl and Nihāl. His two daughters are Kamāli and Nihāli. (*Kabīr and the Bhakti Movement*, Vol. 1, *Kabīr—His Biography* by Dr. Mohan Singh *Dīwāna*, M.A., Ph. D., D. Litt., Lāhore, 1934, pp. 40, 43). Kabīr lived in the time of Sikandar Lodi, according to Abu'l Fazl's *Ā'in-i-Akbarī*. He was the *Khalifa* of Shaikh Taqī Suhrawardī and later of Shaikh Bhīka Chishti, and was the pupil of Rāmānand in Hindi poetry and Vedānta.

#### *The Arrangement of the Granth Sāhib.*

The hymns of the Gurūs and the Bhagats are not arranged in the Granth Sāhib according to their authors, but according to the thirty-one *rāgs* or musical measures, to which they are composed. The Ādi Granth contains 3,384 hymns, or considerably more than three times the bulk of the Rig Veda. It contains 15,575 'stanzas.' It is divisible into three parts, the first of which is liturgical, the second contains the general body of the hymns, and the third part is supplementary, consisting of heterogeneous matter which could not well be included in the former portions. The entire Granth usually forms a large volume of about 1430 pages. The first nine Gurūs adopted the name Nānak as their *nom-de-plume* since the Gurūs are regarded, by the Sikhs, as only one person, the light of the first Gurū's soul having been transmitted to each of his successors in turn. "One in ten and ten in one" is the pet theory of the Sikhs.<sup>1</sup>

#### *The Language of the Granth Sāhib.*

Written in Gurmukhi without separation of words, in various dialects and even partly in Persian, its earliest manuscript is believed to be preserved at Kartārpur. "It still awaits definitive exegesis. Its difficulties of interpretation have hindered Sikh progress and expansion."<sup>2</sup> Nāmadeva, for instance, wrote "in an old

1. *The Sikh Studies* by Sardūl Singh Caveeshar, Lāhore, 1937, p. 69.

2. *The Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Edition, 1929, Vol. 10, p. 642.

form of Marathi" though his Hindi verses alone are included in the Granth. Rāmanada wrote in old Hindi. The contribution of Gurū Tegh Bahādur is in pure Hindi.

The alphabet of Gurmukhi is derived, according to Sir George Grierson,<sup>1</sup> from the Čārada, through the Tākṛī<sup>2</sup> alphabet of the Punjāb hills, and the Landā (or Clipped) of the Punjāb. It is said that in the time of Gurū Angad, Landā was the only alphabet employed in the Punjāb for writing the vernacular. When Angad found that Sikh hymns written in Landā were liable to be misread, he improved it by borrowing signs from the Devanāgri alphabet (then only used for Sanskrit manuscripts) and also by polishing up the forms of the letters.<sup>3</sup> Thus improved, this character became known as Gurmukhi, or the alphabet proceeding from the *mukh*, or mouth, of the Gurū. Recent researches by certain Sikh scholars, however, endeavour to show that Gurmukhi existed before Gurū Angad, and is believed to have been so designed by Gurū Nānak himself.

The cardinal principle of the contributions of the Gurūs and Bhagats in the Granth is the unity of God. According to Dr. Mohan Singh *Dīwāna*<sup>4</sup> "the most marked feature of Nānak's content, form and style is their comprehensiveness. All the major forms of verse and types of poetry and *rāgs* of folk-music are employed. Nānak's poetry is an unending evocation by personal contacts with men from all places and creeds and social levels, and is marked by simplicity, directness, humility and a choice blending of all attitudes of the individual soul towards the All-Soul."

#### A brief outline of the rise of Ranjit Singh till the end of his dynasty.

Originally the Sikhs were a peaceful sect of altruistic views. The word *Sikh* or *Sikha* is Panjābī, and is derived from Sanskrit *Čishya*, meaning a disciple. The Sikhs were transformed into a military theocracy under Gurū Gobind Singh, the tenth and last of the Gurūs, towards the end of the 17th century. The greatest number which the Gurū is said to have engaged in a single battle was about 8,000 men, horse and foot. Gurū Gobind Singh employed about 500 Pathāns who formed a part of his cavalry. The Gurū's army came to be known, later on, as

1. *J. R. A. S.*, 1916, page 677.

2. Tākṛī is derived for Takkas, a tribe whose capital was at Siālkot, Punjāb.

3. *Evolution of the Khalsa* by Indubhusan Banerji, M.A., P.R.S., Lecturer in History, Calcutta University, Vol. 1, 1936, p. 156.

4. *A History of Panjabi Literature (1100-1932)*, First Edition, pp. 31-32.

*Dal-Khalsa.* Gurū Gobind Singh changed the name of his followers from *Sikhs* or disciples to *Singhs* or lions. He it was who instituted the *Gurū-mata* or the 'the collective sense or deliberation of the community,' (abolished by Ranjit Singh in 1809), and established the *Akālīs* or 'Immortals.' He also endeavoured to separate the Sikhs from the mass of Hindus. The final compilation of the Gurū Granth Sāhib is his too, as already noted.

Speaking about the development of the Sikhs half a century later, Mr. Garrett<sup>1</sup> says that though the Sikhs were strong, they were not united, for they were divided into *misl*s or clans like the Highlanders of Scotland.

[*The Misl*—“The *Misl* was an organization the members of which were bound to one another by communal ties ; although, later on, the influence of locality, in which the leader centred his activities, transformed it for all practical purposes into a small state. The large number of separate principalities, thus formed, covered most of the land situated between the Indus and the Jamuna. The *Misl*s greatly varied in size and resources. Some of them were, in fact, no more than a party of armed band, who depended for its maintenance on the support of some larger *Misl*, and thus cannot be regarded as an independent organization.....The more important *Misl*s at this time were twelve in number.”—*The Panjab as a Sovereign State* by Dr. G. L. Chopra, Lāhore, 1928, p. 2.]

These *misl*s were bitterly jealous of one another. The *misl* of Charat Singh, the grandfather of Ranjīt Singh, was one of the least considerable. Ranjīt's father was Mahān Singh. He was a brave predatory chief, active and enterprising. He had acquired a great reputation by early feats in arms, and drawn many a Sardār to his standard. But he died in 1792 at the early age of twenty-seven. He left, in the words of the Hon. W. G. Osborne,<sup>2</sup> Military Secretary to Lord Auckland, Governor-General of India and also his nephew, “a high character for bravery, activity, and prudence.” Ranjīt, his only son, was then twelve years old, having been born on 2nd November, 1780. Little care had been bestowed on the education of Ranjīt “whose early years were spent in following the sports of the field, and who had never been taught to read or write in any language.” At seventeen Ranjīt assumed

1. The late Mr. H.L.O. Garrett, C.I.E., *The Asiatic Review*, London, October 1941, page 786.

2. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, London, 1840, page xxiii.

the conduct of affairs. It was the genius of Ranjīt Singh that forged the Khālsā into one sovereign state. His authority may be said to have commenced in 1799, when he occupied Lāhore, after having been invested with a written authority by Zamān Shāh of Kābul, the Punjāb being then a part of the Afghān dominions. In 1802, Ranjīt Singh occupied Amritsar, and rapidly extended his authority over Multān, Kashmīr and Peshāwar well before his death on 27th June, 1839 A.C., at the age of 59, after a reign of forty years.

### Ranjīt Singh's Ancestors and Descendants

Daisu or Budhu\*—a Jāt of the Sānsī tribe living in Sukr (originally Shakūr) Chak a village in the present Gujrānwāla distt. of West Punjāb, Pākistān.

Nodh—became Sikh. Died in 1750.

Charat Singh—died in 1771 by the bursting of a matchlock in the battle of Sahawārah.

Mahān Singh—10 years old at his father's sudden death. Was looked after by his mother, Mai Desan, till Mahān Singh came of age.

Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh—born on Nov. 2, 1780, died on June 27, 1839, had eight sons. Three are important for purposes of our narrative.

Mahārājā Kharak Singh b. 1802 d. 1840 ruled 1839-40	Mahārājā Sher Singh b. 1807 d. 1843 ruled 1841-43	Mahārājā Dalip Singh b. 1837 in Lāhore d. 1893 in Paris
Kanwar Nau-nihāl Singh b. 1821 d. 1840	Governor of Kashmīr from 1832 to 1834— two years and two months.	Prince Victor Dalip Singh.

Pratāb Singh murdered when  
12 years of age

\* Foreign and Political Department Miscellaneous Volume No. 206, pages 45-9, for the Genealogical tree from Daisu to Ranjīt.—Reproduced in 'Abdul 'Ali's *Life and Times of Ranjīt Singh*, 1925, page 8.

Ranjit Singh had suffered during his infancy from small-pox, which destroyed the sight of his left eye. He was far from being handsome, but his keen and restless eye had a peculiar lustre. In dress he was simple and unostentatious, in manner he was pleasing and courteous, in conversation attractive and communicative. He had an extremely inquisitive nature which enabled him to extend his information, and compensated for his inability to read books for himself. He enjoyed life and he enjoyed wine and women, perhaps because he was brought under the influence of a "dissolute zanāna." The romantic reference, in this respect, is provided by the infatuation for the Musalmān mistress, Morān, which led to Ranjīt's open rides with her upon an elephant, and to the coinage of *Morān Shāhī* rupees. It is, indeed, a coincidence that he and his father killed their mothers for misconduct.<sup>1</sup> Despite his notorious greed for money, Colonel Lawrence<sup>2</sup> found that Ranjīt Singh gave away annually 12 lakhs in charity.

### *Sidelights on Ranjīt Singh.*

Some noteworthy anecdotes about Ranjīt Singh are related by Baron Schönberg. "An English gentleman once asked Ranjeet Singh, who was the Maharaja's vizier." "Myself," answered Ranjeet. "And who is Rajah?" inquired the stranger. "Guru Nanak," was the answer. (*Travels*, page 64).

"Ranjeet Singh was often in want of money; and the means with which his inventive spirit contrived to fill his coffers, were not always the most innocent" (page 64). A story is related of the adoption of a beautiful child when *nazrānas* brought Ranjīt Singh considerable money from his courtiers. The child was returned to his parents after the *nazrānas* were collected (pages 64-65).

"Once when Ranjeet Singh was badly off for money, he was lying upon a bed in his chamber. There was no one present but his two sons Karak (Khārak) Singh and Scheer (Sher) Singh. They were employed in rubbing his limbs, as he was paralysed.

1. Dr. Gulshan Lal Chopra, *The Punjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 198, footnote.

2. *Punjab Government Records, 1847-48*, p. 372.

" My sons," said the rajah " you are exerting yourselves to procure me comfort, but if you would really console me, give me money ; the want of that is the sole source of my maladies." Upon this, " Karak Singh went and brought his father all his jewels, but Ranjeet Singh shook his head and said, I do not wish for jewels, it is money I want." Karak retired, and brought his father one hundred and fifty rupees. Thereupon the father was very glad, and turning to Scheer Singh said : " Have you nothing to offer your father ? " And Scheer Singh replied : " It has ever been my constant prayer to God that my father might never want anything of me, but that I might rather ask of him." This anecdote was related by Scheer Singh himself, who thought that the answer was very witty. He was very much praised for his presence of mind even by Ranjeet Singh himself (page 69).

" Munschi Uttumjin related how once on a march, Runjeet Singh found himself greatly perplexed ; all his opium was consumed. Uttumjin happened to say, in the hearing of Runjeet Singh, that he was sure that his uncle who was fond of opium had some about him, and that if the Maharajah would have no objection to use it, he only waited his commands to fetch the drug.

" The rajah asked if the opium were good, and being satisfied on this point, accepted it. On the following day he sent an order for one thousand rupees to Uttumjin (page 70).

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" With six millions sterling in his treasury at Amritsar, such is his love of money, that he will risk the loss of his kingdom rather than open his hoards, and disgusts his people and army by this ill-timed and cruel parsimony at a time too when his most bitter enemies, Dost Muhammad Khan and the Afghans, are only watching for the first favourable opportunity to attempt his destruction," wrote Osborne (page 84). Several of his European officers complained to Osborne that they were " both badly and irregularly paid " (page 151).

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### *The last days of Ranjit Singh.*

After feasting with Lord Auckland in 1838, and in the course of his sleep one night in Lāhore, Rānīt Singh

was " suddenly attacked by a fit of the disease called *laqwa*" (distortion of the mouth and convulsions or rather paralysis). The disease which lasted several months, having first appeared in 1834, had now so enfeebled Ranjīt Singh that " only a spark of life remained in his body. His complexion was changed to yellow. His tongue had become mute. His once powerful strength had so vanished that he was unable to turn from one side to the other. He had no appetite. His body was emaciated. The *laqwa* afflicted him with intense pain, and paralysis deprived him of motion. His court physicians, 'Ināyat Shāh, Nūr-ud-Dīn, and 'Azīz-ud-Dīn tried their best to cure him, as well as other medical men from the Punjāb, from Multān and from Kashmīr, but all to no purpose. When a celebrated English doctor, whom the Governor-General had sent, arrived, the Mahārājā absolutely refused to be treated by him. He continued, however, to swallow the medicines of his own physicians, who administered to him oranges, which augmented his jaundice, sandal, which increased his headache, and almonds, which intensified his thirst, whilst musk and ambergris produced fainting. Exhilarant drugs made the heart palpitate, and strengthening potions caused a restless liver !

" Seeing his end close at hand, the Mahārājā now summoned his heir apparent to his bedside, and, appointing him his successor, surrendered the government to him, and made Dhyān Singh his vazīr. After that, great numbers of courtiers and servants were admitted. Alms were distributed. These were bestowed not only upon persons connected with the service of the court, but included also the poor of the town, and even of the place where Nānak had first seen the light of day (Nankāna Sāhib), and of another where the remains of the founder of the Sikh religion had found their last resting place" (Sri Kartārpur, so called by Gurū Nānak himself, and the Gurdawāra perpetuates that name, but the town is known as Derā Bābā Nānak in the Gurdāspur district). After having thus given away twenty-five lakhs of rupees in alms, Ranjīt Singh "desired to crown his beneficence by bestowing the priceless diamond Kūh-i-Nūr as a gift upon the temple of Rām Dās at Amritsar. But his heir apparent absolutely refused to permit such prodigality. The condition of the Mahārājā now became worse. His mind began to wander. His fainting fits became more frequent, his breathing more difficult, and he sometimes closed his eyes

and sometimes wept bitterly." According to another account, the Kūh-i-Nūr was directed by Ranjit Singh to be sent to the temple of Jagannāth Purī, but Misr Beli Rām, in charge of the treasury, objected to its delivery on the ground of its being state property.

"When the heir-apparent saw that the last moment had approached, he spread out a carpet of Indian *kimkhāb* (or gold cloth) and of Chinese brocade with ten lakhs of rupees for alms, and made other arrangements necessary for the impending death-scene. Resting upon this carpet the Mahārājā expired. The whole of the Punjāb went into mourning. Lamentations resounded in the palace. Some persons wept aloud, some silently, others struck their breast, and Dhyān Singh, the vazir of the deceased Mahārājā, desired to be immolated on the funeral pyre with the body of his master, but was dissuaded by the other courtiers. The ladies Harvī and Rājvī, with other handmaids of Ranjīt Singh, also prepared for the last journey and expressed willingness to be immolated: The successor caused immediately a golden bier to be prepared in the form of a litter upon which the corpse was placed amidst wailings, and carried from the fort by the army and the population, to which last the nobles distributed money.

"When the funeral procession reached the burning ground, the corpse was placed upon a pyre of sandal-wood. The faithful Rānis were allowed to stand beside it. And the heir apparent approached it and set fire to it with his own hands. When the flames shot upwards to the sky, a general shout of lamentation shook the earth. Shortly afterwards an abundant shower of rain fell. The ashes were collected. The remaining ceremonies were performed, and all was over. Thus Ranjīt Singh died in Samvat 1896 (A.C. 1839) after a reign of forty years. His burnt bones were by order of the heir apparent conveyed to the banks of the Ganges, and he ordered a grand mausoleum to be built over them, but did not live to see it completed. Mahārājā Sher Singh endeavoured to do so, but it was not finished when he died. Disturbances having arisen in the Punjāb, the building was altogether neglected. The British Government, however, annexed the country and finished the edifice, which then remained in good condition during a number of years. At last, however, the eight columns which had to support a heavy cupola, began to give way and to break.

The author (Kanhaiyā Lāl) of this work (*The Zarfar-nāma-i-Ranjit Singh*) added, by order of the Government, eight columns more, making the total number sixteen, and strengthened them with iron hoops, so as to insure their stability for a long time to come."<sup>1</sup>

Ranjit's death evoked the following passages so well put in fine Persian by Diwān Kirpā Rām in his *Gulāb-nāma* (p. 758) and Mirzā Mahdi *Mujrim Kashmīri* (see pp. 479-80 of *Kashīr*) :

لِظَمْ

چُول مزاج و ماج رافع سری خلافت و ناصب لواست ریاست ..... آب بخش  
 پنجاب جهانی مهارا جد رنجیت سنگھ صاحب جنت آشیانی از مرکز اعذال انحراف یافته بود آخر کار  
 پانزدهم ماه هاڑ سمت<sup>۱۸۹۶</sup> روز پختنیه عالم بے وقار اپرورد کردند و سفرنیک مقدس در پیش شد.

چُول رفت ز عالم آں گیا نہ آبست فتنه مُذ زمانه  
 آشوب قیامت انجہاں خست شیون زین و آسمان خا  
 غم و خست دروں بیجاں گیا نہ مامک کده مُشہد جہاں جماں  
 ناسازی ساز عالم این است ہنگامہ تُوز و تا تم این است  
 ہر چند مقام دلپسی ریاست زین محلہ کوچ ناگزیر است  
 اُز گلاب نامہ "دیوان کرپارام صفحات ۲۰۰-۲۰۹

درینا کر کاو سس فیروز بخت کشید از مرتحن خست بر تخته رخت  
 سری سروراں شاوش بخت سنگھ کر زین بست بر پشت ایں بخنگ  
 نظر بر غریب این محنت اچ کرد ہیک لختم صد گنج تاراج کرد  
 میرزا محمدی مجرم

It has been truly remarked<sup>2</sup> that Ranjit Singh inherited

1. E. Rehatsek's English translation, *The Indian Antiquary*, March 1888, pp. 83-4.

2. Jagmohan Lāl Mahājan, M.A., the *Calcutta Review*, June 1945, Vol. 95, No. 3, page 89.

mutiny and created discipline, found chaos and produced order, and succeeded by the sustained effort of a lifetime in carving out a compact kingdom for himself. But his achievement, though remarkable was personal and consequently ephemeral.

"Runjeet Sing is dead . . . . . and died as like the old Lion as he had lived," wrote Osborne<sup>1</sup> on July 12, 1839, 15 days after the actual demise. It appears from the records that "to avoid the sudden effect on his troops and the population, the news of the Maharaja's death was at first attempted to be kept secret."<sup>2</sup> Adds Osborne : "He preserved his senses to the last and was obeyed to the last by all his chiefs, though he tried them high . . . . two hours before he died he sent for all his jewels, and gave the famous diamond, called the "Mountain of Light," said to be the largest in the world, to a Hindoo temple, his celebrated string of pearls to another, and his favourite fine horses, with all their jewelled trappings, worth £300,000, to a third. His four wives, all very handsome, burnt themselves with his body, as did five of his Cachmerian slave girls, one of whom, who was called the Lotus, or Lily, I often saw last year in my first visit to Lahore. Everything was done to prevent it, but in vain" (page 224). "The Ranis, Kunwar Kharak Singh, the Maharaja's son, Raja Dhyan Singh, the Maharaja's Prime Minister, Jamadar Khushhal Singh and others raised their cries and lamentations, tearing their hair, casting earth on their heads, throwing themselves on the ground, and striking their heads against bricks and stones. This continued during the night by the side of the corpse."<sup>3</sup>

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After the obsequies of Ranjīt Singh, his son, Kharak Singh, born early in 1801 of Rānī Dātār Kaur alias Rāj Kaur, ascended the *gaddi*. Besides being a block-head, Kharak Singh "was a worse opium-eater than his father," writes Dr. John Martin Honigberger,<sup>4</sup> the

1. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing*, pages 223-4.

2. Sec. O. C. 4th December 1839, No. 78,—*Notes on the Life and Times of Ranjīt Singh* by A. F. M. Abdul 'Alī, M.A., Indian Historical Records Commission, 8th Session, Lahore, page 45.

3. *Ibid.*, pages 46-47.

4. *Thirty-five Years in the East*—By John Martin Honigberger, late Physician to the Court of Lahore. Publisher—H. Bailliere, London, 1852. Two volumes in one. See *Kashir*, p. 786, footnote, on Dr. Honigberger.

Transylvanian physician to the court at Lāhore. Rājā Dhyān Singh was the *Vazir* of Mahārājā Kharak Singh. According to one statement,<sup>1</sup> Dhyān Singh, despite "his professions of loyalty, secretly conspired to subvert Sikh power in the Punjab by establishing his brothers' control over hill-territories," and even "grabbing the crown of Ranjit for his own son, Hira Singh." This is how "many murders were brought about directly or indirectly by the Dogra brothers Dhyan Singh and Gulab Singh."<sup>2</sup> "Twice a day he (Kharak Singh) deprived himself of his senses and passed his whole time in a state of stupefaction. It was quite natural that the government could not long remain in the hands of an individual. His guardian or tutor and factotum, Sirdar Chet Singh being desirous to become an independent minister, was a rival of Dhyan Sing and was contriving to remove him . . . . . Chet Sing and all his relations were destroyed . . . . . After the murder of Chet Sing the royal prince No-Nehal, Kurruk Sing's only son, took possession of the government and ordered his father to retire to his private house in the city where he soon became indisposed. A few months afterwards he followed his father, Runjeet Sing to the funeral pile" (pages 101-102).

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On Ranjit's death the Sikh power in the Punjāb was at its zenith and then "exploded disappearing in fierce but fading flames." There is a cloud of mystery over how Ranjit disposed of his mother, Māī Malwain. Ranjit had eight sons, Kharak was the eldest, Sher Singh the third, and Dalip Singh the eighth.

"Although Maharaja Ranjīt Singh is no more, and lives in the memory of his people, and in the songs of the youths and maidens" of the Sikhs as a maker of the Punjāb, a great hero, and the 'Monocular Lion of the Land of Five Rivers,' Ranjīt's greatness lay in considering himself "the servant of the Panth."<sup>3</sup> He was delighted to be known as *Singh Sāhib* in preference to *Mahārājā Sāhib*. "Ranjīt Singh was a man of marvellous variety and range of mental power,"

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1. *Maharaja Ranjīt Singh—First Death Centenary Memorial*, Amritsar, 1939, page 247.

2. Sardār Gāndā Singh, M.A., in *Maharaja Ranjīt Singh*, edited by Tejā Singh and Gāndā Singh, Khālsa College, Amritsar, 1939, p. 45.

3. *The Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh Centenary Volume*, the City Book House, Meston Road, Cawnpore, October 1940, p. 10.

truly remarks the late Dr. Shafa'at Ahmad Khān, "and the secret of his success lay in his sympathy with the most diverse forms of life."

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On the very day of Kharak Singh's death, Prince Nau-nihāl Singh, Kharak's son, was crushed to death by the fall of "a piece of the wall." "There is more reason to suppose," says Dr. Honigberger, "that the partisans of Kurruck Sing and Chet Sing were the authors of this plot against the prince." Rānī Chand Kaur, mother of Nau-nihāl Singh, attempted the life of Sher Singh, Ranjīt's reputed son, but Chand Kaur's slave-girls "crushed the head of their mistress with a brick while she was enjoying her siesta" (p. 105). Sher Singh succeeded Nau-nihāl Singh. Rājā Dhyān Singh's eldest son, Hira Singh, and his own elder brother Rājā Gulāb Singh belonged to the faction of Rānī Chand Kaur.

By Dhyān Singh and Suchēt Singh's mediation, Gulāb Singh and Hīrā Singh were, however, reconciled with Mahārājā Sher Singh. But before this took place, Gulāb Singh, Hīrā Singh and Rānī Chand Kaur had been besieged in the fortress by Sher Singh's soldiers. They were subsequently released. The Rānī left the fortress in the darkness of the night. "Golab Sing was during five days," says Honigberger, "in possession of the fortress, where the treasury happened to be" (page 106).

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Sher Singh "addicted himself to immoderate drinking and indulged especially in champagne." While reviewing troops, Sher Singh was shot, on 15th September 1843, by Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia, of Rājā-Sānsī in the Amritsar district, whose family was related to Ranjīt Singh and belonged to Rānī Chand Kaur's party. "I was by accident not farther than ten steps from the place," says Honigberger, "where the horrid crime was committed." While this crime was perpetrated by Ajit Singh Sandhanwalia, Lehna Singh his uncle, murdered, in a garden in the neighbourhood, the royal prince Partāb Singh, the son of Mahārājā Sher Singh, then a boy of twelve years of age. "This innocent victim of party fury," continues Honigberger, "was cruelly cut into pieces with sabres at the moment when he was occupied with his Brahmins in prayers and giving alms to the poor, for it was a Sancrat day" (page 108). Rājā Dhyān Singh, the prime minister, was also shot down the same day. "With the body of Dhyan Singh thirteen

wives and female slaves were burnt" (page 109). Rājā Suchēt Singh was also killed.

During Sher Singh's time, there were about twenty Europeans, for the most part French and English officers, in the service of the Lāhore Government. They were later dismissed one after another, not on economical grounds, but, says Honigberger, because of "religious fanaticism" (page 111).

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Ranjit Singh's youngest son, Dalip Singh, was placed on the throne. Hirā Singh, the son of Dhyān Singh, became Dalip's *Vazir*. But his own uncle Suchēt Singh was his enemy, and Hirā Singh was accordingly killed near Shāhdara on 21st December, 1844. Certain intrigues resulted in the First Sikh War in December, 1845–February, 1846, in which the Sikhs were defeated.

"To enfeeble the country," (*viz.*, the Punjāb), says Dr. Honigberger, "it was divided into three parts; one was left to the Sikhs, the second was annexed to the English possessions, and the third, Cashmāre, comprising a part of the mountains, was appointed to Gholab Sing as a reward for the services he had rendered, and also in consideration of a large sum of money he had delivered over to the conquerors. He was promoted to the title of Maharajah of Cashmāre, which was made independent of Lahore, but under English protection. Dulleep Sing, after having paid the expenses of the war, remained the ruler of Lahore, and Lall Sing was appointed his wuzer. Sir H. Lawrence was appointed by the English as Resident, into whose hands the reins of government were entrusted" (p. 123).

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The Second Sikh War broke out on May 1st, 1848, and in February, 1849, the Sikhs were finally disposed of at Gujrāt, Punjāb, and the rest of the Punjāb was annexed to the English possessions. As a consequence, Dalip Singh was brought away from the capital, and "thus ended the independence of the once powerful state founded by Ranjit Singh." Dalip Singh was sent to the interior of India, where he lived upon a pension for sometime before he went to England in 1854.

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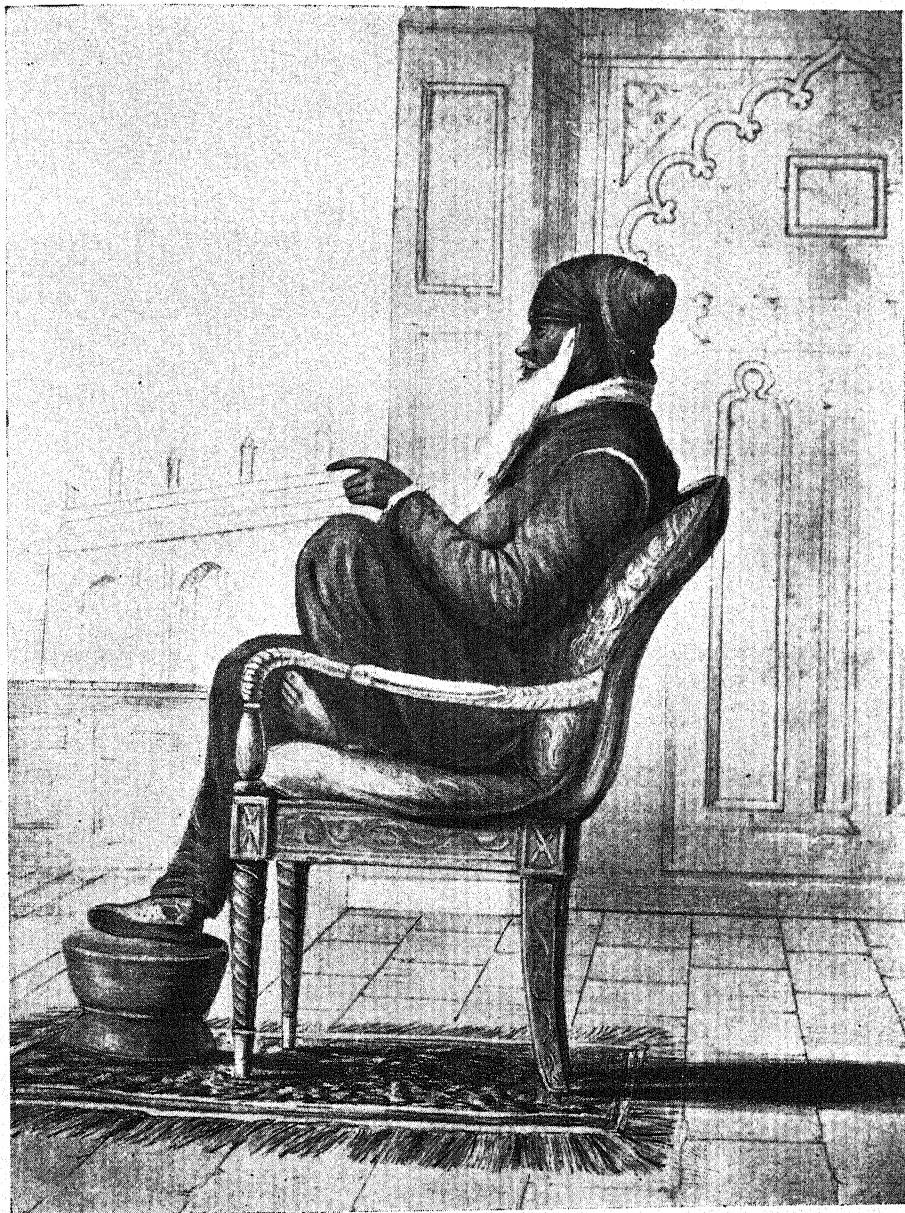
## Kashmir under Maharaja Ranjit Singh

[1819—1839]

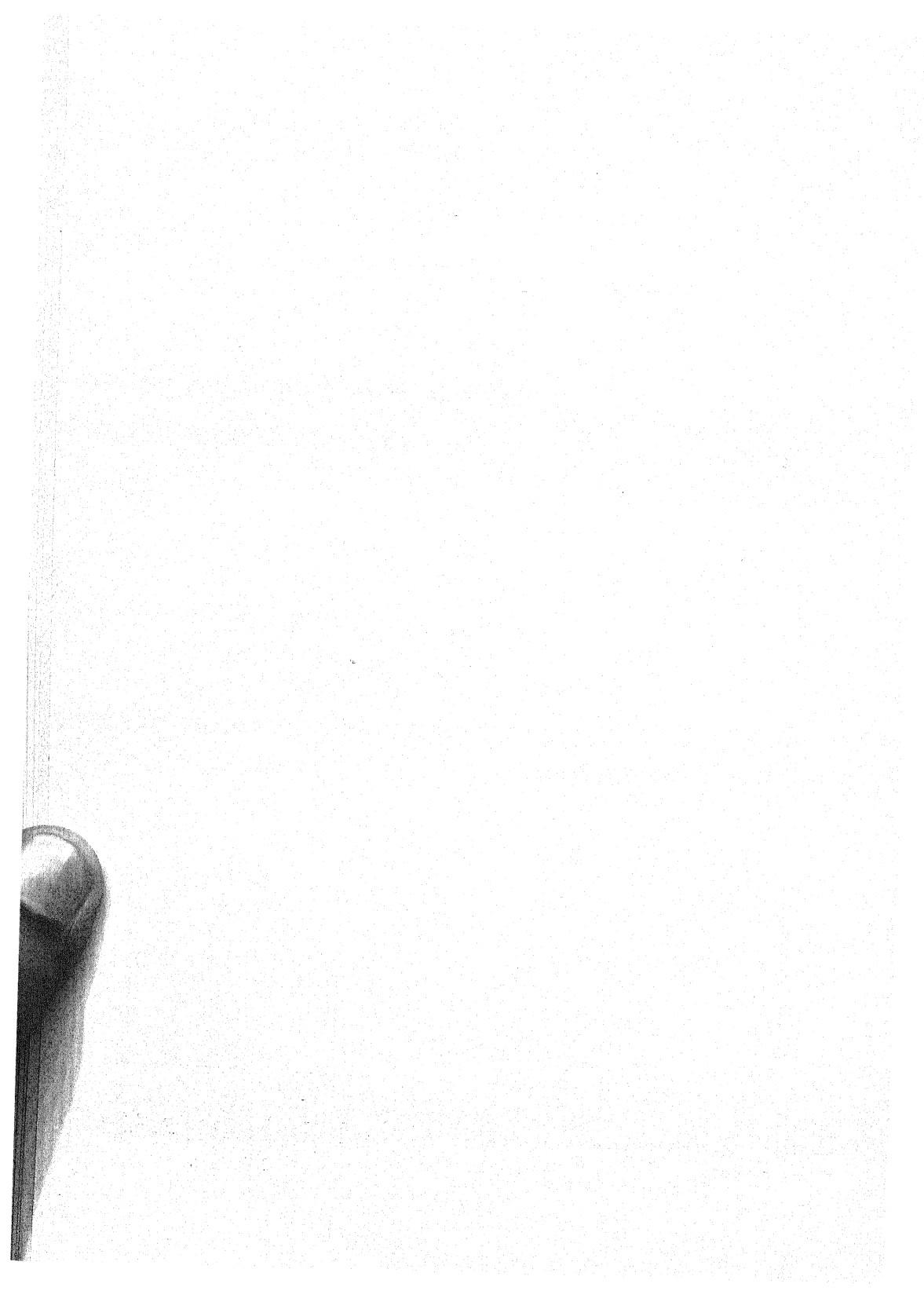
We shall now revert to the invasion of Ranjīt Singh, referred to at the close of Chapter VII on page 342. The first definite attempt of Ranjīt Singh's design on Kashmīr was his alliance with Vazīr Fath Khān, the prime minister of Shāh Mahmūd of Afghānistān in 1813, when Fath Khān wanted to punish 'Atā Muhammad Khān, the governor of Kashmīr, for declaring himself independent of the government at Kābul (*see pp. 323-324 of Kashir*). Ranjīt failed, but succeeded in securing the person of Shāh Shujā' who later gave Ranjīt the coveted Kūh-i-Nūr. The second attempt was in 1814, when a Sikh army advanced by the Pīr Panjāl (Pantsāl) Pass, while Ranjīt Singh himself watched the operations from Pūnch, which he had already brought under subjection. Warning had been given to Ranjīt Singh about the impending rainy season but, as military arrangements had been completed, an advance had to be made. The expedition, however, failed (*see pp. 329-32*). Five years later, in 1819, by which time Ranjīt Singh had subjugated the central Punjāb, and acquired immense booty by the destruction of Afghān power at Multān, he renewed his attempt on Kashmīr. Ranjīt Singh's general, Misr Dīwān Chand, accompanied by Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu, overcame, on July 5, Jabbār Khān, who had been left in charge by Muhammad 'Azīm, the Afghān governor of Kashmīr, on his hurried departure for Kābul. 'Azīm Khān, unfortunately for Afghān rule in Kashmīr, had denuded the Valley of most of the tried Afghān troops for warfare in Afghānistān itself, being engaged in Qandahār against Kāmrān. The Sikh invaders entered Shupiyān\*

\*Shupiyān had a population of 2,217 in 1931 and 4,359 in 1941. It is a trade emporium for the Pīr Panjāl route, is about 29 miles south of Srinagar, and is 20 miles due east of Islāmābād. The hill of Shupiyān on Lahan Tan or Lahan Tār rises from the plain about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles from the town. It is about 350 feet above the level of the plain. A fine view of the Valley—of the whole of its length, and the rocky snow-capped ranges beyond, bordering on Ladākh—may be obtained from the top of this hill. Kashmīris pronounce it *Shupiyān*.

Shupiyān (*Shāh-pāyān*) was the *Shāh-rāh* or the 'King's Highway' in the time of the Mughuls. From Shupiyān, there is a choice of several routes. There are paths to Nila-nāg, to Vēr-nāg, to Islāmābād and to Bijbihārā. There are unmetalled roads to Kulgām, to Bijbihārā and to Srinagar. The main road goes north-west.



Mahārājā Ranjit Singh (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum) who, on defeating Jabbār Khān, the Afghān Governor of Kashmir, in 1819, became the ruler of the Happy Valley. Sikh rule over Kashmir ended in 1846 when the British, on defeating the Sikhs, made over the Valley to Rājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu.



on their way to Srīnagar. The Valley went to the Sikhs. Misr Dīwān Chand was given the title of *Zafar Jang* and was nominated governor of Kashmir.

*The conquest of Kashmir extends Ranjīt's kingdom and increases his revenues.*

The sovereign state of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh now comprised : (1) the Sūba-i-Lāhore—consisting of the territory between the Jhelum and the Sutlaj, (2) the Sūba-i-Multān Dār-ul-Amān (or Multān the Abode of Peace)—consisting of the present districts of Multān, Muzzaffargarh, Jhang, and parts of Montgomery and Dera Ismā'il Khān, (3) the Sūba-i-Kashmīr Jannat Nazīr (Paradise-like Kashmīr), (4) the Sūba-i-Peshāwar consisting of the valley of Peshāwar, and (5) several hilly principalities.

The conquest of Kashmīr naturally made an extensive addition to Ranjīt's kingdom and increased his revenues very considerably. In fact, Ranjīt told C.M. Wade, of the British Political Department, in 1827, that Kashmīr was the most productive of all his provinces, and gave him twenty-five lakhs a year. As for political results, this conquest removed the last vestige of Afghān power and influence in the cis-Indus lands, and added to the stability of Sikh power. On entering the city of Srīnagar the Sikh soldiers began to plunder, but were stopped by Misr Dīwān Chand. Ranjīt Singh deputed Faqīr 'Azīz-ud-Dīn Rizā Ansārī to study the climate of the Valley, and Diwan Devī Dās to organize the assessment of revenues.

Kashmīr was divided into twenty *parganas*, had twenty collectors, ten *thānas* and four hundred inhabited villages. (Moorcroft, *Asiatic Journal*, Vol. xviii, 1836).

Sikh rule in Kashmīr lasted for 27 years. During this period, ten governors administered the country one after another, the last two being Muslims. Three of the others were Sikhs, and five Hindus, of whom Dīwān Motī Rām acted twice. The names of these governors are : (1) Misr Dīwān Chand, (2) Dīwān Motī Rām, (3) Sardār Hari Singh Nalwa, (4) Dīwān Motī Rām, *second time*, (5) Dīwān Chūnī Lāl, (6) Diwan Kirpā Rām, (7) Bhimā Singh Ardālī, (8) Prince Sher Singh, (9) Colonel Mehān Singh, (10) Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, and (11) Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn.

*Condition of Kashmīr under Ranjīt's rule.*

Thus Kashmīr, after several generations of Muslim rule lasting about five centuries, passed again into the hands of non-Muslims. In the meantime, however, over nine-tenths of the population had accepted Islam. The capital city, called Kashmīr during Muslim rule, was re-named Srinagar. Though Sikh sovereignty and Ranjīt Singh were acclaimed *Dharma Rāj*, 'The Reign of Religion,' by Kashmīri Pandits, whose leading caste-man was instrumental in inviting Ranjīt Singh to Kashmīr, Sikh rule brought little gain to them; since the 'Pandits were justly complaining of the oppression of the Sikhs' to Vigne (*Travels*, Vol. I, page 317). Pandit Bīrbal Dar who had himself gone out to Lāhore at considerable risk, and had urged and led Ranjīt Singh to invade his own native land, suffered imprisonment on the charge of misappropriation of state revenues, which was also the reason of Bīrbal's running away from Afghān rule. And the poor man died in jail! All his property was confiscated in Dīwān Motī Rām's second régime.

The "grey-bearded Musalman," remarked to Vigne, "with sorrow on the present condition of his beautiful country and compared it with what he had read of the dominion of the Mughuls or remembered of the time of the Pathāns." William Moorcroft,\* who was in the country in 1824 A.C., five years after its annexation by the Sikhs when Dīwān Motī Rām was governor a second time, says that "everywhere the people are in the most abject condition, exorbitantly taxed by the Sikh Government and subjected to every kind of extortion and oppression by its officers . . . . . Not more than about one-sixteenth of the cultivable surface is in cultivation, and the inhabitants, starving at home, are driven in great numbers to the plains of Hindustan" (*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 123-124). Every shawl was taxed at 26 per cent. of its estimated value, besides a heavy duty on the imports of its materials, and every shop or workman connected with its manufacture was taxed (page 126). Every trade was also taxed. "Butchers, bakers, boatmen, vendors of fuel, public notaries, scavengers, prostitutes, all paid a sort of corporation tax." "Even the chief officer of justice paid a large gratuity of 30,000 rupees a year for his appointment,

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\*William Moorcroft's *Travels*, 1819-25, Volume II, part III, Chapter VII, pages 293-4.

being left to re-imburse himself as he may" (page 127). Villages where Moorcroft stopped in the Lolāb direction were half-deserted, and "the few inhabitants that remained wore the semblance of extreme wretchedness."

. . . . . The poor people were likely to reap little advantage from their labours, for a troop of tax-gatherers were in the village, who had sequestered nine-tenths of the grain of the farmer for the revenue. Islāmābād was "swarming with beggars," and the inhabitants of the country around "half-naked and miserably emaciated, presented a ghastly picture of poverty and starvation."

"The Sikhs seemed to look upon the Kashmirians as little better than cattle. The murder of a native by a Sikh is punished by a fine to the government, of from sixteen to twenty rupees, of which four rupees are paid to the family of the deceased if a Hindu, and two rupees if he was a Mohammedan" (*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 293-94).<sup>1</sup>

The description of G. T. Vigne, who was in Kashmir from June to December 1835, is hardly less pathetic. "The villages," he says, "were fallen into decay. In the time of the Moguls Kashmir was said to produce not less than 60 laks (6,000,000) of kirwahs (kharwārs) of rice, which was there grown wherever a system of irrigation was practicable; but such is the state to which this beautiful but unfortunate province is now reduced, and so many inhabitants have fled the country that a vast proportion of the rice-ground is uncultivated for want of labour and irrigation."<sup>2</sup> Shupiyān is a miserable place<sup>3</sup> and Islāmābād is "but a shadow of its former self." The houses "present a ruined and neglected appearance, in wretched contrast with their once gay and happy condition and speak volumes upon the light and joyous prosperity that has long fled the country on account of the shameless rapacity of the ruthless Sikhs." (Reproduced from Younghusband's *Kashmir*, London, 1909, p. 162.)

1. "The garden-house, belonging formerly to a nobleman named Dilawar Khan, situated on the Brarinambal, a small lake, or rather an expanse of one of the chief canals of the city, was assigned for our residence, and here . . . my time was spent in medical practice, collecting information, and occasional excursions."—*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 104-5). "The Dewan Moti Ram had fixed the second day after my arrival for giving me audience, but indisposition obliged him to defer this for several days longer" (*Ibid.*, p. 104).

2. G. T. Vigne's *Travels*, 1842, Vol. I, page 308.

3. *Ibid.*, p. 270.

Even Kishtwār was not safe. "The oppression and rapacity of the Sikhs reduced its revenue to a paltry amount of a few thousand rupees per annum." The house of the old rājā of Kishtwār was used as a prison. "The building in the Shalamar, a favourite garden of the old Rajah's..on the eastward of the town, was razed to the ground by the Sikhs." (Vigne's *Travels*, Vol. I, pages 204-05).\*

No wonder, then, that the Kashmirī cried out in pain and despair—

جُرْمَا، مَا راُچُو دامنگیر شد قُومِ سِنگان وارِ کشمیر شد

[Our sins overtook us when the Sikh people entered Kashmir.]

At this time the Sikh administrator and *qala'dār* bore the name of Gurmukh Singh, which can be written

\*A note appears at the foot of page 126, Chapter IV, Vol. I, on William Moorcroft. Below is a note on Godfrey Thomas Vigne.

Godfrey Thomas Vigne was born in 1801, had his education at Harrow, and was admitted as a student of Lincoln's Inn on 23rd December, 1818. He was called to the bar in 1824. In 1831 he travelled in the United States of America, and published an account of his journey in 1832, entitled *Six Months in America*, London, 8vo. In the same year he left Southampton for India, and, after passing through Persia, spent the next seven years in excursions to the regions to the north-west of India. In these journeys he visited Kashmir, Ladakh, and parts of Central Asia, besides travelling through Afghanistan, where he had several interviews with the Amir, Dūst Muhammad Khān. He gave the results of his travels in *A Personal Narrative of a Visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, London, 1840, 8vo, and in *Travels in Kashmir*, London, 1842, 8vo. His books give a valuable account of Northern and Western India, immediately before the establishment of British supremacy.

In 1852 and the following years, Vigne visited the West Indies, Mexico, and Nicaragua, and passed northwards through New Orleans to New York. He died at the Oaks, Woodford, Essex, on 12th July, 1863, while preparing an account of his most recent travels for the press. They appeared in the same year under the title *Travels in Mexico and South America*, London, 8vo. Vigne was neither 'a professional author nor a commissioned tourist'. He travelled for amusement, saw much, and was assisted in his observations by the possession of some knowledge of science.

The above note is extracted from *Dictionary of National Biography* edited by Sidney Lee. Smith, Elder & Co., London, 1902, Vol. xx, page 309.

Sir Aurel Stein says: "This estimable artist and traveller evidently took a great deal of interest in the antiquities of the country which he traversed in many directions."—*The Ancient Geography of Kashmir*, 1899, page 6. Also the *Rājatarangiṇī*, Vol. II, page 350, f. n. 8.

in Persian as Kūr-mukh Singh. The satirist turned it to Kūr Singh, and said :

کورسینگ حاکم و رنجیت چو باشد سلطان

شکوه از جور مُکن ، عالم کُورا کُوری است

meaning that the *hākim* (administrator) is *kūr* or eyeless, and Ranjīt is but one-eyed ; when these are the days of eyelessness, should there be a plaint against their tyranny ?

" After the conquest of the valley by Ranjīt," writes Vigne, " Moti Ram was appointed Viceroy for five years. He was a bigoted Sikh (?), who put several men to death for killing cows, and occasionally threw milk into the Julum. His steward was made by Runjīt to refund thirty lakhs that he had amassed."

### The administration of ten Governors under Sikh Rule in Kashmir

#### 1. Misr Dīwān Chand.

Misr Dīwān Chand, a Brāhmaṇ, was a notable pillar of the state. He started life as a *Jama-dār* in the artillery under Ghaus (commonly known as Ghausē) Khān, who was the trusted head of the Mahārājā's artillery. While passing Pūnch in the Kashmīr campaign, Ghaus Khān fell ill and died on the way. Misr Dīwān Chand was speedily put in charge. When the Sikh army under Prince Kharak Singh proceeded to wrest Multān from its Nawwāb, Dīwān Chand gave proof of conspicuous ability in reducing the fort of Multān. The valiant Nawwāb died fighting, and his diamond treasury worth five lakhs was seized by Dīwān Chand and presented to the Mahārājā, who conferred the title of *Khair-khwāh Bā-safā Zafar Jang* on the Misr. On the conquest of Kashmīr the Misr was given the title of *Fath-o-Nusrat Nasib*. His full title was : *Khair-khwāh Bā-safā Zafar Jang Bahādur Fath-o-Nusrat Nasib*, or, according to another version, *Fath Jang* instead of *Zafar Jang*. Misr Dīwān Chand died of colic at Lāhore on 19th July, 1825, or, according to another version,\* by suicide. He was governor of Kashmīr during the year 1819.

\* 'Abdul 'Ali's *Life and Times of Ranjīt Singh*, pages 16 and 22.

2. *Diwān Motī Rām.*

Diwān Motī Rām, who governed Kashmīr for a year and two months in 1819-20, was the son of Diwān Mokham Chand, a well known minister of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Mokham Chand was originally a trader's son. Motī Rām was a peace-loving man, but famine unsettled conditions in Kashmīr when Motī Rām was recalled, and replaced by Sardār Hari Singh Nalwa. On his second tenure of office, Diwān Motī Rām relieved Hari Singh on account of the latter's oppressive rule. It was in Motī Rām's second tenure, *viz.* 1822-24, that Moorcroft entered Kashmīr with Mir 'Izzatullāh. Pandit Birbal Dar was imprisoned for misappropriation of state revenues. Motī Rām had three sons : Rām Dayāl, Sheo Dayāl and Kīrpā Rām.

In the time of Diwān Motī Rām, the Jāmi' Masjid of Srīnagar was closed to public prayers—it was given out—lest it should afford opportunities to Musalmāns to assemble in large numbers. William Moorcroft saw it closed during his visit (*Travels*, 1819-25, part III, Chapter II, page 120). Many other mosques were turned into *nazūl* property. Jāgīr grants attached to mosques and shrines were generally resumed. The Musalmāns were forbidden to utter the *Azān* (call to prayers). The shrine of Shāh Hamadān, the well-known Khānqāh-i-Mu'allā was ordered to be razed to the ground. The plea advanced was that it was the site of the Kāli Cī temple twelve centuries ago ! In fact, guns were levelled at the shrine from the Patthar or Shāhī Mosque Ghāt on the opposite bank of the Jhelum. But the order was not executed, presumably for fear of rebellion. It is to the lasting credit of Pandit Birbal Dar that, when a deputation of Muslims headed by Sayyid Hasan Shāh Qādirī Khānayārī approached him to dissuade the Sikhs from the destruction of the Khānqāh, he moved in the matter, used his influence and saved this historic structure from vandalism.

Cow-slaughter, prevalent for centuries, was declared a crime punishable by death, and Muslims were actually hanged, dragged through the city of Srīnagar, and even burnt alive for having slain cattle. Oppressed in this and various other ways, hundreds of Muslim families left Kashmīr. Their descendants are to this day found in the Punjāb, the United Provinces and elsewhere. Their ancestors were the victims of ferocious intolerance during the temporary Sikh rule of 27 years' duration.

**[Genesis of Sikh-Muslim Misunderstanding.]**—In the matter of his creed the Sikh is very near to the Muslim. The Sikh, like the Muslim, believes in the Oneness of God and is averse to idol-worship. But it is strange that a large part of the unthinking commonalty of the Sikhs should be so violently opposed to the *Azān* which mostly is but a loud proclamation of the Oneness of God Almighty. Socially the Sikh is a Hindu, the majority of Bābā Nānak's disciples having been derived from the Jāt, Arora and Khatri castes. The Singh Sabhā revived the movement, originally initiated, by Gurū Gobind Singh, to individualize the Sikh. The modern Akālī movement has given a great fillip to this idea of individualization. The reason why the Sikh is socially a Hindu is because the descendants and followers of Bābā Nānak, who became *Udāsīs* and *Nirmalas*, being mostly from the suppressed lower classes of Hindus, associated more with the Hindu masses than with Muslims. The Udāsī is the common preacher, and the Nirmala is the intellectual missionary.

"Verse after verse, song after song, can be quoted from the Holy Quran and the Holy Granth, bearing the same meaning and asserting the same oneness of God," writes Sardār Sardūl Singh Caveeshar in *The Sikh Studies*, (Lahore, 1937, page 94). "The Holy Book begins with 'There is one God,' and the Holy Quran with 'There is none else but one God.' Both religions hate the worship of any other deity. The attitude of Mohamet towards the idols worshipped by the followers of other religions was always uncompromising. Guru Gobind Singh, too, calls himself in one place an "image-breaker." Muhammadans are required to say their prayers five times a day, and so are the Sikhs" (p. 95). Both religions are democratic; they regard the prince and the peasant as equal in the eyes of God. "In both religions inter-marriage is favoured as strongly as interdining" (p. 96). The sacred books of both are kept in clean covers and are to be handled after ablution. Regular readings from them form part of the religious life of both. "Both the religions advocate military life" (p. 97). "The Zakat of the Muslims corresponds with the Daswand of the Sikhs." Prophet Muhammad had Chār Yār (Four Companions). "The Guru of the Sikhs also had his Panj Piyaras or five dear ones" (p. 98).

But grave misunderstanding between Muslims and Sikhs has been due to clashes with Muslim rule in India in the past, on the part of the Sikhs, as a result of which unfounded statements are incorporated in the so-called histories, and unfortunately even in Sikh prayers. Some of the glaring instances of profound misrepresentation are that: (1) The fifth Gurū, Arjun, was killed by Jahāngīr on account of religious fanaticism. (2) The ninth Gurū, Tegh Bahādur, was killed by Aurangzib 'Alamgīr on the Gurū's declining to accept Islam. (3) One of Gurū Tegh Bahādur's companions, Matī Dās, was sawn alive on a similar charge. (4) Bhāī Dayālā, another companion of the Gurū, was thrown into boiling water on the same account. (5) Bhāī Manī Singh's limbs were mercilessly hacked off. (6) Bhāī Tarū Singh's skull was chopped off. (7) Bhāī Bota

Singh was slaughtered. (8) Bhāī Sabeg Singh and Bhāī Shahbāz Singh were done to death with cruel torture.—All this happened simply because they declined to be converted to Islam! Islam which expressly lays down that there is no compulsion in religion!

The most atrocious of the crimes attributed to the Muslim governor of Sarhind is the cold-blooded immuring of the two innocent sons, aged seven and nine respectively, of Gurū Gobind Singh in a wall simply because they would not accept Islam even though they were promised marriage with beautiful Muslim princesses and high honour in life. That any one should force children of seven and nine to change their religion is passing strange! Sardār Teja Singh, M.A., Professor, Khālsā College, Amritsar, now Principal, Khālsā College, Mātunga, Bombay, therefore, rightly says that the "fiction of immuring of children in the foundations is an interpolation of later histories" (*The Kōmal Sansār*, January, 1940). But Principal Tejā Singh now points out to me that the children were disposed of, but differently, though this last too, again introduces another element of variation.

Bhāī Sher Singh, M.Sc., has accordingly deplored in the magazine, *Phulwāri* (Ittihās Number, December, 1929), that "in our history and our religion not one but one hundred and one misrepresentations have been inserted by selfish people for selfish ends." Bhāī Amar Singh, Editor of the *Sher-i-Punjāb*, in his issue of February 20, 1938, remarks: "we suffer from the universal malady, on account of some of our leaders, of their own accord, introducing modifications and cancellations even in historical events." The *Dasam Granth*, the autobiography of Gurū Gobind Singh, makes no mention of the immuring of children in the foundation or the wall of Sarhind, which is the greatest refutation of this myth. And yet, in their elementary primers, Sikh children are shown the fabricated pictures of the immuring of these innocent sons aged seven and nine of the great Gurū! And some of the Sikh speakers in the *Diwāns*, or religious gatherings, and large congregations, narrate this fiction to inflame Sikh feelings against the Muslims!\*

The unfortunate events of 1947 have widened and deepened the gulf between Muslims and Sikhs to such an extent that any reconciliation is unthinkable, at least for the generation now living.]

\*In this connexion, the reader is referred to the researches of Gyāni Wahid Husain embodied in the brochure *Gurū Gobind Singh ke Bachchon kā Qatl*, Qādiān, 1940, with a preface by Mr. 'Abdul Majid Sālik, editor, the *Inqilāb*, Lāhore. As also "The Murder of Sri Gurū Tegh Bahādur" by Gyāni Wāhid Husain in the *Review of Religions*, (Urdu edition), Qādiān, February and April, 1940. The same writer has also written on the "Murder of Gurū Arjun and Jahāngir." The Gyāni can be addressed c/o Nashr-o-Ishā'at office, Qādiān, District Gurdāspur, East Punjāb, and now c/o Ratan Bāgh, Lāhore, West Punjāb. Naturally, a Sikh may be reluctant to accept the findings of Gyāni Wāhid Husain, as they run counter to what he has been accustomed to hear from years past.

*The departure of the ancestor of the Nawwābs of Dacca.*

It was about these days (*i.e.* 1822-23) that two brothers left Kashmīr to prefer their complaints to the Mughul ruler of the day at Delhi against Sikh oppression in the Valley. But when they found that nothing to check it could be expected from Delhi, they proceeded eastwards, and, in course of time, became the founders of the well-known Nawwāb Family of Dacca that glories in having produced Khwāja 'Alīmullāh, Sir 'Abdul Ghānī, Sir Ahsanullāh, Sir Salīmullāh, Sir Nāzīm-ud-Dīn [*now* His Excellency the Rt. Hon'ble Al-Hājj Khwāja Nāzīm-ud-Dīn, Governor-General of Pākistān, in succession to the late Qā'īd-i-A'zam Muhammad 'Ali Jinnāh of blessed memory], the Hon'ble Khwāja Shihāb-ud-Dīn, Minister for Refugees and Rehabilitation, Government of Pākistān, Karāchī, Khwāja Habībullāh, Khwāja Muhammad A'zam and others.\*

*3. Sardār Hari Singh Nalwa.*

Sardār Hari Singh Nalwa, the founder of Haripur-Hazāra, was the son of Sardār Gurdiāl Singh of Majītha, who had settled in Gujrānwāla. He died when Hari Singh was seven years old. Ranjīt Singh took the boy under his care. In Mr. Sinha's *Ranjit Singh*, Hari Singh is stated to have been originally a common *khidmatgār*. Vigne makes a similar statement in his *Travels*, Vol. II, page 73. At the siege of Qasūr, Hari Singh gave promise of his future generalship and was rewarded by Ranjīt with a prize. He was a fine shot and a good swimmer. He was entitled *Nalwa* for having cloven the head of a tiger that had seized him. In the conquest of Multān, Kashmīr and Peshāwar he won his name. He had the reputation of having overcome the Afghāns, and, it is said, Afghān mothers frightened their babies by the name of *Harya*, the nickname of Hari Singh Nalwa. He proved very tyrannical in Kashmīr, and was consequently called back after two years, *i.e.*, 1820-21. The small fort at Uri, now the residential quarters of the Tahsildār of that place, the fort of Nirochhī, Muzaffarābād, the Gurdwāras of Maṭān, Bārāmūla, and outside Kāthī Darwāza, Srīnagar, were built by Nalwa so also a garden on the Jhelum there. He could read and write Persian. At Gujrānwāla Mr. G. T. Vigne

\**The Ta'rīkh-i-Aqwām-i-Kashmīr* by the late Munshi Muhammad-ud-Dīn Faq, 1934, pages 442-46.

†M.A. (Cantab), LL.D. (Hon., Dacca), Barrister-at-Law, formerly Sir, K.C.I.E. (1934); C.I.E. (1926).

and Baron Hügel visited Hari Singh Nalwa. "He received us with kindness and hospitality," wrote Vigne, "and conversed a good deal; taking down from us in writing, for his own information, the names of the different countries in Europe, with their capitals, extent, etc." (*Travels*, Vol. I, pp. 235-6). The vast sum of money accumulated by Hari Singh was confiscated by the Lāhore ruler. Nalwa could "report raids and misappropriate the money without undertaking these. On one occasion while the Maharaja was reviewing the troops under Hari Singh's charge, he found the battalions below their full strength. Yet Hari Singh had been drawing money from the treasury at the usual rate. He was heavily fined." (Sinha's *Ranjit Singh*, page 169). Shahāmat 'Alī says that Hari Singh introduced a new rupee of base coinage in Kashmīr. So does Vigne. In 1837 on advancing towards Khybar, Amir Dūst Muhammad Khān, on invitation from the Khybarīs, killed him in a battle.\* Nalwa's son was given a minor post by the Sikh government.

[The different kinds of coins in use were :—(i) The old rupee valued at only ten annas according to Hindustānī rates. This rupee was minted in Kashmīr and had the Emperor of Delhi's name on it. The transactions in the shawl markets were made in this rupee. (ii) There was another kind of rupee, associated with the name of Sardār Hari Singh Nalwa and, as such, called *Hari Singhū*. On one side of this coin was written *Sri Akāl Jiu* and on another *Hari Singh*. This was worth twelve annas. Rents, taxes and customs duties were paid in this coin. (iii) The third kind of rupee was called Nānakshāhī; it passed current at sixteen annas throughout the dominions of Ranjit Singh, but was valued at 14½ annas at Delhi. The troops were paid in this coin.]

#### 4. *Dīwān Chūnī Lāl*.

Dīwān Chūnī Lāl, the successor of Dīwān Motī Rām, was governor for two years, 1825-27. Khwāja Muhyi'd Dīn Kāōs and his son-in-law Mirzā Kallu the son of Khwāja Siddiq Kāōs, well-known merchants, were hanged according to the *Wajiz-ut-Ta'rīkh* (pages 181-82), and their dead bodies were dragged through the streets of Srinagar for the alleged offence of cow-slaughter. On being called to Lāhore for misgovernment, Dīwān Chūnī Lal committed suicide on the way.

\**The Sikhs and Afghans*, London, 1847, pages 53-54.

*5. Dīwān Kirpā Rām.*

Dīwān Kirpā Rām was governor of Kashmir for three years and ten months from 1827 to 1831. Kirpā Rām was the son of Motī Rām and the grandson of Dīwān Mokham Chand. They belonged to Kunjāh, District Gujrāt, Punjāb. Rām-bāgh, now holding the remains of most of the Dogrā rulers on the Dūdh-gangā stream in Srīnagar, was built by Kirpā Rām. Round about the city he set up a number of gardens. Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was his Chief Secretary.

*G. T. Vigne on Kirpā Rām's régime.*

"Kupar (Kirpā) Ram," wrote Vigne "was four years governor of the valley and the kindest and best of all. He attended to the wishes and rapacity of Runjit and was luxurious without being tyrannical. The dancing girls were his constant companions and his state barge was always paddled by women." Hence, his name commonly remembered in the Valley as Kirpā Shroyn on account of the jingling noise of small bells on women's hands and feet.

One summer evening Dīwān Kirpā Rām was enjoying a feast, drinking, listening to the singing of the dancing girls. The blaze of fireworks threw a brilliant glare over the scene. The entertainment was at its height. The spectacle was one that might have recalled the memory of the days of Jahāngir when the Valley was—

"All love and light,

Visions by day and feasts by night."

Just then a *chubdār* of Ranjīt made his appearance with orders for Kirpā's immediate presence at Lāhore, where he was disgraced. He, then, left for Benāres to live the life of a recluse.

*Baron Schönberg on the same.*

Baron Schönberg's observations on Kirpā Rām are materially the same. "The Sikh governor who enjoys the best reputation amongst the inhabitants of Kashmir is Kapar Rham (Kirpā Rām). The term of his viceroyalty is compared, by the people of the Valley, to those pleasant days when Jehangir used to make an annual visit there. Kapar Rham remitted to the government every year forty-two lacs of rupees, and the country was at that time happy, in comparison to what it now is: and yet for many years after the rule of Kapar Rham, the tribute amounted to

only twenty lacs, and at the present time Gulam Muhyuddin returns but six lacs of rupees yearly, while the country, so far from being benefited by the decrease in the tribute, is become still more wretched."—*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 96-97.

"The mention of Kapar Rham gives me an opportunity of recording Runjeet Singh's unworthy conduct towards him. . . . . Runjeet Singh demanded from Kapar Rham an extra payment of some lacs of rupees and summoned him for the fulfilment of this demand to the confines of his mountain territories where he then was. Kapar answered that he would pay the money when it should be due, and then only what could be lawfully demanded. Runjeet asked him whether he had no money. "Yes," answered Kapar; "but I will give you only what is due to you." "Very well," said Runjeet, "we will settle our accounts." . . . . The accounts being closed, it was found that Kapar had paid twelve lacs of rupees more than he really owed. Runjeet demanded three lacs more, Kapar refused, and was tortured . . . . . He still persisted in his refusal upon which his property was openly plundered. He lost fifteen lacs, partly in money and partly in shawls. He was now set at liberty, with permission to return and resume the government of the province of Kashmir, but he refused; and after bestowing a lac of rupees in public charity at Amrit Sir (Amritsar), he retired to Hardwar" (pages 97-98).

#### *6. Bhīmā Singh Ardalī.*

Not much is known of Bhīmā Singh Ardalī, who was governor for one year in 1831. During the Muharram of 1248 A.H.=1832 A.C., there was Shī'a-Sunnī trouble. The Hasan-ābād and Jādi-bal wards of the city were burnt. There was an unusually cold winter from which the people suffered a great deal.

#### *Victor Jacquemont's observations.*

When Bhīma Singh Ardalī was acting Governor, Victor Jacquemont, Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris, visited Kashmīr. This young Frenchman of 30 writes in a grandiloquent, patronizing manner.\*

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\**Letters from India* describing a journey in the British Dominions of India, Tibet, Lahore and Cashmere during the years 1828, 1829, 1830, 1831, undertaken by order of the French Government, by Victor Jacquemont, travelling Naturalist to the Museum of Natural History, Paris. Vols. I and II., Edward Churton, London, 1834. A second and enlarged edition of the *Letters* was published in May, 1835.

" His letters are graphic and amusing though full of insane vanity," wrote Andrew Wilson in 1875.

Writes Jacquemont : " He (the Governor) is a man of low extraction who only holds the office temporarily . . . . It was agreed . . . . that an interview should take place. . . . at Shalibag, the Trianon of the ancient Mogul emperors. It is a little palace, now abandoned, but still charming by its situation and magnificent groves. . . . The Governor rubbed his long beard on my left shoulder whilst I rubbed mine on his right (page 55). He has all the look of a fool but he possesses the very rare virtue . . . . of obedience to his sovereign (page 73).

" My pavilion has but very flimsy walls : it was closed only by venetian blinds elegantly carved with infinite art. It was open to every wind and to the inquiring looks of the Cashmerean idlers, who came by thousands, in their boats to look at me as they would at a wild beast through the bars of his cage (page 56).

" For several years past, an Afghan fanatic Sayed Ahmad (Sayyid Ahmad " Shahid " with Rājā Zabardast Khān of Muzaffarābād) has been threatening Cashmere . . . . the Governor sent me word that Sheer Singh one of the King's (Ranjit's) sons had just given him battle near Mozufferabad in which he and his whole army perished. Public report adds that Sheer Sing is coming here as Viceroy " (page 57).

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**[Sayyid Ahmad.]**—Sayyid Ahmad " Shahid," or the Martyr, was a dominating personality in the first third of the 19th century in India. His name is connected with religious and social reform as well as with the attempt at the political re-establishment of Indian Muslims. He was born at Rāi Bareli in Safar, 1201 A.H.=November, 1786. After very early life, Sayyid Ahmad was attracted by the personality of Shāh 'Abdul 'Aziz of Delhi, who entrusted the young man's education to his younger brother Shāh 'Abdul Qādir. Sayyid Ahmad studied a number of books, and knew Arabic and Persian. He was familiar with Muslim theology, though he was not quite as learned as Shāh Ismā'il or any other known 'Ālim or divine. Sayyid Ahmad travelled far and wide and performed the Hajj. He was a good speaker.

Sayyid Ahmad had a strong physique. His association with Amir Khān of Tonk (1768-1834), in Rājpūtāna, about nine years from 1809 to 1818, enabled him to lead the life of a soldier, gaining

extensive and varied experience in warfare, particularly in the skilful use of cannon under the chief with whom, however, he parted company when the latter entered into a pact with the English on December 15, 1817.

On the decadence that had set in in Muslim India about the last days of the Mughuls, Marathas, Rājputs, Jāts and Sikhs were rising to undermine what was left of Muslim power in the land. Muslims in the Punjab fared particularly badly on account of the growing strength of the Sikhs.\*

Anxious to do something for Muslim revival, Sayyid Ahmad turned his thoughts towards the North-West Frontier as providing a field for his activities. In Shāh Ismā'il "Shahīd" and Maulavī Abdul Hayy of Budhāna or Bodhāna (District Muzaffarnagar, United Provinces), he had two capable lieutenants. With about 500 men, they proceeded by way of Kālpi, Gwāliār, Tonk, Mārwār, Sind, Bolan, Quetta, Qandahār, Ghaznī and Kābul, where dissensions among the Bārakzais egged them on to their destination, viz., Peshāwar. From Peshāwar these *Mujāhids* or 'holy warriors' came to Akora (Khatak) via Chārsadda and Nowshera. Here Sayyid Ahmad repulsed the Sikhs led by General Budh Singh, under command of Hari Singh Nalwa, in November 1826. But on account of the defection of Durrānī Sardārs, principally Yār Muhammad Khān and his three brothers, who entered into a secret pact with the Sikhs, Sayyid Ahmad was poisoned ineffectively and later defeated at Shaidu, 3 miles from Akora.

Sayyid Ahmad was acknowledged as Imām by his followers, who were, at one time, masters of the territory from Hazāra to Peshāwar. At Peshāwar ordinances under the *Shari'at* were introduced. Prostitution was stopped. Wine shops were closed. But interested Mullās started mischief. By January 1831, Sayyid Ahmad and his chief lieutenant, Shāh Ismā'il, desired to enter Kashmīr to save Muslims from oppressive rule and a battalion reached Muzaffarābād, then the *jāgōr* of Rājā Zabardast Khān, already mentioned before, when they were surprised at Bālākot (in the Hazāra district), 30 miles north of Abbotābād, or 11 miles upward on the river Kunhār, which joins the Jehlum lower down the Mānsehra-Srinagar road. Bālākot has now a population of about 3000. Here Prince Sher Singh fell upon these *Mujāhids* who were done to death in Zīqa'd 1246 A. H.=May 1831 A. C. Those, who escaped, moved out to carve out homes in freedom farther off.

Newspapers, in March 1948, announced that the descendants of these *Mujāhids*, who were driven out into the recesses of unknown hills, are returning from their retreats now that Pakistān is established, and they have the free Muslim State though but a part of their cherished dream of the reconquest of India for which their ancestors laid down their lives.

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\**Islamic Culture*, Hydarābād, Deccan, Vol. XIX, No. 2, April 1945, pp. 123-39.

The *Sirāt-i-Mustaqim* is a record of what Sayyid Ahmad spoke on various occasions on different subjects. The first and the fourth chapters of this book were penned by Shāh Ismā'īl, and the second and the third by Maulavī 'Abdul Hayy. Shāh Ismā'īl wrote, before these *jihād* days, his *Mansab-i-Imāmat* which gives his views on the ideal leader.]\*

*Jacquemont on fruits and trees.*

"In a month I shall eat cherries out of my own garden, then apricots, peaches and almonds, then apples, pears and lastly grapes. I walk every evening under a superb vine arbour the vines of which, though still young, are two feet in circumference: I never saw anything like it. I am also promised delicious melons and even water melons. This latter promise is the threat of a very warm summer; but it resembles ours in the south of France. The productions are the same. We have now the same weather as at Paris but finer and less inconstant (page 60).

"The Italian poplar and the plane tree are predominant in the cultivated tracts. The plane-tree is colossal, the vine in the gardens gigantic; the forests are composed of cedars and different varieties of firs and pines, absolutely similar in general to those of Europe, and, in a more elevated zone, of birches, which seem to me not different from ours. The lotus appears on the surface of still water, the flowering rush and water trefoil (page 77).

"*Lalla Rookh* forms a part of my library, but I am tired of it. A page of this style would perhaps please; but thirty (and all his tales are longer) make one sick. So the finest music pleases for two hours and a half, but fatigues and annoys if prolonged beyond. . . . . it was in the very gardens and palace in which she was received by the King of Bucharia that my first interview with the governor of Cashmere took place (pages 72-73).

*Comments on the ugliness of female faces.*

. . . . "I have never felt any pleasure in looking at a female face if it was not white, gentle, delicate and noble. Yet I have met in India and the Punjab, from time to time, very handsome women in their style of

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\*Mr. Ghulām Rasūl Mīhr, B.A., Editor, *The Inqilāb*, Lāhore, who has made a special study of the movement organized by Sayyid Ahmad "Shahid," has kindly scrutinized the dates and events of the paragraphs on "Shahid."

beauty ; but Cashmere has not yet presented me with one of these exceptions. I am sorry to find my experience so contradictory to the accounts of the small number of European travellers who have visited these regions before me (page 87).

"The ugliness of women is explained by continual exportation of every pretty Cashmerian face to the Punjab and India, to stock the harems of the Mussulmans, Seikhs (Sikhs), and Hindoos (pages 74-75).

"The female race is remarkably ugly. I speak of the common ranks, . . . . those, one sees in streets and fields. . . . . since those of a more elevated station pass all their lives shut up, and are never seen. It is true that all little girls who promise to turn out pretty, are sold at eight years of age, and carried off into the Punjab and India. Their parents sell them at from twenty to three hundred francs . . . . . most commonly fifty or sixty" (page 65).

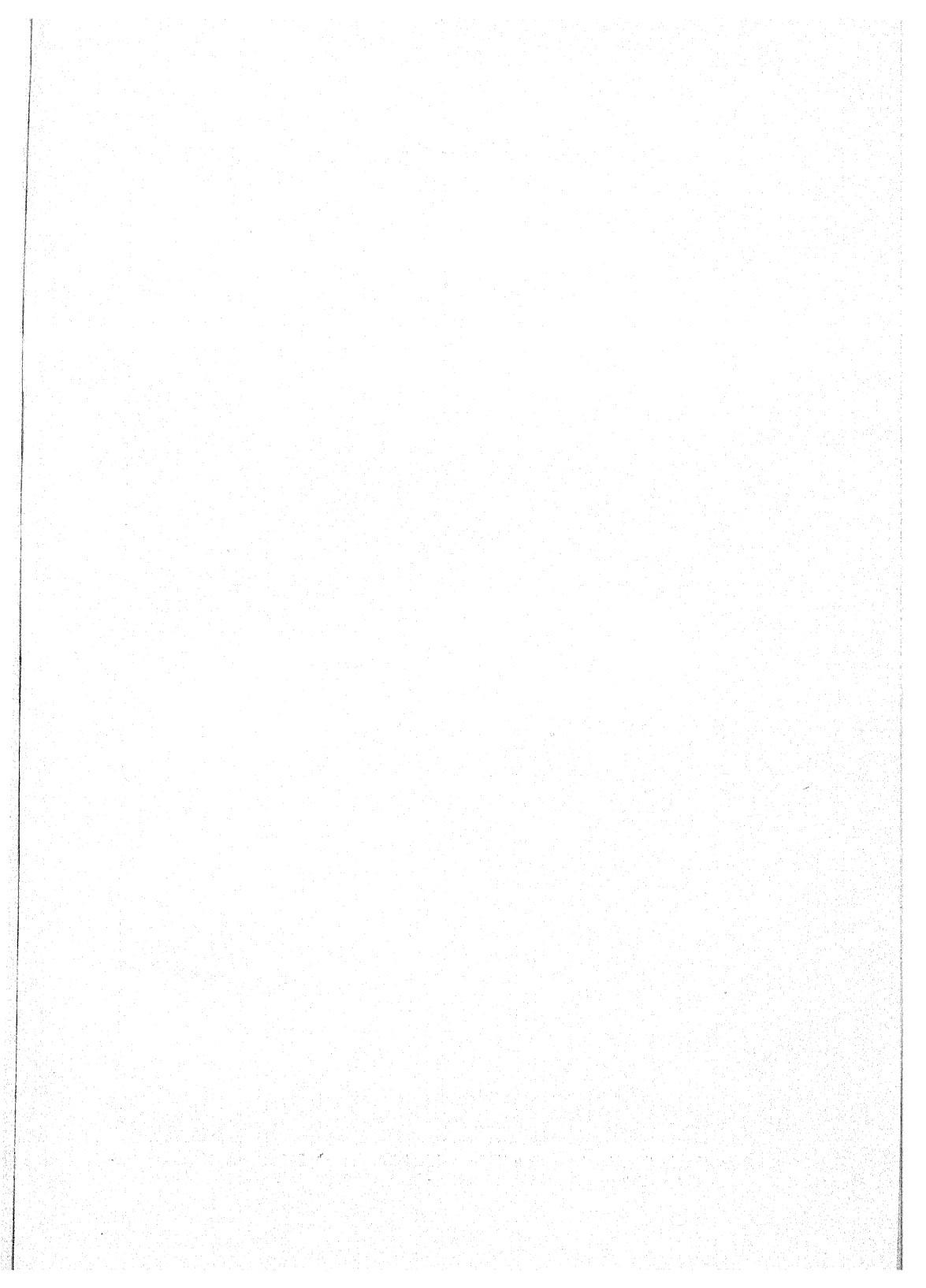
#### *Jacquemont's praise for Ranjit Singh.*

May 20th 1831. "Only a few words to tell you that Runjeet Singh is an admirable man . . . . Which I hope you think already and have long thought. An officer of his household has just arrived this morning in a fortnight from Umbrister (Amritsar) where the King is at present encamped. He brings me a very gracious royal Firman. . . . Everything, therefore, is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. The King, besides, enjoins me to make myself at home in Cashmere. "That country is yours," he writes, "establish yourself in whichever of my gardens pleases you best ; order, and you shall be obeyed" (pages 67-78).

#### *Jacquemont's audience with Ranjit Singh.*

When having the audience of Ranjit Singh at Amritsar, earlier in the month of October, 1831, this French Naturalist writes : . . . . "Instead of *Jakman Sahib Bahadur*, I was known now by every one as the *Aflatoon el Zeman*"—'Plato of the Age' (pages 181-182).

Jacquemont's interview with Ranjīt Singh in Lāhore on 12th March, 1831, lasted two hours. In the course of this interview we read : "The Maharaja began in Hindustani which I understand, and he could understand quite well the rhetorical flourishes which I had prepared in that





Mahārājā Sher Singh (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum) Nāzim or Governor of  
Kashmir, as Shahzāda Sher Singh, from 1832 to 1834.

language for the beginning of the interview . . . . He asked me questions about my travels. But speaking in Urdu was too much of a strain for him and his Punjabi, which I could follow but imperfectly, was translated to me by M. Ventura . . . .<sup>1</sup>

Jacquemont was born in 1801 at Paris of an ancient family of Artois. He died on 7th December, 1832, at Poona. Jacquemont spent about three and a half years in India, having landed in Calcutta in May 1829. During his stay in Calcutta, he met Rājā Rām Mohan Roy, the great Brahmo Samāj reformer.

#### 7. Prince Sher Singh.

Prince Sher Singh, Ranjīt's reputed son, was governor for two years, *viz.* 1832-34. "Sher Singh is also a fine, manly-looking fellow," wrote the Hon. W. G. Osborne in 1840. "He is a supposed son of the Maharaja, though the latter strongly denies the paternity. He, however, grants him the privilege of a chair in his presence—an honour he shares with Kurruck Sing, the heir-apparent to the throne, and Heera Sing, the son of the minister (Rājā Dhyān Singh, the younger brother of Rājā Gulāb Singh), the only individuals of the Court who are so distinguished." Osborne adds a footnote about Sher Singh, and says: "He is a twin son of one of Runjeet's wives, named Mehtab Koonwar, who in 1807 (on his return to Lahore, after an absence of some duration) presented him with two boys, Sher and Tara Sing. The lady's conjugal fidelity had been already suspected, and her husband would not own them. He appears, however, in some degree to have acknowledged Sher Sing, by the consideration with which he treated him; but Tara Sing experienced uniform neglect."<sup>2</sup>

The Prince left the work of administration to his *nā'ib*, Basākhā Singh, and himself enjoyed life. The resultant confusion has been versified in this couplet:

بُود ورنزِ زبانِ اهلِ خراج — دھرم کا راجِ ملک کا تاراج

[It was on the tongue of the tribute-payers (i.e., subjects). Dharam-rāj, or the 'Reign of Religion,' is the ruin of the country.]

1. Translated from the French by Mr. B. R. Chatterji.—*The Modern Review*, Calcutta, November 1931, pages 503-4.

2. *The Court and Camp of Runjeet Singh*, London, 1840, pages 64-65.

Basākhā Singh was replaced by Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as the Prince's *nā'ib*. Jama'dār Khushhāl Singh, the favourite of Ranjit, was added to the gubernatorial staff. But this addition proved tyrannical to the Kashmīrī in the extreme. And Khushhāl had to be recalled to Lāhore.

During the governorship of Prince Sher Singh, a terrible famine visited Kashmīr in 1831, and reduced the population of Kashmīr from 8,00,000 to 2,00,000. A great earthquake shook the Valley in the second year of Kirpā Rām's régime. Three months later, cholera, which was raging furiously at Islāmābād, spread to Srinagar. Deaths in the Valley were beyond counting. Dīwān Basākhā Singh and Jam'adār Khushhāl Singh, Prince Sher Singh's *nā'ibs*, one after the other, took advantage of the Prince's fondness for *shikār*, and exacted money from the people. According to Sohan Lal's '*Umdat-ut-Tawārikh*,'\* Khushhāl Singh alone brought seven lakh and twenty six thousand rupees from Kashmīr, in addition to shawls and other valuables worth seven lakhs.

#### 8. Colonel Mehān Singh Kumēdān.

Colonel Mehān Singh Kumēdān (Commandant) was governor of Kashmīr from 1834 to 1841 for about seven years. Mehān Singh was the son of Amir Singh of the village Mān in the tahsil and district of Gujrānwāla, Punjāb, and had two brothers, Gurmukh Singh Kumēdān and 'Attar Singh. Mehān Singh was unusually brave, having had 27 wounds on his body. He was also a man of his word. There are several stories of his high sense of justice. He endeavoured to revive the trade, industry and agriculture of the Valley. His régime saw the death of Mahārājā Ranjit Singh, the succession and death of Mahārājā Kharak Singh and that of his son, Nau-nihāl Singh, and the accession of Mahārājā Sher Singh. Otherwise, Ranjit would not allow so long a time to any individual to continue as governor in Kashmīr, lest he should assert independence, as Afghān governors did during the preoccupations of Ahmad Shāh Durrānī and his successors,

\*Daftar III, Part II, page 170.

[The '*Umdat-ut-Tawārikh*' is a *Rūz-nāma* or diary of Ranjit Singh, written by Sohan Lal, the *Akkhār-nāvīs* of the Mahārājā, and published by the diarist's son in 1885. It is a true and faithful narrative of Ranjit Singh's eventful life as a record of dates and a chronicle of events. The diary is quite detailed.]

or, as Sayyid Muhammad Latif's *History of the Punjab* puts it, "they all turn out *harāmzādas* (i.e., villains); there is too much pleasure and enjoyment in that country" (page 448).

Colonel Mehān Singh Kumēdān was, comparatively speaking, the best of all Sikh governors. He did his best, in the beginning, to mitigate the ravages of famine, and with a view to stimulating population, remitted the tax upon marriages, and set to work to bring some order into the administration. Agricultural advances were made free of interest. Mehān Singh's life, spoilt by 'intemperance and sensuality,' was cut short by mutinous soldiers, who felt the governor was solicitous of the welfare of the subjects at the expense of the army.

But, in reality, Mehān Singh took care to keep the turbulent Sikh soldiery under check, would not let them exercise oppression, and so they killed him on the night of the 17th April, 1841. Pir Hasan Shāh gives this moving chronogram of the Colonel's death in his history—

کرنل میہان سنگ از شغب - شد کشته امشب بی سب  
افتاد از جور و تعب - مخلوق در چاہ قلق  
از بھر تاریخش ببین - بے پا و سر شد در زمین  
عدل و رجا - صلح و صفا - عقل و وفا - نظم و نسق

This year, 1841, is described as a year of terror throughout the Punjab. About a month after Sher Singh's accession, Sikh soldiery became uncontrollable and licentious at Lāhore. And, as Smyth points out, the troops in the provinces at Peshāwar, in Kashmīr, at Multān, etc., imitated their example (*History of the Sikhs*, page 59).

Mehān Singh's son, Sant Singh, took refuge in the Kūh-i-Mārān, and then quietly left Kashmīr. He was very handsome, and rose to the position of a Colonel in the Sikh army, and died in 1846, leaving a daughter Prēm Kaur, who breathed her last in 1906.

#### *G. T. Vigne meets Sudu Bayu.*

It was in Mehān Singh's time that Vigne met Sudu Bayu or Brother Sa'īd. Let Vigne\* describe the meeting

\**Travels*, Vol. I, pages 305-6.

in his own words : " I have twice visited a Musalman fakir of peculiar sanctity who lives in the neighbourhood, and who is said to have attained a very great age—I think 110. His name was Sudu Bayu. I should have guessed him to have been about 90; but there was little appearance of second childishness ; on the contrary, he complained of nothing excepting that his teeth and eyesight began to fail him a little. He had witnessed the decline and fall of his country. He told me that in his younger days he had visited Hindustan, had been at Calcutta, and that he still hoped to see the day when Kashmir would be in the possession of my countrymen. Although a Musalman, his name and reputation are much respected by the Sikhs. On account of his age a man so old as he is being supposed to be under the peculiar protection of Providence. Mihan Singh, the Sikh Governor, made several attempts to gain an interview, and offered him large presents of money; but I was informed that he spurned the offer with contempt . . . . . and refused to have anything to do with one whom he looked upon as the oppressor of his country."

Mehān Singh's liquor is commented upon thus : " Mihan Singh . . . . . had ordered all the grapes to be brought thence to the city, where he contrived to manufacture a wretched apology for the generous liquor" (page 322).

*Baron Hügel, the well-known Austrian scientific botanist, on Col. Mehān Singh.*

"Mehān Singh has a thick-set unwieldy figure," wrote Baron Hügel on Saturday, 21st November 1835,\* "and though still in the prime of life, his dissolute way of living has given him the appearance of an old man : his hair was white as silver. To judge by his countenance, one would pronounce him goodnatured and kind : but in many respects he is not the Governor required in the present critical state of Kashmīr. The long undipped beard announces him to be a Sikh ; and his thick lips and but half-opened eyes, indeed every feature, shew him to be an Epicurean in the strictest sense of the word. On this occasion he was wrapped in a yellow silk robe, his head-dress consisting of a simple white handkerchief."

\**Travels*, pages 115-116.

The Baron's conversation with Ranjīt Singh gives us a glimpse of what Ranjīt thought of Mehān Singh. This conversation took place on Wednesday, January 13, 1836.

- |              |   |
|--------------|---|
| Ranjīt Singh | .. You have seen the whole world,<br>which country do you like best ?   |
| Hügel        | .. My own native land.  |
| Ranjīt Singh | .. You have seen Kashmir, what think<br>you of it ?   |
| Hügel        | .. That sickness and famine have of<br>late years so depopulated it, that<br>it must produce a revenue of small<br>amount.  |
| Ranjīt Singh | .. I have ordered Mehan Singh to give<br>money to the poor. Think you<br>that he robs me ?  |
| Hügel        | .. I think not.   |
| Ranjīt Singh | .. Do not you think that I should do<br>well to remove him from the<br>government ? he has no intellect.  |
| Hügel        | .. I think the Governor a worthy man,<br>and that you will not easily find a<br>better. The country needs indul-<br>gence, in order that it may recover<br>itself. ( <i>Travels.</i> p. 287). |

#### *G. T. Vigne's comments on the Colonel.*

"Next to Kupar Ram, however, he (Colonel Mehān Singh) was the best of the Sikh governors," wrote G.T. Vigne: "He was the fattest man I saw in the East, with good-humoured aspect, and the air of a *bon vivant*. How he contrived to exist in good health I knew not. At breakfast he ate largely of almonds stewed in butter; and never went to bed sober by any chance. He was an old friend and fellow soldier of Runjīt, and was proud of showing the scars of an old wound he had received across the back of both hands, when using a double-handed sword. He stood greatly in awe of Runjīt, who was apt to recall a governor of a province at a moment's notice; and he kept in favour with him by well timed presents, and by always attending to the advice of his old friend and school-fellow, Mohomed Afzul, the Kazi, or Chief Judge of Kashmir, who, taken altogether, was by far the best of the Panjabis residing in the valley" (*Travels*, Vol. II, page 72).

Though Mehān Singh was reputed to be mild, his character was contradictory. Vigne thus describes the Colonel's cruelty to his wife : " Whilst I was at Kabul, Mihān Singh was guilty of an act of atrocity . . . . He baked alive his favourite wife, the mother of his only son. She happened to be in the Panjab, where some of her enemies accused her of an intrigue, and Ranjīt sent her to her husband in Kashmir. Her son who feared the worst from the hands of his father, dashed his turban on the ground before him. . . . and knelt bareheaded at his feet. Mihān Singh promised to forgive her. Soon afterwards the poor lad was sent to the Pañjab, in order to be there when Sir Henry Fane, the Commander-in-Chief, was on his visit to Lahore. His unfortunate mother was then seized and forced into a bath, the temperature of which was then increased for the purpose of destroying her by suffocation. This did not succeed as soon as was expected ; her screams were so horrible that several people left the Shyr Gurh (Shergarhī), that they might not be obliged to listen to them ; and in the end, her husband sent her a bowl of poison, which she swallowed" (pages 72-73).

As nature's nemesis, perhaps, we read further : " Letters, I received by the July mail 1841, informed me that Mihān Singh had been murdered in his durbar by the mutinous Sikh Sepahis, who demanded an increase of pay, which he would not grant without a reference to Lahore" (page 73).

To restore authority, shaken by mutinous soldiers, Rājā Gulāb Singh marched up to Kashmīr with a force in 1841. The Rājā quelled the mutiny and returned to the Punjab, leaving Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn of Hoshiārpur, appointed by Mahārājā Sher Singh, then the ruler of the Punjab, as Governor of Kashmīr in 1842, under the title of *I'timād-ud-Daula Nizām-ul-Mulk*.

**A statistical account of Kashmīr.**—A piece of very valuable record during Colonel Mehān Singh's régime is a statistical account of Kashmīr in the Sikh period, on the lines of the *A'in-i-Akbarī* of 'Allāmī Abu'l Fazl prepared for the Colonel by, apparently, an accomplished scholar of prevalent Persian of his day, but whose identity is not revealed. The MS. is a huge volume of 349 folios, exclusive of the list of contents which consists of 4 folios, and the preface, introduction and descriptive notes on Kashmīrī

hand-made glazed paper, 21" x 15" x 2" in size. Several of the folios are blank, probably for subsequent additions or for items unentered or unavailable for the time being. Folios 1-2 are a preface. Folios 3-4 are an introduction. Folios 5-22 are descriptive notes on the 37 *parganas* of the Valley of Kashmīr. Division of land into *ābī* (wet) and *khushkī* (dry) cover the first 59 folios of the text. Details of revenue from cereals of the *parganas* spread over folios 67 to 75. Rates levied on packponies, boats, saffron and *singhāra* (or water-nut), *dāgh-shāl* (or the department of shawls), road, and *jāgīrs* or assignments of rājās, *Dharmārth* or stipends to keepers of shrines, Hindu and Muslim including Shi'a, are followed by notes on Hindu deities. A paragraph on regulations about persons engaged in rearing silk-worms closes the volume at folio 342. The topography of the *parganas* is beautifully illumined on folios 148-181, and is expressive of the artist's mode of pictorial illustration of streams, springs, gardens, hills, etc. The scribe's style of calligraphy is clear, neat *nasta'liq*.

The text opens with the praise of God and proceeds, in brief, as follows : "The rule of the rājās continued for over four thousand and four hundred years. The Sultāns ruled for 260 years. During this period, it is stated, Udshah Rāwal (?), a Hindu, was the first person who made the settlement of *parganas*, districts, etc., etc. In the time of the Chaks whose rule lasted 39 (31 ?) years, this record was lost through their neglect. When Kashmīr came under the sovereignty of Jalāl-ud-Din Akbar, Pādshāh of the Chaghtāis, and continued under his successors for 168 (166 ?) years, Rajā Todar Mal settled the revenue and taxes of the Valley—a settlement which continued till the time of the Afghāns, who held possession for 66 (67 ?) years, and followed these very lines. And now in the time of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, about whose virtues verses follow, including the compleat—

ہیبتِ خیل و خدمش تا فرنگ شاہ قوی طالع رنجیت سنگ

Karnail (Colonel) Mehān Singh surveyed the land in detail and settled it.

In 1890 Bikramī (1833 A.C.), a very severe famine devastated Kashmīr. Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh appointed Colonel Mehān Singh governor of Kashmīr. The Colonel in order to prevent a recurrence of this serious calamity, visited every *pargana*, investigated prevailing conditions and put his results in the writer's record.

The author, then, prays—

سایہ اش بر سر ما، سایہ حق بر سر او

[May on us be his shadow : on him the shadow of God !]

The closing couplet of this preface is :

شنبیده ام، شنو اے صاحبِ خوبستہ رقم

من از زبانِ مورخ، تو از زبانِ قلم

[You of happy writ, listen, what I have heard,  
I from the tongue of the historian, and you from the point of the pen.]

This MS. is not much good as a contribution to the history of Kashmir. Administratively and economically and for political geography during Sikh sovereignty, however, it is of unrivalled authenticity. It is a mine of information for an economic survey of Kashmir under Sikh rule, and indeed well worth the labour for a Ph.D. dissertation.]

[I am grateful to the ex-Prime Minister of Kapūrthala, Khān Bahādur Miyān 'Abdul 'Aziz Falakpaimā, M.A., C.B.E., Retired Financial Commissioner, Punjab, sometime Deputy High Commissioner for Pākistān, New Delhi, for allowing me the use of this volume in manuscript (No. 20) from the State Tōshakhāna of His Highness the Mahārājā of Kapūrthala. This MS., in the inner cover, bears the following :

تواریخِ کلانِ کشمیر، عملِ میہانِ سنگی - نذر گذرانیدہ

مُنشی میر احمد پسیر نور حمد مرحوم جلال آبادی -

### *The Basant Bāgh.*

The Basant Bāgh below the Sūnt Kul (or the Apple Canal) was built by Colonel Mehān Singh. Dr. John Ince, M.D., M.R.C.S., in his *Kashmīr Handbook* (edition 1872, page 125) says that the handsome *ghāt* of the Bāgh was composed of 'limestone slabs brought by the Sikh Governor from the mosque of Hasanābād.' The garden, presumably at Dr. Ince's visit, was occupied by Hindū *fagirs*. There was a raised terrace inside it, where Mahārājā Ranbir Singh sometimes sat in the warm summer evenings to hold his *darbār*.

### *Pandit Birbal Kāchru's History of Kashmīr.*

Pandit Birbal Kāchru commenced writing his *Mukhtasar-ut-Tawārikh* in Colonel Mehān Singh's time in 1251 A.H.=1835 A.C., and closed it in 1262 A.H.=1846 A.C.

The MS. copy available to me consists of 334 folios or 668 pages of the royal octavo size. Each page has 15 lines. The manuscript begins from the earliest times and closes with the death of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn.

9. *Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn.*

During the government of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, the Bambas of Muzaffarābād (which has at present a population of 4,246) and Karnāh 'Ilāqa, under Sher Ahmad, inflicted great losses on the Sikhs. In 1843, Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn opened the Jāmi' Masjid, the gates of which had been closed since 1819 or, as Pandit Birbal Kāchru says, 25 years. The Shaikh Bāgh near Amīra Kadal, Srinagar, is known after him. Dr. Thomas Thomson, M.D., F.L.S., Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army, in his *Western Himalaya and Tibet* (Reeve & Co., Convent Garden, London, 1852, p. 285) refers to his residence in this Shaikh Bāgh in April 1848, two years after the Treaty of Amritsar. Dr. Thomson calls Srinagar 'the town of Kashmīr.'

Kashmīr histories (like *Wajīz* and *Hasan*) refer with tragic sadness to Sikh savagery in burning alive a whole family of seventeen in dry willow and cow-dung because of the alleged crime of cow-slaughter by Pirzāda Samad Bābā Qādirī of Chhatābal, Srinagar. This dastardly execution was supervised by the Thāna-dār (Police station officer), Bholā-nāth.

*Baron Schönberg's sketch of contemporary Kashmīr.*

The reader will be interested in what Baron Erich von Schönberg, the contemporary of Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn, wrote in his *Travels*, published in 1853 A.C. Writes the Baron on arrival at Shālāmār, Kashmīr. "The Schykh Sahab, Gulam Moyhiddin, expressed himself in the most friendly terms, and declared repeatedly that I had only to command, and that all should be done according to my wishes ; that such were the orders of my royal friend Scheer (Sher) Singh, which fully coincided with his own wishes to serve me (Vol. II, pages 11-12) . . . . . I passed three weeks of tedious existence in the Shalimar, wearied with intrigues, the object of which seemed to be to make me a prisoner without using violence (page 15). A revolt of the military was apprehended in Kashmir ; there were two parties in the province. The governor was suspected of being an instrument of Gulab Singh's, and it was supposed that the troops he commanded would join him. The military commander, on the contrary, adhered to his duty, and supported the royal party. The governor felt himself in a state of uncertainty and insecurity (page 21) . . . . It was mid-day when

the sad intelligence of Scheer Singh's death was communicated to me" (page 22).

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Prince Dalip Singh, at the age of six, was proclaimed Mīhārājā at Lāhore in 1843. Hīrā Singh, the son of Dhyān Singh, was made his *Vazīr*, as already noted. Mahārānī Jind Kaur, popularly known as Māī Jindān, became the Regent.

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"Gulam Muhyiddin, who was of humble birth, came to Kashmir, in quality of chief munschi to the governor Moti Rham (Rām) if I remember correctly," writes Schönberg. "Some reports, circulated about him, attracted the attention of Runjeet Singh, and at the time that he dismissed Moti Rham from his office of governor, he summoned Gulam Muhyiddin to an account, and fined him a considerable sum" (page 92).

"Affairs had now taken a very bad turn for Muhyiddin. He and his son were necessitated to become muncshis at a monthly pay for about eight or ten rupees each. Both supported themselves in this manner for some time. Runjeet Singh died and under Karak Singh's government Muhyiddin thrived better. He was made governor of Kashmir, and Gulab Singh gave him a lac of rupees" (page 94).

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"The coolies and bearers who accompanied me from Kashmir to Lahore gave me the following account of their position. "When we return to Kashmir," said they, "as it will be well known that we shall each have received six rupees, there will be sent into our houses by order of the Governor for each man, two measures of maize. The price of one measure in the bazar is only eight annas but we shall be charged two rupees, so that all we shall have earned will pass into the Governor's hands" (pages 102-103).

"The artisans and weavers of shawls are in an equally miserable condition. The daily wage of each is four annas, of which he must pay two to the governor: and for the two remaining annas, singara, a kind of vegetable, is sent into his house, and, I need scarcely mention, at the same rate at which it is sold to the coolies. This singara is the cheapest of all kinds of food, and were it not so abundant, it would not be possible for a large portion of the inhabit-

ants of Kashmir to live on the slender pittance allowed by the governor. The singara, which is a kind of marine vegetable, is found in abundance in the lakes; and yet this food which is so bounteously supplied by nature is subjected to a tax taken in kind, and which forms a stock afterwards sold out at an exorbitant price" (page 103).

"I will now turn to speak of the position of the soldiers. These are scarcely better off than the other classes of which I have spoken. A regular receipt of pay is not to be thought of, nor indeed, strictly speaking, do they receive pay at all. The pay is always in arrears, and the accounts are so managed, that the soldiers are always made to appear in debt. The sepoys who accompanied me from Kashmir were very communicative. They said that in consequence of my express wish on the subject, the governor had paid them on setting out. Each had received six rupees as a compensation for six months' service, and he was obliged to be content, for according to the arrangement of the accounts they were made to appear in debt to the government. Once as the army was marching against the Chinese, Gulab Singh ordered that each soldier should receive a present of one lohy (a kind of blanket) and one rupee, but when the campaign was finished, the gift was set down as a debt. This mode of annulling presents was by no means unusual" (page 107).

#### 10. Shaikh Imām-ud-Din.

In 1845, Shaikh Imām-ud-Din succeeded his father Shaikh Ghulām Muhiyī'd Dīn as Governor with the title of *Amīr-ul-Mulk Jang Bahādur*. In the words of a contemporary, in an article in the *Calcutta Review*, (July-December, 1847, p. 248), Shaikh Imām-ud-Din was "perhaps the best mannered, and the best dressed man in the Punjāb. He was rather less than middle height, but his figure was exquisite, and was usually set off with the most unrivalled fit which the best tailors of Kashmīr would achieve for the governor of the province. His smile and bow were those of a perfect courtier whose taste was too good to be obsequious. His great intelligence and unusually good education had endowed him with considerable conversational powers, and his Persian idiom did no dishonour to a native of Shirāz."

[The two Shaikhs who served under the Sikhs belonged to Hoshiārpur in the Doaba Bist Jāllandhar of the East Punjāb. Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was the son of Shaikh Ujāla of the Kalāl tribe. He began life as a shoe-maker.\* Later, he served as a *munshī* to Sardār Bhūp Singh of Hoshiārpur. Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was employed to attend on Sheo Dayāl, the second son of Diwān Motī Rām, and the grandson of Diwān Mohkam Chand. Kirpā Rām, the brother of Sheo Dayāl, also took interest in Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn and advanced his interests when the Shaikh satisfactorily managed the affairs of Sheo Dayāl.

When Muhammad 'Azim Khān of Kābul marched on Peshāwar to attack the Sikhs, Ranjīt Singh, on the recommendation of Kirpā Rām, who put forward Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as well-suited to carry on negotiation to avert this attack, deputed him to Kābul where his mission was successful. When Kirpā Rām was Governor of Kashmīr Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn accompanied him in 1827, but Rājā Dhyān Singh brought about Kirpā Rām's recall in 1831, and Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn suffered likewise. Later, when Prince Sher Singh succeeded Kirpā Rām, he took the Shaikh as his lieutenant. Ranjīt Singh, on certain adverse reports, recalled Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn and fined him heavily. After a period of unemployment, Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn was taken in service by Prince Nau-nihāl Singh and became Governor of the Jāllandhar Doāb. He assisted in the campaign against the Rājpots of Mandi, and on Mehān Singh's murder was appointed Governor of Kashmīr by Mahārājā Sher Singh. Imām-ud-Dīn was appointed Governor of the Jullundur Doāb. Later, Imām-ud-Dīn commanded troops on his march by way of Pūnch against insurrection in Kashmīr on the murder of Mehān Singh, and took part in the "Wahhābi" expedition against Sayyid Ahmad "Shahīd" of Rāi Bareilly (see pp. 733-5). Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn died, it is said, from poison in 1845, and was buried in the precincts of the *ziyārat* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, Hari-parbat, Srinagar. The chronogram is—

هُوَ الْغَفُور

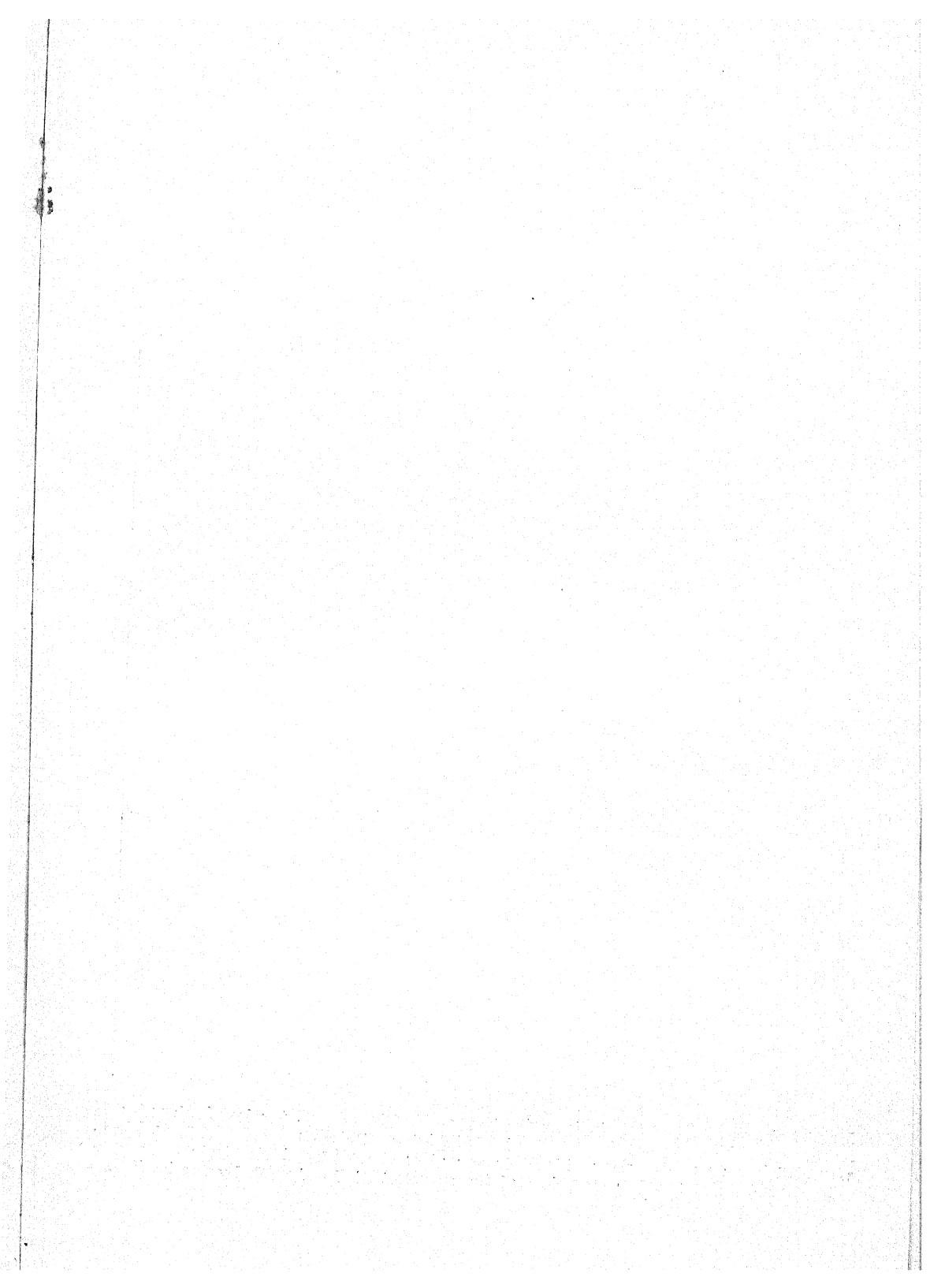
شیخ کامل غلام مُتحی الدین — بحقیقت شد از سرے مجاز

بیست و ششم شهر ربیع الاول

بھر تاریخ رحلتیں، هاتھ — داد شیخ ارم مکان آواز

یوم الاربعاء سنہ ۱۲۶۳ھ

\**The Calcutta Review*, Vol. VIII, 1847, p. 241,





Mahārājā Dalip Singh (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum), the last Sikh ruler of Kashmir. In his time, Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn and his son, Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn, were Nāzims or Governors of Kashmir one after the other. This photo represents Mahārājā Dalip Singh at the time of the conquest of the Punjāb by the British.

Sir Lepel Griffin<sup>1</sup> accuses the Shaikhs of rapacity, and says they were unpopular with the Sikhs both at Jallundhar and in Kashmir. Sir Lepel also puts forward the possibility of Imām-ud-Din's retaining Kashmir as Viceroy by the payment of a large sum of ready money to the British and this is why, it is said, he felt it necessary to carry out Rājā Lāl Singh's instructions to oppose Gulāb Singh in his occupation of Kashmir. Another statement suggests that Imām-ud-Din also was offered the alternative of service as governor of Kashmir by Gulāb Singh under him on a salary of one lakh per annum.<sup>2</sup> There is an incrimination that an emissary was dispatched by Imām-ud-Din to Russia for aid against the British, but this secret mission has never been discussed openly anywhere, and may therefore be supposed to be purely imaginary. In the *India Secret Consultations*, 26th Dec., 1846, Shaikh Imām-ud-Din is stated to have been styled as *Amīr-ul-Muminīn* which is rather significant. In his decision to carry out Lāl Singh's instruction, it is said, Shaikh Imām-ud-Din was urged by the influence of his wife, the daughter of Mu'iz-ud-Dīn, the Khān of Kurnār, Kūhistān, proud of her kin and blood. Rājā Lāl Singh, however, was tried and deposed from the *wizārat* and banished to Āgra. Imām-ud-Din was pardoned at his trial which was apparently the first open tribunal under the British in the Punjab. Imām-ud-Din assisted the British with two troops of cavalry for service at Delhi at the time of the Indian Revolt of 1857. He died at the age of 40, in March 1859 or Sha'bān 1275 A.H., and was buried in the courtyard of the mousoleum of Shaikh 'Ali Huwjērī Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, Lāhore, and has this inscription on his marble grave :—

چون کہ نواب شیخ امام الدین شد ز دُنیا و رو بِحَلَدِ ذهاد  
گفت هاتف بسال تاریخنش اجد مُجتبی شفیعیش باد

تاریخ دوم شہر شعبان سنہ ۱۲۷۵ھ

چون بخاطم بکذری دامن کشان از سرِ اخلاص الحمدے بخوان

Nawwāb Imām-ud-Din had a brother named Shaikh Firūz-ud-Dīn, whose great-grandsons, Mr. Ghiyās-ud-Dīn, M.L.A., and Mr. Ghulām Mu'in-ud-Dīn, P.A.S., perpetuate the family in Lāhore.

The Anglo-Sikh war of 1848-49 led to Dalip's deposition. Mahārānī Jind Kaur was exiled to the Chunār fort in

1. *Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab* by Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., revised by Dr. G. L. Chopra, M.A., PH.D., Bar-at-Law, Punjab Educational Service, Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Punjab, Government Printing, Lāhore, 1940, pages 318-325.

2. The *Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society*, April 1932, page 21.

the United Provinces. She, however, escaped to Nepāl in disguise. We have already said (on p. 719) that Dalip Singh was removed to the interior of India. As a matter of fact, Dalip Singh was removed in 1850 to Fathgarh, United Provinces, where he was converted to Christianity on 8th March, 1853, and left for England in the following year, to spend the rest of his life there. He came to India twice—in 1861 to take his mother to England, and in 1863 to cremate her dead body on the soil of India. In 1886 he again left for India, it appears, contrary to the wishes of the English, but was detained in Aden where, during his short stay, he is stated to have been re-converted to Sikhism.\* He went back to spend his last days on the continent of Europe. Dalip, at length, died in Paris in 1893.

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### *Close of Sikh Rule in Kashmir.*

Sikh rule in Kashmīr lasted for about 27 years. There were ten Governors during this period. This quarter of a century is the darkest period in the history of Kashmīr. This is the view of the Muslims, and this is the verdict of the overwhelming majority of the Kashmīris. Some of the small minority of the Kashmīri Pandits, however, consider Afghān rule of 67 years with 14 Governors to be the darkest. All patriotic men condemn both for breaking the back of the Kashmīri, and crushing his liberty of action and thought. Though the Kashmīri Pandit invited the Sikh, he did not prosper under Sikh rule either. Despite my efforts to obtain information from several Sikh sources, I have not learnt of any achievement of a positive character to be set to the credit of Sikh rule in Kashmīr, except a small fort at Uri and another one at Narōchhī, near Muzffarābād built by Hari Singh Nalwa, the Basant Bāgh of Colonel Mehān Singh, near Shergarhī, Srinagar, and the re-building by him of the Amīrā Kadal when it was swept away by a flood, and the construction of the Gurdwāras at Maṭān, Bārāmūla, and outside the Kāthī Darwāza, Srinagar, and so also the dispatch by Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, of some thousands of ass-loads of wheat for distribution from mosques and temples in Kashmīr, according to Diwān Amar Nāth's *Zafar-nāmah* after Jama'dār Khushhāl Singh's loot of the Valley (see *Kashir*, pages 737-8). A promise held out to the

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\**Maharaja Ranjit Singh—First Death Centenary Memorial—Khālsa College, Amritsar, 1939, p. 251.*

influx of Kashmīris, driven out by famine, of blankets and largesses if they return to the Valley under escort, is noted by the Calcutta *Englishman* of the 25th December, 1833. The fact is that Sikh sovereignty over Kashmir lasted for only a brief span of time, during which the rulers at Lāhore were far too preoccupied at home to pay attention to the affairs of this outlying province of theirs.

But we cannot ignore G. T. Vigne's view. There is obvious reason behind it. And Vigne was in Kashmīr from June to December, 1835, just about four years before the death of Ranjīt. With his education at Harrow and enrolment as Barrister-at-Law at Lincoln's in 1824, and wide travel in the West and, then, in the East,—Vigne was believed to be an "estimable artist,"—we cannot entirely discredit him. We read the following from his first volume (London, 1842, page 318):—"Ranjit assuredly well knew that the greater the prosperity of Kashmir, the stronger would be the inducement to invasion by the East India Company. *Après moi le déluge* has been his motto; and most assuredly its ruin has been accelerated, not less by his rapacity than by his political jealousy, which suggested to him, at any cost, the merciless removal of its wealth, and the reckless havoc which he has made in its resources." If we do not take this as gospel truth, we cannot set it down as stark lying. That Sikh rule wrought ruin to Kashmir must be the impartial verdict of history. Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra, too, "condemns" Sikh rule in Kashmir despite his admiration for Ranjīt (*see* his book, *The Panjab as a Sovereign State*, p. 140).

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From 1842 Rājā Gulāb Singh had become interested in the Valley, though, till 1846, it belonged to the Sikh rulers at Lāhore. From 1846 onward, its administration was conducted by the Dogrā house of Jammu, and to that we now turn.



## CHAPTER XII

### KASHMIR UNDER THE DOGRAS

[1846 A.C.—]

*Gulab Singh enters Kashmīr with a Sikh army nominally commanded by Prince Pratāb Singh, the son of Mahārājā Sher Singh, to restore order on Colonel Mehān Singh's murder in Srinagar.*

After the death of Ranjit Singh on 27th June, 1839, and consequent chaotic conditions in the realm, the Sikh soldiery grew turbulent in Kashmīr and wreaked vengeance on those who had offended them. They murdered Col. Mehān Singh, the governor, in 1841, whereupon a strong contingent, under the nominal command of Ranjit Singh's grandson, Prince Pratāb Singh, ten-year-old son of Mahārājā Sher Singh, and under the charge of Rājā Gulab Singh of Jammu, was sent to Kashmīr to restore authority. Gulab Singh, as has already been stated, quelled the mutiny, and installed Shaikh Ghulām Muhyi'd Dīn as governor of Kashmīr under the orders of Mahārājā Sher Singh. From this time, Gulab Singh became closely interested in the Valley of Kashmīr.

Before writing further of Gulab Singh, who was a Dogrā, it would appear desirable to offer a little explanation of the term Dogrā, and what it signifies.

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Note.—(1) Dr. Gulshan Lāl Chopra, M. A. (Panjab), Ph.D. (London), Barrister-at-Law, sometime Lecturer at the School of Oriental Studies, University of London, lately of the History Department, Government College, and ex-Keeper of the Records of the Government of the Panjab, Lāhore, author of *The Panjab as a Sovereign State* (1799-1834), [Uttar Chand Kapur and Sons, Lāhore, 1928], kindly read, during our stay in the summer of 1942 at Pahalgām (Kashmīr), this chapter XII before it was sent to the Press.

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(2) I am very grateful to two most highly placed ex-state functionaries (one a Hindu and the other a Muslim) for their critical reading of this Chapter—Kashmir under the Dogras—in March-April, 1948, which enabled me to remove certain inaccuracies.

## A brief history of the Dogras.

### *The origin of the term Dogrā.*

The expression Dogrā is geographical rather than ethnical. It is applied to the people who inhabit the hilly country between the rivers Chenāb and Sutlaj. They are so called whether they are Hindūs or Muslims, Brāhmans, Rājpūts, Rāthīs or Ghirths. According to one account, the term is said to be derived from the Sanskrit words *do* and *girath*, meaning "two lakes." These words were afterwards corrupted into Dogrā. The two lakes (Siroensar and Mansar) lie in the hills, a little to the east of Jammū, which may be taken as the centre of the Dogarath or true Dogrā country. According to another account, Dogrā is a corruption of *dugar*, the *Rājasthānī* name for 'mountain,' and it was introduced by the Rājput warriors from the south who are supposed to have founded the principality of Jammu. The Dogrās themselves incline to the latter derivation. But it is certain that the term originally applied only to the inhabitants of the Dograth or hilly tract, lying between the Chenāb and the Rāvī. It is only of late years that it has been made to include the people of the Trigartha or hills lying between the Rāvī and the Sutlaj. Messrs. Hutchison and Vogel state that the ancient name of the principality of Jammu was *Durgara*, and "of this name the terms *Dugar* and *Dogrā*—in common use at the present time—are derivations." In the light of this statement, based as it is on two copper-plate title deeds of the eleventh century, found in Chamba, the first two explanations of the term must now be regarded as fanciful. The name *Durgara* was probably a tribal designation, like *Gurjara*, the original of the modern *Gujar*. The name Dogrā really comes from द्विगर्ता Dvigartha (between two hollows on lakes) which is to be compared to त्रिगर्ता, Trigartha designating the Kāngṛā valley.

The names *Dugar* and *Dogrā* are now applied to the whole area in the outer hills, between the Rāvī and the Chenāb, but this use of the terms is probably of recent origin, and dates only from the time when the tract came under the supremacy of Jammu. *Dugar* means the country, and *Dogrā* means the inhabitant. The ancient capital of the state according to tradition was at Bahu, where the ancient fort and a small town still exist. Jammu was founded by Jambu-Lochana later on.

### *Miyān the title of the Dogrās.*

Dogrā Rājpūts of higher classes are entitled to be called *Miyān*. This title is said to have been conferred upon their ancestors by Mughul.

emperors. This explains how in records we find Miyān Ranbir Singh and Miyān Partap Singh. A Miyān Rājpūt would not handle the plough, would never give his daughter in marriage to an inferior, or marry greatly below his rank. He would never accept money in exchange for the betrothal of his daughter. The females of his household must be strictly secluded.

*The descent of the Dogrā royal line.*

The Dogrā royal line traces its descent from Kuça, the second son of Rāma, and came originally, it is said, from Ayodhyā. Like Chamba and many other royal families of the hills, they claim to belong to the *Suryavanshi* (Sun-born) race, and the clan name is *Jamwal*. Probably there was an older designation which has now been forgotten.

The Dugar or Dogrā principalities are said to have been founded round about Jammu and Kāngrā by Rājpūt adventurers from Oudh (and also Delhi), about the time of Alexander's invasion. This statement, however, lacks proof. These Dogrā adventurers are said to have moved up north with their forces in order to oppose the Greeks.

*The beginning of the Dogrā rājās of Jammu.*

The first rājā of the Dogrā royal line named Agnivarna is presumed to have been a brother or kinsman of the rājā of Ayodhyā. Agnivarna is said to have settled at Parol (population, according to the census of 1941,—2,966) near Kathua (population 5,586), opposite to Mādhopur, in the Gurdaspur district of the East Punjab. He originally came up by way of Nagarkot. The son of Agnivarna was Vāyusrava, who added to his territory the country of the outer hills as far west as the Jammu Tawi. Four other rājās followed in succession. The fifth was Agnigarbha, who had eighteen sons, of whom the eldest were Bahu-Lochana and Jambu-Lochana. Bahu-Lochana succeeded his father, and founded the town and fort of Bahu already mentioned. Jambu-Lochana founded Jammu, which he first called Jambupura : the supposed date of its foundation being about 900 A.C. (Hutchison and Vogel). The earliest mention of Jammu in recorded history is in connexion with Timūr's invasion in 1398 A.C.

At the time of earlier Muslim invasions, the petty Dogrā principalities were engaged in quarrels among themselves. They combined against the Muslims, who however drove them into the hills. Here, owing to isolation and immunity from political disasters and wars of extermination, the Dogrās remained essentially Hindu both in religion and in character. "There has never been any Musalmān domination calculated either to loosen the bonds of caste by introducing among the converted people the absolute freedom of Islam, or tighten them by throwing them wholly into the hands of Brāhmans." It is in the hills of Jammu and Kāngrā that "the Brahman and the Kshatriya occupy positions most nearly resembling those originally assigned to them by Manu." The petty chiefs were called *Rānās* and *Thākurs*.

*Dogrās in the time of Akbar, Jahāngīr and Shāh Jahān.*

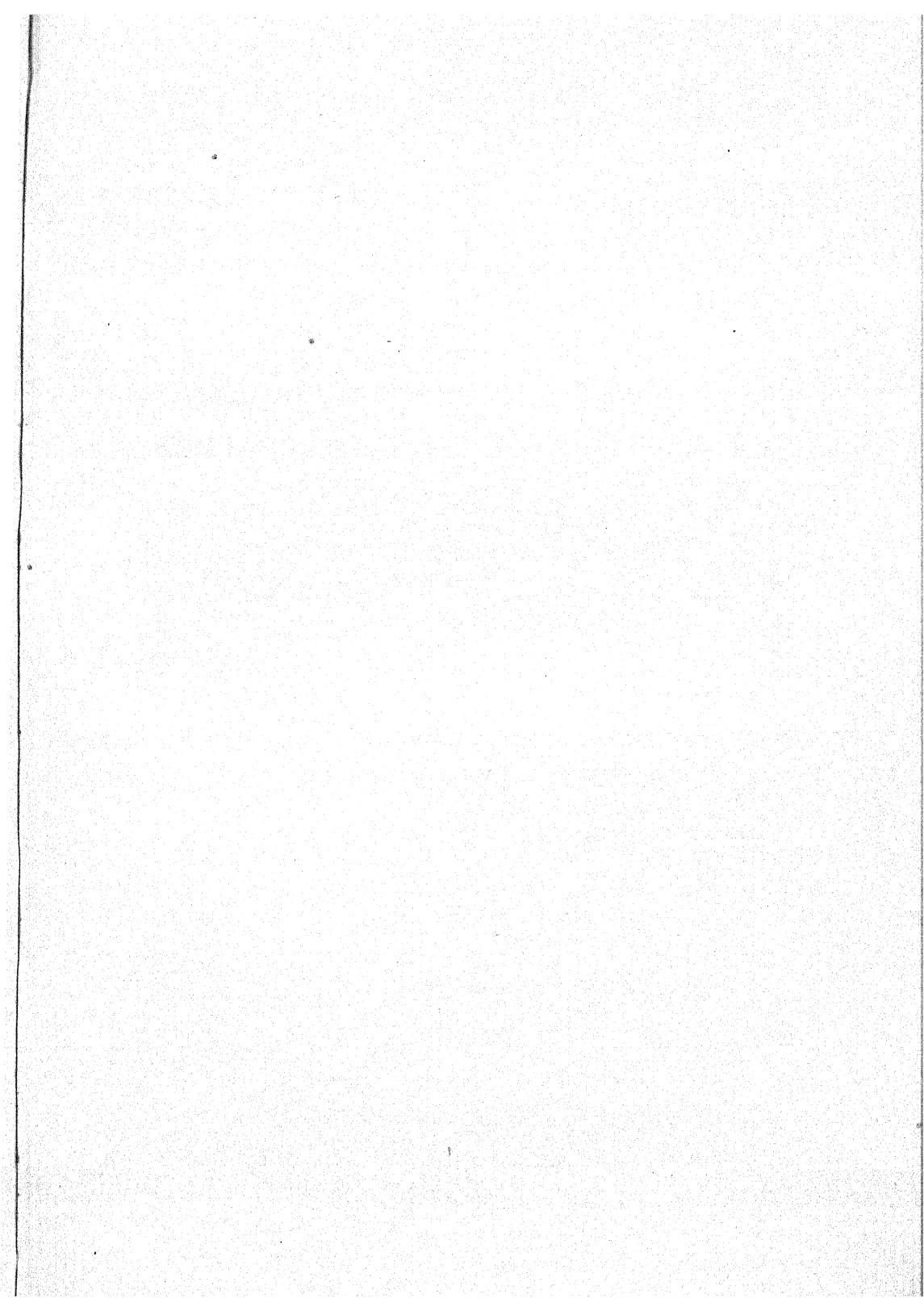
Mention is made of Dogrā revolts in the reigns of Akbar and Jahāngīr, when they were made to pay tribute, and yield hostages for good behaviour. By the time Shāh Jahān came to the throne, these hill chieftains seem to have settled down quietly to the position of feudatories, and carried out the order of the Delhi court with ready obedience. They were, on the whole, liberally treated by the Mughuls, who permitted them to rule in their own fashion. Of Sangrām Dev, the rājā of Jammu, we hear in a number of places in the *Tūruk-i-Jahangīrī*. A sum of three thousand rupees is given to Sangrām in 1027 A.H. (1618 A.C.). Sangrām is here designated as "Zamindar of the hill country of the Punjāb" [page 5 of the English Translation Vol. II]. An elephant is bestowed on him as Sangrām "the Rājā of Jammu" (page 88) in 1028 A.H. or 1619 A.C. Later, we find that he is honoured with the title of *Rājā*, and a *mansab* of 1,000 personal and 500 horse, and was exalted with the gift of an elephant and a robe of honour (page 120). The *pargana* of Jammu was given to Rājā Sangrām (page 154). In 1029 A.H. or 1620 A.C. he was promoted to the *mansab* of 1500 personal and 1,000 horse (page 175). The loyalty of these hill chiefs appears to have won the favour and confidence of the emperors, for they were frequently sent off on hazardous and distant expeditions, given rich rewards and appointed to positions of great trust. In 1644 the Emperor Shāh Jahān dispatched a large army for the conquest of Balkh. This army included Rājā Jagat Singh, the Dogrā rājā of Nūrpur, in the Kāngā valley. The rājā showed great bravery but, on Aurangzib 'Ālamgīr's advice, Shāh Jahān subsequently ordered the withdrawal of Mughul armies on account of their obviously untenable position in that far off country.

*The appearance of the Dogrā.*

Frederic Drew in his *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* describes the Dogrā as "slim in make." They have "somewhat high shoulders, and legs not well formed but curiously bowed, with turn in toes. They have not great muscular power, but they are active and untiring. The Dogrā and especially the Rājpūt is often decidedly good-looking." It was indeed the good looks of the three Dogrā brothers—Gulābū, Dhyānu and Suchētu—that evoked an immediate response from Ranjit Singh who had a special eye for personal beauty.

*Ranjit Dev's rule over the principality of Jammu.*

After a varied fortune, the principality of Jammu had, by about 1760, acquired a fairly stable government under Rājā Ranjit Dev, a Dogrā prince who had succeeded to the *gaddī* in 1730, and continued to hold prominence in the politics of Jammu and outside for forty-four years. Ranjit Dev established his authority over most of the Dogrā principalities, and acknowledged his own vassalage to Delhi. At one time, he incurred the suspicion of Zakariyā Khān, the Mughul ruler of the Punjāb. The result was that he was



## (THE OLD BRANCH)

Throvv Dev or (Dhrub or Dhruv Dev)

(THE NEW BRANCH)

THE DOGRA FAMILY OF JAMMU

Ranjit Dev. (d. 1781)	Balwant Singh.	Ghansar Dev.	Sūrat Singh.
Brij Raj Dev.	Dalel Singh.	Shām Singh.	Hamir Dev.
Sampuran Dev.	Jit Singh.	Lahna Singh.	Katār Dev.
			Mota
Ragbir Dev.	Devi Singh.	Mahtab Singh.	Zorāwar Singh.
Refugees in the protected Sikh States.	Bir Singh.	Gopal Singh.	Dhalla
	Nihal Singh.	Bajar Dev.	Bhoupa
		Lābh Singh.	Kishōr Singh.
			Dhaddan
			Janju.
Udham Singh	Randhir Singh <i>alias</i> Sohan Singh,	Ranbir Singh <i>alias</i> Phina ( <i>flat-nosed</i> ) (1857-1885.)	Hira Singh killed in December 1844.
NOTE.—This table is as given by Cunningham. But Divān Kirpa Rām says that Ghansār was second, Sūrat third, and Balwant the fourth son of Dhrub Dev.—Gulāb-nama, p. 71.			Jawāhir Singh. Deported by the English for disloyalty.
			Moti Singh.
Pratap Singh (1885-1925)	Rām Singh	Amar Singh <i>(died in childhood)</i>	Sukhdev Singh
		Lachman Singh	Jayat Dev Singh
			(d. 1940)
			Padam Dev Singh
			Chatar Dev Singh
			Shiv Ratan Dev Singh (to be the rājā of Pūnch on attaining majority).

(the heir apparent, born at Cannes, Southern France, in March 1931).



imprisoned for twelve years at Lāhore. During this period Miyān Ghansār Dev acted for his brother. Ranjit Dev was released on the intervention of Adīna Beg Khān, Governor of Jālandhar, on promising to pay a ransom of two lakhs. When Ahmad Shāh Durrānī invaded the Punjab, Ranjit Dev seems to have supported him, and received favours from him on the cession of the province in 1752 A. C. For help against Sukh Jiwan Mal's revolt Ahmad Shāh gave him a *jāgīr*.

Rājā Ranjit Dev was noted for justice and impartiality. He encouraged people of all sorts from all parts of the Punjāb to settle in Jammu. He gave special concessions and allowances to the courtiers and nobles of Delhi and Lāhore fallen under misfortune. George Forster's account<sup>1</sup> too supports this view. He says : "Runzeid Dev, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. . . . he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour ; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony ; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory . . . . He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem that when he rode through their quarter during the time of prayer, he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations." Unfortunately there was a quarrel between Ranjit Dev and his eldest son Brij Lāl Dev, which weakened the Jammu *rāj*. Ranjit Dev's death in 1781, coupled with other events, led to the overthrow of Dogrā rule by the Sikhs who had supplanted the Durrānis in the Punjab. Kāngrā too was annexed by the Sikhs. The Dogrās<sup>2</sup> thus lost their independence. It was, however, for Gulāb Singh to regain their lost dignity.

The Jammu Family descended from T'hrov (Dhrub or Dhruv) Dev, the father of Ranjit Dev, as appears from the previous page. The branch that produced Gulāb Singh is the New Branch of this genealogical tree.

1. George Forster, *Journey from Bengal to England*, Volume I, pages 283-84.

2. Information about the Dogrās is abstracted from Captain Bingley's *Dogrās*, Simla, 1899, as also from *History of Jammu State* by J. Hutchison and J. Ph. Vogel, *Journal of the Punjāb Historical Society*, vol. viii.

## MAHĀRĀJĀ GULĀB SINGH.

[1846 A.C. TO 1857 A.C.]

Gulābū or Gulāb Singh, the son of Kishōr Singh, a valiant soldier, was born in 1792 A.C. (5th of *Kartika* 1849 *Vikramī*). His birth is flamboyantly described by Dīwān Kirpā Rām in florid Persian in his *Gulāb-nāma* (page 87):

ولادت باسعادت حضور عرش آشیانی رفیع جمال افوز نخجم ماں گلک سنیک ہزار و بیست صد  
و چیل و نے سال شمسی بکرا دتی مطابق دومِ اصطلاحی بیعنی الاول سنیک ہزار و دو صد و بیست سال  
قمری، ہجری یوم چهارشنبه از اول شہار چہار ساعت و شش دقیقہ ساعت پانچی کے برابر امتحن  
پانگک از نصف التھار کیک ساعتی و تی و قیقد مستقبل باشد از کمن بلوں بمنصہ ظهور آمدہ۔ بیت  
طبع گئی خشیدہ زندگی طب کشت آشکار  
مشیر دوران نازه شد کر گل کلب آمد پیدا!

[The *Gulab-nāma* was written by Kirpā Rām, the Dīwān or Prime Minister of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh, and was published in 1875, A.C. It was printed at the Tuhfa-i-Kashmir Press, Srinagar, and has 420 pages including the errata.

Gulāb Singh himself had “provided the author with necessary documents, chiefly diaries for composing it and assisted him also with verbal information which was augmented by similar information given by the author’s grandfather and father who had both been Dīwāns of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, and by suggestions” of the author’s contemporaries. It is in very high-flown Persian. The style is laboured. But the book is very ably written.

Of this work Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, M.A., Lecturer, Calcutta University, the author of *Ranjit Singh* (Calcutta University, 1933, p. 189), writes: “from the very nature of the composition it is overlaudatory. Still we can very cautiously use it with regard to the relation between Gulab Singh, his brothers and Ranjit Singh.”

The gist of the *Gulab-nāma*, in English, by the late Mr. E. Rehatsek M.C.E., Bombay, appeared in the *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. 19, October 1890, pages 289-303; Vol. 20, February 1891, pages 71-78; June 1891, pages 213-221.]

*Gulāb Singh's claim to Jammu rule.*

Gulāb Singh claimed that he was the great-grandson of Miyān Surat Dev, the younger brother of Rājā Ranjit Dev, already mentioned above. Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham in his *History of the Sikhs* says: “The family



Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, the hero of the Treaty of Amritsar, by which he obtained possession of Kashmir in 1846 on payment to the British of seventy-five lakhs of Nānakshāhi rupees (Sikh coinage), which is equivalent to fifty lakhs of present currency, or less than half a million pounds sterling, according to the assertion of the Kashmir National Conference. (Photo from the Lahore Fort Museum).



to which he belonged was perhaps illegitimate and had become impoverished.”<sup>1</sup> The contemporary Shahāmat ‘Alī also states that “ Mian Kishora Singh, who though not considered the rightful heir, was called by his subjects Raja” (pages 94-95). It has, however, recently<sup>2</sup> been pointed out by Sardār K. M. Panikkar in his *Gulab Singh* that Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, in his grant of the *rāj* of Jammu to Gulāb Singh, mentions the fact of Gulāb Singh’s ancestors having been the rulers of the state.”

### *Gulab Singh's start in life.*

Be that as it may, it is definite that Gulāb Singh took service as a *ghōr-chāṛha*, or trooper, in a band commanded by a *jam‘adār*. According to one statement, Gulābū obtained military employment on Rs. 3 per month and rations under the Qala‘dār (a commandant of a garrison) of Mungla, a fort to the west of Jhelum. Being dissatisfied, he left for service under Sultān Khān of Bhimbar, but soon after returned to his father living at Ismā‘ilpur, a place about 12 miles from Jammu on the road to Pathānkot. Later, when, as an *employé* of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, Gulāb Singh secured the surrender of Sultān Khān to the

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[Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham was born in 1812 in England just about the time when Gulābū was entering Ranjīt’s service at Lāhore. Joseph’s father, Allan Cunningham, was a literary man acquainted with Sir Walter Scott and Thomas Carlyle. Sir Alexander Cunningham, the archaeologist, who had a distinguished career in India, was Joseph’s second brother. Joseph was Deputy Commissioner first of Ludhiāna and later of Ferozpur, and rose to the position of Assistant to Colonel Wade, the Political Agent on the then Sikh Frontier. In the first Sikh War, he was attached to the staff first of Sir Charles Napier and then of Sir Hugh Gough. At Sobrāon he was additional A.D.C. to the Governor-General, Sir Henry Hardinge. He became Political Agent, of Bhopāl. As “the result of certain strictures upon the policy of the Government of India dealing with Gulāb Singh” he was reverted to regimental duty to the Meerut Division of Public Works, and he died suddenly at Ambāla in 1851. Cunningham’s *History of the Sikhs* appeared in 1849, only three years after the sale of Kashmīr. As Mr. Garrett remarks “the whole book bears evidence of most meticulous care and the voluminous footnotes show the breadth and variety of the author’s study.” Frederic Drew, writing in 1875, says that “J.D. Cunningham was an author who wrote with rare impartiality and was able to divest himself of the prejudices of his own nation in estimating the qualities and deeds of their enemies.”—*Jummoo and Kashmīr Territories*, page 16.]

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1. Cunningham’s *History of the Sikhs*, edited by Garrett, page 178.  
 2. Sardār K. M. Panikkar’s *Gulab Singh*, 1930, page 14.

Mahārājā, the Mahārājā imprisoned Sultān Khān and kept him under the custody of Gulāb Singh! At one time Gulābu desired to enlist himself in Shāh Shujā's army at Kābul but returned after having proceeded as far as Peshāwar.

Gulābu had no school education, and, in the words of a contemporary, he was "hardly able to sign his name." He entered service under Ranjit Singh, it appears, in 1809 or 1812. His second brother, Dhyānu or Dhyān Singh, was employed on Rs. 60 per mensem. They both became running footmen under Ranjit Singh's eye. But the author of the *Gulāb-nāma* says that Gulāb Singh was taken into Ranjit Singh's service on the recommendation of Diwān Khushwaqt Rāi, agent of Sardār Nihāl Singh Atāriwāla, on a monthly salary of Rs. 200 to be shared with his other associate sepoys. According to Shahāmat 'Alī, the start was on two rupees a day.\* However, the joint assiduity of Gulābu and Dhyānu and especially the graceful bearing of Dhyānu who, as a common lancer breaking in a vicious horse at the time of a review, attracted the notice of Māhārājā Ranjit Singh. Baron Schönberg's version is not uninteresting. "Gulab Singh and his brothers were Radjputs from the mountains" writes the Baron (*Travels*, Vol. II, pages 116-17), "and in the commencement of their career, held very subordinate situations. Gulab and his elder brother entered the service of Runjeet Singh as sepoys. It happened that once during a campaign, the brother was placed as sentinel outside Runjeet's tent. The latter, who had an eye for personal

\**The Sikhs and Afghans*, 1847, p. 92.

Shahāmat 'Alī, the author of *An Historical Account of the Sikhs and Afghans*, studied at the Muhammadan College at Delhi 'founded in the time of the Mughal Emperors' and restored 'on the decline of their empire' in 1823 by the British. Shahāmat was second in order of merit in his class, Pandit Mohan Lāl Kashmīrī, afterwards Āghā Hasan Jān, being fourth. In 1832 Shahāmat was employed in the political agency of (then) Captain Wade at Ludhiāna. In 1837-38 he was deputed on special duty to Lāhore to explain certain cases pending between Lord Auckland and Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Later he accompanied Lieutenant-Colonel Sir C. M. Wade to Peshāwar in 1839. He was also Mir Munshī to the Political Resident in Mālwa. This book was published by John Murray, Albemarle Street, London in 1847. According to Mr. Narendra Krishna Sinha, Shāhamat 'Alī is one of those very rare writers of Sikh history who attempted, however briefly, to give an account of Sikh civil administration (*Ranjit Singh*, p. 194).

beauty, was pleased with the soldierly appearance of the Rājpūt, and promoted him, giving him a place about his person. The advancement of one brother was a stepping stone for the others." This story, however, is not mentioned in earlier contemporary accounts either by Indian or European writers. Dhyān Singh speedily took the place of a chamberlain. Gulāb Singh obtained a petty command, and distinguished himself by the seizure of Āghā Jān, the chief of Rajaūri. Jammu, or to use the language of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh's *sanad*, "administration of the Chakla of Jammu was then conferred in jagir upon the family" in 1822, when Gulāb Singh was 30, Dhyān Singh 26 and Suchēt Singh barely 19.

Shahāmat 'Alī states that on the death of 'Mian Kishora Singh,' Ranjīt, at the request of his favourites, the sons of the deceased, proceeded towards Jammu "to perform the rites of condolence. On that occasion he invested them with *khil'ats* in return for which proof of consideration his Highness demanded a Nazrāna from them; and the three brothers exerted themselves to satisfy the demand" (page 95). The youngest brother Suchēt or Suchēt Singh was young, graceful and handsome. He wormed his way into the Mahārājā's consideration. He as well as the two elder, were one by one, raised to the rank of *rājā*, and rapidly acquired considerable influence in the counsels of Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh. Dhyān Singh's title was—*Rājā Bahādur Rājā Dhyān Singh Nā'ib-us-Saltanat-i-Punjāb, Vazīr-i-'Azam, Dastūr-i-Mu'azzam Mukhtār-ul-Mulk*. Writing of Rājā Dhyān Singh, the contemporary Shahāmat 'Alī, Indian Secretary with the Wade Mission of 1839, notes that Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh places great confidence in the Rājā's good sense and fidelity, and considers him one of his sincerest friends. The power which the Jammu Rājās have of late years been acquiring is chiefly owing to the great influence which the constant presence of Rājā Dhyān Singh at court enables him to exercise in the affairs of their family. Dhyān Singh was 15 when he was employed in Ranjīt's *deorī*. Suchēt Singh was then a boy of 12 when his "engaging qualities met with particular favour from the Maharaja who became so fond of him that he would never allow him to be absent from his presence. The three brothers were known by the title of Mians." Dhyān Singh received the principality of Pūnch. Suchēt Singh obtained the Rām-nagar 'ilāqa.

**Punch**—Pūnch, now a tributary province and officially styled Pūnch Jāgīr, having an area of 1627 square miles, should receive more than a passing reference. It is situated to the south-west of the Valley of Kashmir and to the north of the Jammu province. It is divided into four *tahsils*, named Bāgh, Sudhnotī, Havelī and Mendhar. Pūnch was originally one of the small independent hill states, but was annexed by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, who slew the rājā of Pūnch, and exposed his head and that of his nephew in an iron cage. When Ranjit Singh attempted his unsuccessful invasion of Kashmir by the Toshā Maidān pass in 1814 A.C., and the Musalmān rājā of Pūnch allied himself with 'Azīm Khān, the Afghān Governor of Kashmir, the Sikhs in their disastrous retreat burnt the city. Gulāb Singh's younger brother, Rājā Dhyān Singh obtained Pūnch from Ranjīt Singh after the conquest of Kashmir by the Sikhs. Dhyān Singh's third surviving son, Motī Singh, was the contemporary of Ranbir Singh. Motī was succeeded by Baldev Singh. Baldev's son was Jagat Dev Singh whom Mahārājā Pratāp Singh adopted as his son. Jagat's son Rājā Sheo Ratan Dev Singh would succeed to the *gaddi* of Pūnch on coming to his majority as the Jagirdār of Pūnch. He is, at present, taking his LL.B. degree at the Lucknow University in U.P.

The population of the Jāgīr of Pūnch in 1931 was 3,87,384. In 1941 it was 4,21,828. Over 90 per cent. of the total population is Muslim.

There are hot sulphur springs at Tattāpāni in the Mendhar Tahsil on the right bank of the river Pūnch. These are said to have valuable medicinal properties. But the arrangements for visitors, in the words of the latest census report (1941), are primitive.

Pūnch, the principal place of this principality situated in the Havelī Tahsil, is at an elevation of 3,210 feet above the sea level. The town is oblong in shape. It is unwalled, and has narrow stone-paved streets. The appearance is quite picturesque from a distance. The population is 8,608. Electricity and the telephone are there. A college building was being constructed in 1944-45. The fort, in which the rājā resided, stands on a mound, about 300 yards from the south-west corner of the town. Pūnch town is well-supplied with water brought by channels from the neighbouring streams. The climate is hot in summer. During the five hot months, it is the custom to migrate to the summer camping grounds in the hills known as Dhobs. A motor road connecting Kashmir by way of Uri over the Hājī Pir Hill has recently been completed. Motor lorries ply between Pūnch and Jammu and between Pūnch and Mirpur and Jhelum. A footpath goes to Gulmarg. A road from Jammu through Akhnūr and Rajauri Tahsils is under construction. The ancient name of Pūnch was Parnotsa, and the place is often mentioned in the Sanskrit chronicles. The Kashmiris always speak of Pūnch as Prūnts.

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**Rajaurī** or Rājāpuri, also called Rāmpur by the Dogrās, with an elevation of 3,094 feet, is a walled town near Naushahra, very picturesquely situated on the side of a low range of jungle-covered hills about 150 feet above the right bank of the Tawi river. There seems to have been a Mughul garden on the left bank of the river. Rajaurī was a stage on the old Mughul route. There are two *bāradaris* and some *hammāms*, wrote Drew in 1875. There is a *sarāi* used by the Mughul emperors' followers. Rajaurī-Rāmpur is 94 miles south-west of Srinagar. On the elevated hill north-west of the town there is a fort which commands the valley. The Rajas of Rajaurī were Muslim Rājpots. Drew may be referred to for information on Rajaurī, pp. 92, 154-6.

**Ramnagar** town, about 2,700 feet above the sea, is about 30 miles east of Jammu. The picturesque and baronial-looking edifice is the palace, near which is the square-built and turreted castle. Rāmnagar fell into the hands of the Sikhs about the same time that Gulāb Singh became master of Jammū. The old rāja fled to Sabāthu, near Simla, and died there. Suchēt Singh was made rāja of Rāmnagar by Ranjit Singh. Suchēt Singh took pride in the place, improved it, and encouraged its growth. (See Drew, pp. 85-6).

According to Cunningham (page 262), Rājā Suchēt Singh had secretly deposited a quantity of coin and bullion estimated at 1,50,000 rupees, which his servants were detected in endeavouring to remove after his death. It was sent to Ferozpur during the Afghān War, to be offered as part of an ingratitatory loan to the British Government, which was borrowing money at the time from the protected Sikh chiefs.

#### *Gulāb Singh's distinguished appearance.*

Gulāb Singh had a distinguished appearance. His photograph reproduced in *Kashīr* shows him as an elderly impressive figure. A contemporary\* says: "In manner Gulab Singh is most mild and affable; his features are good, nose aquiline, and expression pleasing though rather heavy. Indefatigable in business, he sees after everything himself. Hardly able to sign his name, he looks after his own accounts and often has the very grain for his horses weighed out before him." His Highness, like his old master Ranjīt, was fond of horses, and a number of grass *rakhs* were reserved for cultivation. Gulāb Singh, no doubt, was a thorough-bred soldier. His manners were those of a warrior, and "were not softened by intercourse with the court of Lahore," obviously because when he got Jammu he was anxious to change Jammu by staying in Jammu rather than to change himself by the life led at the court. He would be in Lāhore only when required and not otherwise. His brothers were

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\*Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, p. 257.

superior to him in talent, says McGregor. Because of their close contact with the court, they were naturally different from their elder brother in their manners and their outlook.

Gulāb Singh ordinarily remained in the hills, using Sikh means to extend his authority over his brother Dogrā Rājpūts. Dhyān Singh remained continually in attendance upon Ranjit Singh. Suchēt Singh continued as 'a gay courtier and gallant soldier.' In 1834, Zōrāwar Singh Kalhoria, Rājā Gulāb Singh's commander in Kishtwār, took advantage of internal disorders in Leh, deposed the reigning rājā, and set up his rebellious minister in his stead, exacting tribute for Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh, and bringing spoils to Jammu. In 1840, Zōrāwar Singh took Skārdū (Īskārdū), and later invaded Tibet, but was killed and his army annihilated. Thus when Ranjīt Singh died, in June 1839, at the age of 59, Gulāb Singh, though feudatory to the Sikh Government, had established his authority in Jammu and the neighbouring principalities. He had a commanding influence in Kashmīr, then still under a governor appointed by the Sikh ruler of Lāhore.

#### *An awkward time in Gulāb Singh's life.*

A very awkward time in Gulāb Singh's life is referred to by Dr. Honigberger\* in the following paragraph. "In the year 1845, cholera arrived at Lahore, having travelled through Turkistan and Cabul. At the same time Gholab Sing was brought from Jummoo, a town in the mountains, a prisoner to Lahore [in the evening of 7th April, 1845, seated on an elephant covering his face with cloth] and he might have congratulated himself on having escaped the persecution of Jewahir Sing (the chief minister, who was the brother of Rānī Chanda, the mother of Dalīp Singh); for it was well known that at different periods attempts had been made upon his life. The reason of Jewahir's hatred against him was that Gholab Sing had persuaded a great number of the Sikh troops to follow his banner to whom (?) he trusted himself. He was brought from Jummoo to Lahore, in consequence of his resistance to some government exactions. It is a remarkable fact that Gholab Sing, in spite of his fortress being blockaded by numerous troops, was bold enough to give orders to

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\**Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 115.

murder on the road the delegates of the Sikhs whom he had himself despatched with the subsidies requested by the government, as if he had regretted performing his duty." Gulāb Singh was confined within the *havelī* of Kanwar Nau-nihāl Singh, where he was strongly guarded to prevent his escape or suicide. Differences between Jawāhir Singh and Lāl Singh came to his rescue, and he was released mostly through the clever manoeuvring of his own Dīwān, Jawāla Sahāi. In fact, after some time when Jawāhir Singh, the Chief Minister, was killed by Sikh soldiers in September 1845, Gulāb Singh was invited to take his place but he declined the honour in view of the uncertainty of the situation. He also remembered his recent disgrace.

*Gulāb Singh's understanding with the English.*

The first Sikh War of 1845-46 proved the proverbial tide in the affairs of Gulāb Singh. When the operations began in the winter of 1845, Gulāb Singh, forgetting his loyalty to the Sikhs, contrived to hold himself aloof, either because of the hostile attitude of the Sikh government at Lāhore towards him, or due to some understanding with the English. When, however, the battle of Sobraon took place in 1846, he appeared as a mediator, and the adviser of Sir Henry Lawrence. We should remember that, in 1841 Gulāb Singh had helped the British by allowing their army passage through the then Sikh territory of the Punjāb for the invasion of Afghānistān, which Ranjit Singh had refused at the time of the First Afghān War, and consequently the British had had to proceed by way of Sind. Gulāb Singh also assisted the British troops with supplies, even though the British army had suffered reverses in Afghānistān. It was thus that the seeds of future fortune for Gulāb Singh were sown. In January, 1846, Rājā Gulāb Singh had been installed as Prime Minister of the Punjāb State by Mahārāni Jindān. The British, anxious to curb the spirit of the Sikh army, and to reduce the kingdom of Lāhore, entered into negotiations with Gulāb Singh. Two treaties were concluded. By the first, signed at Lāhore on 9th March, 1846, the state of Kashmīr was handed over to the British as equivalent to one crore of rupees (ten millions) of indemnity and the hill countries between the rivers Beās and the Indus including the provinces of Kashmīr and Hazāra. By the second, signed at Amritsar, seven days later, on 16th March, 1846, between the British Government and Rājā Gulāb Singh, the

British made over to Gulāb Singh for 75 lakhs (seven and a half millions) *Nānakshāhī*, all the hilly or mountainous country situated to the east of the Indus and west of the Rāvī. The amount that Gulāb Singh agreed to pay was really the indemnity of a crore, imposed on the Sikh government. They were unable to pay it, and consequently they offered to hand over Jammu, Kashmīr, Ladākh and Baltistān to the English. But Gulāb Singh offered to pay this indemnity for the possession of Jammu, Kashmīr, Ladākh and Baltistān. As, however, the British retained possession of the trans-Beās portion of Kulu and Mandi, including Nūrpur and the celebrated fort of Kāngra (with its district and dependencies)—the key of the Himālaya in local estimation—the sum of Rs. 25,00,000 was deducted from it, and Gulāb Singh was lucky to acquire the Earthly Paradise for seven and a half millions, though a part of this money he borrowed at the time, according to a report, from Shaikh Saudāgar (son of Maulā Bakhsh, director of army transport and supplies to the Sikh Government) who subsequently figures as Vazir-i-Jammu ! At this same time, Gulāb Singh was formally invested with the title of Mahārājā at Amritsar. In view of the sale of their Fatherland without their knowledge, the Kashmīris must know the text of the Treaty and it must, therefore, be reproduced here :

### Treaty\* (of 1846) with Maharaja Gulab Singh.

*Treaty between the British Government and Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu, concluded at Amritsar, on 16th March, 1846.*

Treaty between the British Government on the one part, and Mahārājā Gulāb Singh of Jammu on the other, concluded, on the part of the British Government, by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the orders of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., one of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Councillors, Governor-General, appointed by the Honourable Company to direct and control all their affairs in the East Indies, and by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh in person.

*Article I.*—The British Government transfers and makes over, for ever, in independent possession, to Maharaja Gulab Singh, and the heirs male of his body, all the hilly or mountainous country, with its depend-

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\*For the version, in Persian, of this Treaty see the *Gulāb-nāma*, 1932 Bikrami, pp. 352-4

encies, situated to the eastward of the river Indus, and westward of the river Ravi, including Chamba and excluding Lahore, being part of the territory ceded to the British Government by the Lahore State, according to the provisions of Article 4 of the Treaty of Lahore, dated 9th March, 1846.

*Article 2.*—The eastern boundary of the tract transferred by the foregoing article to Maharaja Gulab Singh shall be laid down by commissioners appointed by the British Government and Maharaja Gulab Singh respectively, for that purpose, and shall be defined in a separate engagement, after survey.

*Article 3.*—In consideration of the transfer made to him and his heirs by the provisions of the foregoing articles, Maharaja Gulab Singh will pay to the British Government the sum of seventy-five lacs (seven and a half millions) of rupees (Nanakshahi), fifty lacs to be paid on ratification of this Treaty, and twenty-five lacs on or before the 1st of October of the current year, A.D. 1846.

*Article 4.*—The limits of the territories of Maharaja Gulab Singh shall not be, at any time, changed without the concurrence of the British Government.

*Article 5.*—Maharaja Gulab Singh will refer to the arbitration of the British Government any disputes or questions that may arise between himself and the Government of Lahore, or any other neighbouring State, and will abide by the decision of the British Government.

*Article 6.*—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages for himself and heirs, to join, with the whole of his military force, the British troops, when employed within the hills, or in the territories adjoining his possessions.

*Article 7.*—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages never to take, or retain in his service any British subject, nor the subject of any European or American State, without the consent of the British Government.

*Article 8.*—Maharaja Gulab Singh engages to respect, in regard to the territory transferred to him, the provisions of Articles 5, 6 and 7, of the separate engagement between the British Government and the Lahore Durbar, dated 11th March, 1846.

*Article 9.*—The British Government will give its aid to Maharaja Gulab Singh in protecting his territories from external enemies.

*Article 10.*—Maharaja Gulab Singh acknowledges the supremacy of the British Government, and will, in token of such supremacy, present annually to the British Government one horse, twelve perfect shawl goats of approved breed (six male and six female), and three pairs of Kashmir shawls.

[*Note*—In 1893 it was agreed to drop the gift of “twelve perfect shawl goats.”]

This treaty, consisting of ten articles, has been this day settled by Frederick Currie, Esq., and Brevet-Major Henry Montgomery Lawrence, acting under the directions of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General, on the part of the British Government, and by Maharaja Gulab Singh in person; and the said treaty has been this day ratified by the seal of the Right Honourable Sir Henry Hardinge, G.C.B., Governor-General.

Done at Amritsar, this 16th day of March, in the year of our Lord 1846, corresponding with the 17th day of Rabi-ul-awwal, 1262 Hijri.”

Golab Singh (L.S.)

H. Hardinge (L. S.)

F. Currie.

H. M. Lawrence.

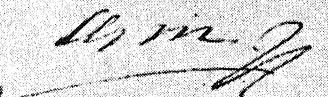
“On this occasion Maharaja Golab Singh stood up, and with joined hands, expressed his gratitude to the British Viceroy—adding, without however, any ironical meaning, that he was indeed the *zar-kharid*, or gold-boughten slave!—Cunningham’s *History of the Sikhs*, London, 1849 Edition, p. 332, footnote.

#### The receipt for the money.

*Final Receipt for the transfer of Kashmir signed by the Board of Administration.*

“The Hon’ble The East India Company having received from His Highness the Maharaja Gulab Singh the sum of Rs. 75,00,000 (seventy-five lakhs) in payment of the amount guaranteed by the III Article of the Treaty between the Hon’ble Company and His Highness dated Umritsar the 16th March, 1846, this single acknowledg-

The Honorable the East India Company  
having received from H. H. Maharajah Gulab  
Singh the sum of ~~Rs. 75,00,000~~, Lacs &  
five lakhs, in payment of the amount so  
guaranteed by the Article of the Treaty  
between the Honorable Company and His Highness  
dated Amritsar the 16<sup>th</sup> March 1846, this  
~~receipt~~<sup>receipt</sup> except of the whole amount by the  
single ~~compt~~ ~~for the~~ ~~compt~~ is given by the  
Board of Admnistration for the Affairs of  
the Punjab, at the request of the  
Jawna Society in addition to the receipts  
already given to His Highness Agents, by the  
Revenue Officers for the instalments,  
to be paid from time to time between the date  
of the Treaty, and the 1<sup>st</sup> March 1850, the  
day on which the cash instalment was  
paid into the Lahore Treasury -

Cabinet  
1<sup>st</sup> March 1850 

Facsimile of the original receipt of Rs. 75,00,000 (estimated to be equivalent to Rs. 50,00,000 in current coin) for the transfer of Kashmir by Lord Hardinge to Mahārājā Gulab Singh.

[By courtesy of the Keeper of Government Records, West Punjab, Lahore.]



ment of the receipt of the whole amount is granted by the Board of Administration for the affairs of the Punjab at the request of Dewan Jowalla Sahae, in addition to the receipts already given to His Highness' agents by the receiving officers, for the instalments received by them from time to time between the date of the Treaty and the 14th March 1850, the day on which the last instalment was paid into the Lahore Treasury."

H. M. [H. M. Lawrence.]

J. L. [John Lawrence.]

C. G. [C. G. Mansel.]

Lahore, 29th March, 1850.

#### *Fauq's comment on the Sale of Kashmīr*

Thus it was that the Valley of Kashmīr was sold for 75 lakhs\* (seven-and-a-half millions) or a sum now less than half a million pounds sterling, or about fifty lakhs of current Indian coin, paid in instalments during a period of four years! And this commercial deal is "The Document of the Kashmīri's Bondage."

And the late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Din *Fauq* in an article under the caption *The Auction of Eleven Lakhs of Kashmīris*, wonders why this transaction of the sale of Kashmīr should have been struck at Amritsar, over three hundred miles from Kashmīr, without the knowledge of the people of Kashmīr, by a nation known for justice!

ہزار بار یوسف کے علام نہیں

[“Sold even a thousand times, Yūsuf (Joseph) is no slave!”  
As a matter of fact, Yūsuf ultimately became the ruler of Egypt, the land he had entered as a slave.]

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\*Mr. C. Grey, a retired railway official, interested in Sikh history, tells us that he found the receipt for Rs. 75 lakhs for the sale of Kashmīr in the Record Office in Lāhore. The receipt was written on a small piece of ordinary paper, and was in a bundle with other miscellaneous documents, which were destined to be destroyed as waste paper. How the document came to be where it was, is not known. Again, if it is the receipt for Rs. 75 lakhs paid by Mahārājā Gulāb Singh for Kashmīr, one would expect to find it in the State archives in Kashmīr. The receipt is now preserved, according to Mr. Grey, as it deserves to be preserved as a document of great historical interest, in the Record Office.—*The Civil and Military Gazette*, Lāhore, Wednesday, 12th April, 1939.

But it may be pointed out that Mr. H. L. O. Garrett, Keeper of the Records of the Punjab Government, notes that the receipt is in the Punjab Record Office Museum, *vide* Monograph No. 12, Punjab Government Record Office Publications, page 9, Appendix VI.

Each Kashmīrī was thus sold for Rs. 7 by a handful of British officials to Gulāb Singh ! A lady humorously remarks that this ridiculously low sale of the Kashmīri is the reason for the cheap labour of the Kashmīri in and outside Kashmir! But the needy and imprudent agents of the East India Company who sold and the rich and shrewd Dogrā who purchased Kashmīr, Fauq points out, did not perhaps realize :—

دیقان و کشت و جوئے و خیاباں فروختند!  
قوے فروختند و چار زال فروختند!  
اقبال

[Their fields, their crops, their streams,  
Even the peasants in the Vale  
They sold, they sold all, alas !  
How cheap was the Sale !]

And thus the Kashmīrī became—

در دیارِ خود غریب اُقتادہ است

[A stranger in his own country !]

### *The "Quit Kashmir" Movement of 1946.*

The poor Kashmīrī had fallen under successive blows, and, in the consequent coma, did not know what had transpired over his head in 1846 between the British and the Sikh vassal, Rājā Gulāb Singh, in regard to the fate of his fatherland. But such an event could not but have its inevitable echo in course of time. It is but the simple law of nemesis. And it is, indeed, a curious coincidence that the successors of Lord Hardinge and the successors of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh have to face the music simultaneously in India and in Kashmir. And we witness the "Quit Kashmir" movement organized in 1946, after one hundred years of Dogrā rule, by the workers of the National Conference of Kashmīr under its President, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullāh.



**SHAIKH MUHAMMAD 'ABDULLAH**  
**Prime Minister, Jammu and Kashmir State**

Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullah, six feet four inches,—the posthumous son of Shaikh Muhammad Ibrāhim, a dealer in shawls, already the father of five sons,—was born in 1905 at Sovrah, an outskirt of Srinagar (*see p. 116 of Kashir*). After matriculation in 1922 in his native land, he took his B.Sc. degree in 1928 from the Islāmia College, Lāhore, and his M.Sc. degree in Chemistry at the 'Aligarh Muslim University in 1930.

As reported in local newspapers, Shaikh Muhammad 'Abdullah claimed, in his speech at Srīnagar on 16th May, 1946, that "he was ordained to liberate his native land from Dogrā slavery that the Treaty of Amritsar brought on it." How prophetic that he is, since 1948, the head of the Interim Government of Jammu and Kashmīr!



It took the Indian about 200 years to rise to the necessity of launching a "Quit India" move against alien rule, but the Kashmiri has taken but half that time to ask its Dogra ruler to "quit Kashmir." As *Kashir* is not concerned with present politics, we have to seal our lips about it. The historian of events subsequent to our date, viz. 1925, imposed by us on ourselves, will discuss in detail the pros and cons of this movement. We here merely record its fateful occurrence.

### *Reasons for the transfer of Kashmir.*

Surprise has often been expressed that, when Kashmir had actually been ceded to the British after a hard and strenuous campaign, they should ever have parted with it for the paltry sum of three quarters of a million, writes Sir Francis Younghusband, sometime British Resident in Kashmir.\* The reasons are to be found, he says, in a letter from Sir Henry Hardinge to the Queen published in *The Letters of Queen Victoria*. The Governor-General writing from the neighbourhood of Lāhore, on 18th of February, 1846—that is nearly three weeks before the Treaty of Lahore was actually signed—says it appeared to him desirable "to weaken the Sikh State which has proved itself too strong—and show to all Asia that, although the British Government has not deemed it expedient to annex this immense country of the Punjab, making the Indus the British boundary, it has punished the treachery and violence of the Sikh nation, and exhibited its power in a manner which cannot be misunderstood." "For the same political and military reason," Sir Henry Hardinge continues, "the Governor-General hopes to be able, before the negotiations are closed, to make arrangements by which Cashmere may be added to the possessions of Gulab Singh, declaring the Rajput Hill States with Cashmere independent of the Sikhs of the plains." "There are difficulties in the way of this arrangement," Sir Henry adds, "but considering the military power which the Sikh nation had exhibited of bringing into the field 80,000 men and 300 pieces of field artillery, it appears to the Governor-General most politic to diminish the means of this warlike people to repeat a similar aggression." This was the reason, says Young-husband, why the British did not annex Kashmir. The

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\**Kashmir*, 1917 edition, pages 170-72.

Punjab had not yet been annexed. It was taken three years later. The distance from Kashmîr to the Sutlaj (then the British boundary) is 300 miles of very difficult mountainous country, quite impracticable for five or six months. "To keep a British force 300 miles from any possibility of support," wrote Lord Hardinge to a near relative, "would have been an undertaking that merited a strait-waistcoat and not a peerage." The arrangement was the only alternative. "In 1846, the East India Company had no thoughts or inclinations whatever to extend their possessions. All they wished was to curb their powerful and aggressive neighbours, and they thought they would best do this, and at the same time reward a man who had shown his favourable disposition towards them, by depriving the Sikhs of a hilly country and by handing it over to a ruler of a different race." (*Kashmir*, page 172). But Lord Hardinge must have realized the stupidity of his step in the course of his visit to the Valley in 1846, after the signing of the Treaty ; but it was too late to repent !

This is one version of the sale of Kashmîr. The truth, however, is that the Board of Directors of the East India Company could not countenance Lord Hardinge's forward policy of expansion, for bringing about the Second Sikh War, and for such large expenditure of money. Hardinge had to save his face and to find money to defray the war expenses. Sir Henry Lawrence came to his rescue and set up Gulâb Singh to step in to save the situation, pay the money and obtain Kashmîr. And the deal was matured in the Treaty of Amritsar !

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[Some partisans have confused this transaction of the *sale* of Kashmîr to Râjâ Gulâb Singh, by assuming it to be his *conquest* of Kashmîr. This reminds one of the Kashmîri Pandit, who inserted 35 râjâs of the Râjpút ancestry of Gulâb Singh in the line of very ancient rulers of Kashmîr referred to by Sir Aurel Stein as "due to flattery" (*vide* page 35, the first footnote, Chapter II of *Kashir*).]

The sale of Alaska to the United States of America, provides a recent parallel. The U.S.A. purchased Alaska from Russia for 7,200,000 dollars in 1867 A.C. Alaska was previously known as Russian America. The name Alaska (Aleut—the mainland) was given to it at the instance of Senator Sumner. Alaska has an area of 586,000 square miles. Its population is 59,278. The area of the Valley of Kashmîr is 6,131 square miles, and the population 14,63,528. So also Manhattan Indians sold the city of New York to Dutch settlers in 1614 for about 24 dollars ! Obviously these sales were not private or individual at any rate, nor to a particular person or family.]

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*Observations on the Sale of Kashmir.*

It is not easy to speculate on the course which events in Kashmir might have taken had not want of wisdom on the part of a set of British officials—lacking foresight for the interests of their own mother country and for the greater good of Kashmir itself—sold the Valley and enslaved its subjects to a Dogrā soldier of fortune, whose antecedent and ancestry hardly afforded any striking proof for the propriety of ruling a race, at any rate, with a great past. The keen critical mind of Captain Cunningham expresses itself in a somewhat similar strain. “The transaction,” writes Cunningham, “scarcely seems worthy of the British name and greatness, and the objections become stronger when it is considered that Gulāb Singh had agreed to pay sixty-eight lākhs of rupees (£680,000), as a fine to his paramount before the war broke out, and that the custom of the East as well as of the West requires the feudatory to aid his lord in foreign war and domestic strife. Gulāb Singh ought thus to have paid the deficient million of money as a Lahore subject, instead of being put in possession of Lahore provinces as an independent prince” (page 319). It must, however, be pointed out that Gulāb Singh endeavoured to retain sovereignty for Dalīp Singh on better terms, but unwise counsels among the Sikh leaders themselves would not let him have his way. And the catastrophe did befall Ranjīt’s progeny.

When, however, consciousness of their own stupidity dawned on the British, they did not hesitate to give belated expression to their feelings by declaring: “But cannot Kashmir be redeemed? The people are exclusively Musalmans; the ruler to whom it is sold is a Sikh (Dogrā?), an alien. Would it not be possible, therefore, to effect an exchange, to give the Sikh (Dogra?) ruler Sikh (Dogrā?) territory in exchange for his Muhammadan territory? The possession of Kashmir is now of vital importance; no price we could afford to pay will be too great to give for it.

“It may be well to remember that the terms of the original Treaty have already been modified. The Treaty provided originally for the sale of Chamba along with Kashmir; but Chamba was redeemed in 1847, by giving, in exchange apparently, Bhadarwah and the Lakhimpur Taluqa (Aitchison’s *Treaties*, Vol. 2, p. 371). Cannot the Treaty, therefore, be further modified so as to redeem Kashmir? Jammu and Bhadarwah might be left, and

in exchange for the Kashmir Valley, we might give Sikh (Dogra?) territory in the plains between the Chenab and Ravi rivers right down to the Punjab Northern State Railway, with the cities of Sialkot and Wazirabad, in place of the city of Srinagar. . . . If, however, it be impossible thus to redeem Kashmir, we can at least obtain ground for cantonments, factories, railways, etc., within the valley and approaches, and for the defensive works on the hills...." [Pp. 25-26, *India for Sale: Kashmir Sold* by Major W. Sedgwick, R.E., 1, Mission Row, Calcutta, 1886, total pages 30].

The late Mahātmā Mohandās Karamchand Gāndhī, after his three-day visit to Srīnagar, told the people in the gathering at his evening prayer held at Wāh, near Rāwlpindi in the West Punjāb, on Tuesday, August 5, 1947, that "the Treaty of Amritsar was in reality a deed of sale. He supposed it would be dead on August 15. The seller was the then British Governor-General and Maharaja Gulab Singh, the buyer." "Common sense dictated," he said, "that the will of the Kashmiris should decide the fate of Kashmir & Jammu. The sooner it was done, the better it was."

It is not perhaps inopportune here to make two or three observations at this distance of time in 1946 on probables deduceable from happenings in 1846, exactly 100 years ago. Kashmīr might have become part of the British administration of the Punjāb, or made into a separate British province with some Agent to the Governor-General, or the Hon'ble the Chief Commissioner, or the Lieutenant-Governor as its head, probably the latter, on account of the extent and importance of the Valley and its frontiers adjoining Russia and China. In that case, the Chief Commissioner, or the Lieutenant-Governor, or the Governor, despite money spent on initial equipment and sumptuary allowance, would certainly have been a very much cheaper commodity than His Highness the Mahārājā to the struggling revenues of Kashmīr. It is true, however, that the former would have spent his salary in the vicinity of London, Edinburgh or Belfast, or in some shire or borough in England, Wales, Scotland or Northern Ireland. In the latter case, for most of the money, whether wasted or wisely spent or hoarded in subterranean treasure, the venue is the Valley itself, though, in modern times no inconsiderable quantity of Kashmīr

cash has been spent abroad. As regards the actual personalities of administrators, the difference is between the moderate, invigorating wine and intemperate enervating opium. Also, "George Stephenson" would certainly have steamed into Srinagar, and Kashmīr's unhappy isolation would have been a thing of the past. Its trade and its industry might have had more general development, and its administrative and economic betterment would have been far more rapid as is the case with the Punjāb. And, above all, the morale of the Kashmīri would have been very much higher. James Milne was not wrong when he felt "a new and stronger manhood would have developed among the Kashmiris if we (the British) had kept their country in our hands" (*The Road to Kashmīr*, p. 136). There may have been something of the 'slave mentality' incident to foreign rule as in British India, but the intensity of *Jī Huzūr* degradation would have been staved off. I came across, in 1945, an official of the Gwāliār State whose feeling was that *Jī Huzūr* does not gall State people as they do not feel it. I am afraid many in British India would not accept that view. Possibly it may be argued that good government is no substitute for self-government. True, but for the Kashmīri, the alternatives were between a militant Dogrā and a Liberal or Conservative Britisher. Kashmīr is not Kenya of the Dark Continent, and a white man's colony converting Kashmīris into hewers of wood and drawers of water would not have been an altogether easy thing.

#### *Lord Hardinge's visit to Kashmīr.*

In the spring of 1846, shortly after the Treaty of Amritsar, Lord Hardinge visited the Valley, proceeding *via* Hoshiārpur, Pathānkōt, and reaching Jammu on the 13th April. Gulāb Singh himself received him on the other bank of the Tawi. After halting for about a week, Lord Hardinge left for Kashmīr, where he stayed for 10 days. He went *via* Kishtwār, Kāngra, Mandī and Bilāspur to Simla.

#### *The actual possession of Kashmīr by Gulāb Singh.*

Kashmīr, however, did not come into the hands of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh without some trouble. Shaikh Imām-ud-Din, the Governor of Kashmīr, though believed to be well affected towards him, as Baron Schönberg has

already explained, opposed him under written instructions from Rājā Lāl Singh, Vazīr of Lāhore. And with the assistance of Bambas from the Jhelum valley he routed the Dogrā troops, dispatched to take over, on the outskirts of Srinagar. When the news of the defeat reached Gulāb Singh, he applied to the British for assistance to enable him to take possession of Kashmīr. The British Government had to intervene and coercive measures were resorted to. Lord Hardinge accordingly addressed the Commander-in-Chief on September 22, 1846, requesting him that Brigadier Wheeler commanding the Jālandhar Doāb be ordered to advance in order to enable Mahārājā Gulāb Singh to move all his disposable forces to Kashmīr. The Lāhore Darbār was also asked to assist Gulāb Singh. Strangely enough, a contingent of 17,000 Sikhs, that had been fighting against the British in the First Sikh War, was ordered to support the Brigadier in wresting Kashmīr from Imām-ud-Din who was acting under the orders of Vazīr Lāl Singh, the Sikh Premier of the Punjāb, and to hand it over to Gulāb Singh. The mobilization of these troops proved to Shaikh Imām-ud-Din the hopelessness of further resistance. He raised the siege of Hari-parbat occupied by the troops of Gulāb Singh that had already been in the Valley to take charge of it as mentioned above. Their troop leader Lakhpat Rāi—ex-Vazir of the rājā of Kishtwār and recruited into Gulāb Singh's service after his Kishtwār campaign—was killed. Lakhpat Rāi is buried on the spot in front of the Pratāp College gate, across the road, at Srinagar. Through the intervention of Sir Henry Lawrence, Shaikh Imām-ud-Din ceased opposition. He left the Valley on 23rd October, 1846, by way of Shupiān. Worn out by a mountain march of 40 miles in the course of which he was drenched in a snow storm, Shaikh Imām-ud-Din reached Bahrām-galla (Bahrām-qullah) on 31st October, and submitted to Sir Henry. The family of Shaikh Imām-ud-Din left Srinagar on the 7th November. Kashmīr passed into the hands of the new ruler, Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, who entered Srinagar at 8 a.m. on the 9th November 1846, an hour that proved auspicious to him and has, so far (1946), proved auspicious to his offspring.

Colonel Lawrence described the arrival of Gulāb Singh in Kashmīr 'as by no means displeasing to the inhabitants of the province who were loud in their complaints of the tyranny of Shaikh Imām-ud-Din.' But as a writer in the

*Calcutta Review*,\* commenting on the rebellion of Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn as an insurrection of the people of Kashmir against the sovereign who had been forced on them by the British Indian Government, says the fact is that "not a single Kashmiri took up arms on either side. To the Kashmiris both armies were alike odious, for they disturbed the peace of the Valley, destroyed trade" and, what affected the daily life of the people, "made rice dear." They felt certain that whoever the conqueror might be, the Shaikh or the Dogrā, "their fate would be the same, viz. to be squeezed to the utmost possible extent."

*Expansion of Gulāb Singh's possessions.*

Now a word about the expansion of Gulāb Singh's possessions. Jammu was conferred as a *jāgīr* by Mahārājā Ranjit Singh. Dhyān Singh obtained Pūnch (population 421,828), and Suchēt Singh the Rāmnagar 'Ilāqa (population 2,442). With this as nucleus, the prospective State of Jammu and Kashmīr absorbed Basohlī (population 2,383), Bhadarwāh (population 2,989), Kishtwār (population 3,335), Bhimbar (population 2,194), and Rajaurī (population 2,449) one after another. Skārdū or Iskardo (population 2,537), as we have already seen, was taken by Zōrāwar Singh, Gulāb Singh's commander, in 1840. The Muslim rājās of Kharmang, Kiris, Khaplu, Shighar in Baltistān, were subdued. Then came the windfall and Kashmīr was added. By this treaty, Gulāb Singh obtained possession, not only of Kashmīr, but of all the hilly country between the Indus and the Rāvī. This included Hazāra. Under Captain James Abbott's demarcation, Manāwar (population 2,580) and the small area of Garhī had been transferred to the Punjāb. An exchange of these was effected in 1847. Gulāb Singh handed over the district of Sujānpur and part of Pathānkōt in lieu of an annual payment of Rs. 62,200 to the disinherited rājās of Rajaurī, Jasrotā, Rāmnagar, Basholī and Kishtwār. This made the State of Jammu and Kashmīr quite a self-contained and compact territory covering an area of 84,471 square miles. Geographically, however, the State of Jammu and Kashmīr is not a unity. The variety of physical configuration—from the plains bordering the West Punjāb to the snow-capped mountains of the

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\*Volume 8, July-December, 1847, pages 252-3.

northern fringes of the State adjoining the lower parts of Central Asia, and within such a comparatively small area—is indeed difficult to find elsewhere. The climate varies from the extremes of the plains to the severe cold of the Ladakh district.

*The importance of the State of Jammu and Kashmīr.*

In point of area, the State of Jammu and Kashmīr is the biggest State in India. Hydarābād, the premier State of India, has an area of 82,698 square miles, less by 1,773 square miles. If, however, we exclude Gilgit as it was temporarily transferred to British administration, Jammu and Kashmīr would be smaller than Hydarābād, but it is no longer so; as Gilgit is restored to Jammu & Kashmīr. Including Berār, over which the Nizām has nominal sovereignty, Hydarābād would be much greater. The area of Mysore—larger than Eire, the Irish Free State—is 29,469 square miles, or less than half of Kashmīr, while that of Baroda is 8,164, or less than  $\frac{1}{10}$ th. The Jammu and Kashmīr State in area is equal to Mysore, Gwāliār, Baroda and Bīkāner put together.

The boundaries of Kashmīr extend from the northern outskirts of the plains of the West Punjab to the point where the borders of the Union of Soviet Socialist Russia and the Republic of China touch Pākistān. And we cannot ignore the proximity of Afghānistān. Kashmīr thus commands a vital strategic position on the map of the great Pāk-Indian sub-continent. If developed economically, it is estimated that the State of Jammu and Kashmīr is capable of maintaining much more than its present population.

The total population of the State was 36,46,243 in 1931. In 1941 it was 40,21,616. The Jammu Province (area 12,375 or three-fifths of the whole State) accounts for 1,981,433 or about one-half of the entire population of the State. The Kashmir Province (area 8,539 or two-fifths of the whole State) comes next with 1,728,705. The frontier districts of Leh (population 3,372), Skārdo (2,537), and Gilgit (4,671), have only a population of 311,478 in the large area of 63,554 square miles—three-fourths of the whole State. According to the census of 1941, the total population of the entire State of Jammu and Kashmīr is 40,21,616, an increase of 3,75,373 or 10·29 per cent. in

ten years. During the last fifty years, there has been an increase of roughly 54 per cent. since the census of 1891. The number of males is 21,29,872. The number of females is 18,09,744. And this difference of about 3 lakhs between males and females in the State has been practically constant for the last forty years. According to the census of 1941, the number of Harijans is 1,13,464. It is less by 25,000 than the census of 1931, because of conversion or due to change of classification.

[Jammu in 1931 had a population of 42,794 (Jammu city 38,613 and Jammu Cantonment 4,181) of whom 13,383 were Muslims, 26,899 were Hindus, 1,317 were Sikhs, 572 were Jains. Jammu city has now a population of 50,379 according to the census of 1941, an increase of 11,766 viz., 30.47 per cent. Compare "Jammoo" of Drew's days, pp. 62-65.]

"And so Jammu became the capital of a kingdom larger than England, in fact, about equal to Great Britain, with tributary peoples speaking a dozen distinct languages and dialects, and at a Darbar, in the olden days, one might have seen not only the Dogra Princes and Sikh generals, Punjabi officials and Kashmir Dewans and Brahmins, with bold Rajput veterans of many fiercely contested mountain campaigns, but those who had been subjugated, Tibetan chiefs from Leh and Zanskar, Balti Rajahs from Skardo or Shigar, Dard chiefs from Astor or Gilgit, with their picturesque and truculent followers, all clad in most diverse costumes. Many of these petty Rajahs were often treated with utmost contempt by the court menials."\*

#### *Gulāb Singh's greed for money.*

Owing to his character for oppression and avarice, Gulāb Singh was not a popular ruler, and the people did not welcome him, writes Younghusband. But with the support of the British Government, he was finally able to establish his rule over Kashmir by the end of 1846, due to the presence of Sir Henry Lawrence, who had moved up to assist him as stated before.

It is said of Gulāb Singh that when he surveyed his new purchase, the *bāniā* in him grumbled that one-third

\*Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913.

of the country was mountain, one-third water, and the remainder alienated to privileged persons. With regard to his desire for money, it is interesting to recount the story given by Frederic Drew<sup>1</sup> that, with the customary offering of a rupee as *nazr* (present), any one could get Gulāb Singh's ear. Even in a crowd, one could catch his eye by holding up a rupee and crying out "*Mahārāj*, 'arz hai,'" that is, "Mahārājā, a petition!" "He would pounce down like a hawk on the money, and having appropriated it would patiently hear out the petition. Once, a man, after this fashion making a complaint when the Mahārājā was taking the rupee, closed his hand on it and said: "No, first hear what I have to say." Even this did not go beyond Gulāb Singh's patience. He waited till the fellow had told his tale and opened his hand. Then taking the money, he gave orders about the case.

### *Gulāb Singh would not spare a Gurū.*

That Gulāb Singh would not spare even a Gurū, if that Gurū avoided taxation, will be seen from the following case quoted in the *Lahore Political Diaries*.<sup>2</sup> "30th August 1847 . . . Sut (Sat?) Ram Razdan came to see me," writes Lieutenant Taylor, Assistant to the Resident at Lāhore. "He is a religious character, and has been always much favoured by all parties. Among other things, he is Dewan Deena Nath's Gooroo, and appears to be much looked up to by all Hindoos. He has an enormous number of villages in *Hunood* (or *Zar-i-niāz*) and 4,500 rupees worth of *dhurmurth*. Many of these villages he has himself held for many years; others have been held by his dependants and friends in his name; others he had more lately obtained possession of; and others his dependants have as recently absorbed, and this without any

1. Frederic Drew, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, London, 1875, page 15.

Mr. Frederic Drew, an Englishman, came out leaving the Geological Survey of Great Britain but was asked to do geological investigation or to look for minerals in the State, and was employed in various civil capacities including the management of trusts. At the time of Sir Richard Temple's visit to Kashmīr in 1871 (see Temple's Vol. II, pp. 136-7), he was in entire civil charge of Ladakh in order to remove all indirect restrictions upon Central Asian trade in that quarter. Drew was in the service of the Mahārājā of Kashmīr for a period of ten years from 1862 to 1872. His book, *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, is dedicated to Mahārājā Ranbir Singh.

2. Volume 6, pages, 87-89.

order or method, and in most instances totally without official sanction. . . . Razdan and his dependants had no less than 65 villages and portions of villages in their possession, and these dispersed through 15 different *pur-gunnahs*. . . . Rajah Suchet Singh was one of his greatest patrons. . . . the Maharaja himself as Rajah Golab Singh had greatly befriended him. When the latter became ruler of the country and began to examine these and other grants, Razdan . . . either completely declined rendering any account or put it off from time to time with an evident wish of avoiding it altogether. A *tushkhees* or valuation was, therefore, made of his lands and of those held in his name, . . . The day before I left Cashmere, a *purwannah* was written and signed in my presence by the Maharaja granting him Rs. 7,000 yearly profit according to his own mode of collection . . . ”

“ Goolab Singh,” wrote Colonel Torrens<sup>1</sup> as far back as 1863, “ went far beyond his predecessors in the gentle acts of undue taxation and extortion. *They* had taxed heavily, it is true, but *he* sucked the very life-blood of the people ; *they* had laid violent hands on a large proportion of the fruits of the earth, the profits of the loom, and the work of men’s hands, but *he* skinned the very flints to fill his coffers.”

Gulāb Singh’s weakness for money, like his old Mahārājā, Ranjit Singh, was encouraged by his advisers. Lieutenant Taylor’s diary<sup>2</sup> dated 24th June, 1847, records the fact. “ Shah Ahmad Khan(?) Nukshbundee, visited me and talked long on the affairs of the town and country. He explained the extent of injustice caused by some of the Mabaraja’s acts, but seemed inclined to excuse the Maharaja a good deal of the blame due for them, attributing them rather to the vice and recklessness of his advisers, who, taking advantage of his failing—avarice—employ themselves in finding out new modes of raising the imposts on the people, always backing the recommendation with a precedent and an assurance that the victims can well bear a little compression ; and to these propositions the king gives too ready an ear, content if it can only be shown that the idea is not entirely

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1. *Travels*, page 301.  
2. Volume VI, page 40.

new. I give this opinion among a host of others because I think there is a good deal of truth in it."

### *Complaints against Gulāb Singh.*

To investigate certain complaints against Gulāb Singh, Lt. Reynell G. Taylor, Assistant to the Resident at Lāhore, was deputed to Kashmir from the 14th to the 20th June, 1847.

"Meean Hutto Singh, son of the Maharaja by a slave girl" was sent to meet Lt. Taylor. An idea of the then state of things in Srinagar could be had from Taylor's diary<sup>1</sup> dated 21st June 1847, over a year after Gulāb Singh's purchase of Kashmir. "Rode in the morning through the town which presents a very miserable appearance. The houses made of wood and tumbling in every direction. The streets filthy from want of drainage. I saw the houses of the shawl-weavers from the outside, and thought they looked miserable enough. There is a fine old stone mosque of the time of the Emperors well and substantially built; it is now a rice granary, should like much to get it emptied out. None of the bazar look well-filled and prosperous, and altogether my ride made me unhappy. The above sentences are quoted as I noted them down on returning from my visit to the town."

Sardār K.M. Panikkar, while defending him in certain respects, admits that Gulāb Singh did not achieve his ends "by methods which were always beyond criticism. . . . . He did not hesitate to resort to tricks and stratagems which would, in ordinary life, be considered dishonourable. He was trained in a hard school, where lying, intrigue and treachery were all considered part and parcel of politics."<sup>2</sup>

Gulāb Singh's first care was to consolidate his power and ensure his revenue. By dint of untiring industry and by strict supervision of his officials, he made the most of the revenue of the Valley. Reports state that the purchase-money paid for Kashmir was recouped in a few years, but, says Lawrence, this is not correct. Mahārājā Gulab Singh, however, took care that there should be no unnecessary

1. Volume 6, page 37.

2. *Gulab Singh*, page 152. Sardar Panikkar is now the Ambassador of the Union of India to the Republic of China.

expenditure or, in other words, "he kept a sharp eye on his officials and a close hand on his revenues." He toured his State often.

"No post of importance was given to a new man until he received a piece of salt,"<sup>1</sup> as impressing on him the need to be true to Gulab Singh's salt.

### *Gulab Singh's Repression.*

Gulab Singh repressed opposition and crime with a stern hand. He believed in object lessons. Vigne,<sup>2</sup> who was in Jammu in July 1835, narrates that an insurrection had taken place near Punc against the authority of Gulab Singh, who went in person to suppress it and succeeded in doing so. "Some of his prisoners were flayed alive under his own eye. The executioner hesitated, and Gulab Singh asked him if he were about to operate upon his father or mother, and rated him for being so chicken-hearted. He then ordered one or two of the skins to be stuffed with straw; . . . . The figure was then planted on the wayside that passers-by might see it; and Gulab Singh called his son's attention to it, and told him to take a lesson in the art of governing." Gulab Singh was naturally feared by his subjects and servants. All frontier troubles were suppressed by Gulab Singh.

### *Gulab Singh's principle of personal rule.*

Gulab Singh "brought the principle of personal rule to perfection," says Lawrence,<sup>3</sup> "and showed the people that he could stand by himself. If he wanted their services, he would have them without resorting to the old-fashioned device of paying for them by the alienation of State revenues. The State was Mahārājā Gulab Singh, and as he spent much of his time in Kashmir, and was an able and active ruler, and a fairly wise landlord, the condition of the people improved." Gulab Singh regulated *bēgār* (forced labour), and appointed an officer to take charge of this work. The rationing of rice in the Valley was undertaken. A rigid monopoly of the same was consequently established, and rice was sold to the people at a

1. *Maharaja Gulab Singh* by Pandit Sālig Rām Kaul, High Court Pleader, July 1907, with an Explanation dated 1st September, 1923, page 249.

2. *Travels*, 1842 Vol. I, page 241.

3. *The Valley of Kashmir*, p. 202.

fixed price. To be precise, shortly after Mahārājā Gulāb Singh assumed the control, the present system of collecting *shālī* in large granaries in the city and selling it by retail through Government officials appears to have been introduced, says Mr. A. Wingate, C.I.E., I.C.S., Land Settlement Officer of the State, in a report written in August 1888. The shawl department was re-organized under a controller regulating the tax according to the price of the shawl in the market. All professional skilled workers were taxed. The State derived from such taxation an income of about one lakh and ten thousand, which was realized through the *mugaddam* (leader) of each profession. The tax ranged from Re. 1 to Rs. 2 per month, but barbers and tailors were exempted from the tax. The income from the customs department amounted to about a lakh of rupees per year.

#### *Fowls, sheep and provisions cheap.*

Writing on Friday, the 17th August, 1850, Mrs. Hervey says : "Fowls and sheep are plentiful in Kashmir. . . . Sheep are sold in Kashmir at from six to eight annas each (nine pence to a shilling) and lambs for about five annas (seven pence half penny). . . . Cows are sold in Kashmir for four rupees (eight shillings) and very good ones for six and seven rupees. Ponies cost little also, from twenty to forty Company's rupees (£2 to £4). All provisions are exceedingly cheap and a native can live on two or three pice (copper coin) a day most luxuriously ! "1

#### *Christian Mission reconnoitring.*

In 1854, Rev. R. Clark and Colonel Martin came to Kashmīr to reconnoitre the field for Christian missionary activity. Gulāb Singh was quite willing that they should preach in Kashmir, saying that the people were so bad already that padres could do them no harm, and he was curious to see if they could do them any good.<sup>2</sup>

#### *The Trigonometrical Survey of the Valley and the First Map of Kashmīr.*

Mahārājā Gulāb Singh gave his consent to the operations of the Great Trigonometrical Survey of India<sup>3</sup> in

1. *The Adventures of a Lady*, pages 277-78.

2. Irene Petrie, page 118.

3. *The Great Trigonometrical Survey of India* by Major-General J. T. Walker, Surveyor-General of India, Dehra Dun, 1879, vol. vii, pages xiii—C to xlvi—C.

his dominions, when Lieutenant-Colonel Waugh—afterwards General Sir Andrew Waugh—was the Surveyor-General of India. The Survey lasted for several years. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh and his successor, Mahārājā Ranbir Singh, gave aid to those engaged in the work. This survey of Kashmīr was actually commenced and supervised, during 1855-63, by Major T. G. Montgomerie, R. E., who has been quoted by Colonel S. G. Burrard for his theory of the Wular Lake (*see* pages 11-12 of *Kashīr*). The Major died and the duty of compiling an account of the operations was entrusted to Mr. J. Peyton. Colonel Waugh in his instructions to Montgomerie laid stress on the importance of determining the heights of inaccessible points; and in the course of triangulation, the elevation of all the remarkable snowy peaks was ascertained by independent results derived from stations at various distances. The map of the Valley and the surrounding mountains was prepared from the trigonometrical and topographical operations of the Kashmīr survey in the Surveyor-General's Office, Dehra Dun, in 1859. A map of Kashmīr on the scale of the Indian atlas was made ready early in 1861. The map of Ancient Kashmīr reproduced in *Kashīr* (opposite page 35) is based on this map of the Valley prepared in 1859.

#### *Chief officers of Gulāb Singh.*

Among his chief officers may be mentioned these names : (1) Dīwān Jwālā Sahāi of Aimanābād, West Punjāb, was mainly responsible for negotiations in connexion with the transfer of Kashmīr. Dīwān Kirpā Rām, author of the *Gulab-nāmā*, was the son of Jwālā Sahāi ; (2) Dīwān Hari Chand was employed in military expeditions ; (3) Wazīr Zōrāwar Singh Kalhoria was the military commander ; (4) Colonel Bastī Rām was one of Zōrāwar's important lieutenants in military operations ; (5) Vazīr Lakhpāt of Kishtwār who was dispatched to take possession of Kashmīr and to oppose Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn, and died in taking Hari-parbat ; (6) Sayyid Naththu Shāh of Gujrānwāla served Gulāb Singh ; and later lost his life in quelling a rebellion on the Gilgit frontier.

Gulāb Singh appointed (1) Pandit Rāj Kāk Dar the son of Birbal Dar, (2) Miyān Hethū—Gulāb Singh's son from a concubine—(3) Ranbir Singh when 19—one after the other, as *nāzims* or governors of Kashmīr.

*Dr. Honigberger proposes sugar-cane and tea plantations in the State in the year 1852.*

On obtaining his pension from the English, as stated previously, Dr. Honigberger\* wanted to return to Europe. But the season not being favourable for the voyage, he left Lāhore and reached the Valley of Kashmīr in three weeks. Mahārājā Gulāb Singh proposed that the Doctor should enter his service, but he declined as it would have interfered with his trip to Europe. The Doctor, however, promised that he would return to Kashmīr where he intended adopting farming. When the Mahārājā inquired of the nature of farming, the Doctor's reply was : "I had observed that, notwithstanding the great consumption of tea and sugar in his dominions, the cultivation of them had never been attempted, and that they were consequently imported from foreign countries. The sugar used in Cashmere is imported from India, and is conveyed with much difficulty over steep mountains through almost impracticable passes, the journey occupying three weeks ;

\*Dr. John Martin Honigberger was a Transylvanian, born about 1785. After qualifying as a physician, he set out in 1815 in search of a livelihood, wandering about the Middle East for years, and, at one time, having practised in Damascus. Giving this up, Honigberger tramped across country, disguised as a Musalmān, and arrived at Baghdād where he cured a Pashā. But "this rolling stone rolled on," and arrived in Lāhore in 1829. Here Ranjit Singh appointed him court physician and officer in charge of the gunpowder and shot factories—a curious combination—on a salary of Rs. 900 per mensem. One of his court duties was to distil spirit for Ranjit Singh. In 1833 Honigberger decided to go home. His journey on foot *via* Bukhārā and Russia took him twenty months. After practising in Istanbūl for a time, he was summoned back to Lāhore as Ranjit Singh was very ill. He pulled the Mahārājā round for a time.

Dr. Honigberger was the only prominent European who remained in Lāhore throughout the anarchy and the two Sikh Wars. For his treatment of some prisoners, and for service in the jail and the lunatic asylum after the annexation of the Punjāb, he was given a pension by the East India Company. Dr. Honigberger returned to his native land where he died in 1865. His memoirs, *Thirty-five Years in the East*, are "well worth reading." These were published in English, in 1852, by H. Baillière, 213, Regent Street, London. The full title is : *Thirty-five Years in the East—Adventures, Discoveries, Experiments, and Historical Sketches, relating to the Punjab and Cashmere ; in connexion with Medicine Botany, Pharmacy, etc., together with an original Materia Medica and a Medical Vocabulary, in four European and five Eastern Languages by John Martin Honigberger, Late Physician to the Court of Lahore.* Pp. 448.

and the tea is brought from Tibet, in the shape of cakes and is very much inferior to that which is produced in India" (pp. 176-7).

"I explained to the Maharaja to his great astonishment," continues Dr. Honigberger, "that the soil of Cashmere was favourable to the production of both these articles" (p. 177). The sugarcane, it was pointed out, was not essential for the production of sugar, as it could be prepared from beet-root for which the soil was eminently adapted. Had Honigberger returned to Kashmîr, we may perhaps have had local sugar and local tea, of which there has been no prospect these hundred years! A sugar factory is now being set up in Ranbir singhpura near Jammu! A small quantity of tea is being grown in Tahsil Riāsī in the Jammu Province.

#### *Gulab Singh's hospitality to Europeans.*

Dr. Honigberger describes his stay in Kashmîr: "At the period when I was at Cashmere, the Maharaja had several English visitors, whom he treated with the greatest hospitality. . . . At that time and previously, it was the custom of every European, of whatever nation he might be, who visited the Valley of Cashmere, to be received as a guest and entertained as such, from the instant of his entering the country to the moment of his departure. . . . In a conversation. . . . he (the Maharaja) complained that many of the servants of the European visitors had abused the hospitality displayed towards them, for they had frequently taken very large quantities of saffron and other products of the country, much beyond what they could really use during their sojourn (pp. 178-9).

"We sometimes dined together at the Maharaja's; and it may, perhaps, appear very ridiculous. . . . that on these occasions we were obliged to send our own cooks, our own wines, and our own plate, and other culinary, or gastronomic apparatus. The Maharaja would make his appearance during dinner, but of course, would never partake of our repast; and to show us particular attention, he ordered preserves, fruit, ice and sweetmeats, to be sent to us from his own kitchen. Besides this kind of hospitality, he would frequently minister to our entertainment in other ways, as by exhibitions of fireworks, illuminations on the river, music, dancing girls (*bayadères*), etc." (p. 179).

Dr. Honigberger, himself a Transylvanian medical man, represents Gulab Singh as a good *hakīm* (physician) when he says :—“the kings of France professed to cure the king’s-evil, by laying the hand upon the patient; and the kings of England to cure epilepsy, by blowing thrice upon the person affected with that disease—the Maharaja emulates their example, by professing to cure all cases of paralysis, although he adopts a more substantial and effective method of operation. He administers for this purpose a *majoon* (*ma’jūn* or electuary) . . . with thirty-five spices.”<sup>1</sup>

*Estimates of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh’s character.*

Sir Henry Lawrence’s estimate of Gulab Singh’s character is what follows: “I have no doubt that Maharaja Gulab Singh is a man of indifferent character; but if we look for perfection from native chiefs, we shall look in vain. Very much but not all that is said of him might, as far as my experience goes, be so of any sovereign or chief in India. He has many virtues that few of them possess, *viz.* courage, energy, and personal purity. . . . The way in which he has been doubted, denounced and vilified in anonymous journals is very disgraceful to us.”<sup>2</sup>

Major Smyth states: “he was courteous and polite in demeanour and exhibited a suavity of manner and language that contrasted fearfully with his real disposition.”<sup>3</sup>

Captain Joseph Davey Cunningham says: “In the course of this history there has, more than once, been occasion to allude to the unscrupulous character of Rajah Gulab Singh: but it must not, therefore, be supposed that he is a man malevolently evil. He will, indeed, deceive an enemy and take his life without hesitation, and in the accumulation of money he will exercise many oppressions: but he must be judged with reference to the morality of his age and race and to the necessities of his own position. If these allowances be made, Gulab Singh will be found an able and moderate man, who does little in idle or wanton spirit, and who is not without some traits both of good humour and of generosity of temper.”<sup>4</sup>

1. *Thirty-five Years in the East*, page 179.

2. *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, page 389.

3. Smyth, *Reigning Family of Lahore*, page 257.

4. *History of the Sikhs*, New and Revised Edition, 1918, page 320 n.

Sir Lepel Griffin<sup>1</sup> accuses Gulāb Singh of instigating the Second Sikh War, but Sardār Panikkar has contested this accusation.<sup>2</sup> Lord Dalhousie disliked Gulāb Singh. Gulāb Singh was, however, a good friend to the British Government in their troublous time of 1857. And Ranbir Singh, after him, actually helped the British at that time by troops.

### *Gulāb Singh quarrels with Jawāhir Singh.*

A few months before his death, Gulāb Singh's nephew, Rājā Jawāhir Singh, the second son of his brother Dhyān Singh, made an attempt to wrest one-half of the country ruled by Gulāb Singh. Rājā Jawāhir Singh claimed that, to his father and to his father's brother, Rājā Suchēt Singh, belonged the major part of the hill country. Jawāhir appealed to the English at Lāhore. Diwān Jawāla Sahāi was deputed to defend Gulāb Singh's case. The English authorities were willing to consider Jawāhir's case when Jawāla Sahāi exclaimed : "Was not the country purchased by my master ?" This settled the matter in favour of Gulāb Singh, particularly because, in the meantime, Jawāhir Singh's intrigue and disloyalty against the English had come to light. Jawāhir's state was confiscated, and he was deported to Ambāla where he died.<sup>3</sup>

### *Gulāb Singh's death.*

Gulāb Singh was an orthodox Hindu in certain ways. He was a strict Sanātana Dharmī. He built several temples in Jammu, and undertook pilgrimage to Gayā, Prayāg, Benāres and Mathurā. Killing of cows was prohibited throughout the State. On his death-bed, according to Sardār Pānikkar, Gulāb Singh distributed over 100,000 rupees in charity. Colonel Urmston, says Mrs. Ashby Carus-Wilson, prevented the immolation of his five widows as suttees.

Mahārājā Gulāb Singh died of dropsy on 2nd August, 1857 A.C. (20th Sāvana, 1914 Bikramī) at the age of 65. The day of his death was marked by an earthquake.

1. *Punjab Chiefs*, second edition, page 511.

2. *Gulab Singh*, pages 128-29.

3. *Maharaja Gulab Singh* by Pandit Sālig Rām Kaul, High Court Pleader, July, 1907, with an Explanation dated 1st September 1923, pages 255-57.

رُوزِ مرگش آسمان لرزید و لرزیدنده خلق  
 کافکند گاو زمین بار زمین از اضطراب  
 کرد طغیان آنقدر طوفانی اشک از دیدها  
 کآسمان هر گوشه آمد در نظرها چون حباب  
 گشت عالم تیره در چشم بفکر سموتش

۱۹۱۳

لَبْ گَذِيد و گُفت هاتف از نظر شُد آفتاب

(۱۹۱۳ = ۲۲ اعداد "لَبْ")

گلاب نامہ - صفحه ۳۳۹

His cenotaph is built in Rāmbāgh on the Dūdhagañgā stream in Srinagar.

*Concluding remarks on Gulāb Singh's career.*

Gulāb Singh was unquestionably a man of great vigour, foresight and determination. He shewed extraordinary self-possession under the gravest calamity when, within a short space of time, and in quick succession, he saw the last of his great brother Dhyān Singh, the premier of the Punjāb, of Suchēt Singh, the younger brother, witnessed the death of Sohan Singh and the murder of Udhām Singh, his sons, and of his nephew Hirā Singh, the son of Dhyān Singh. And remember his own imprisonment in Lāhore too! He is the founder of Dogrā rule in Jammu and in Kashmīr. He may indeed be called Dogrā the Great.

A remarkable figure in the history of Northern India during the first half of the nineteenth century, Gulāb Singh was distinguished as a soldier and diplomat, and knew the statecraft of his own days exceedingly well. He made the best use of the ruin that overtook Sikh power in the Punjāb. He showed his ability in carving out a kingdom for himself further north, which has, to our day, been held by his son, grandson, and great-grandson. And his great-great-grandson, whose betrothal to the Mahārājkumārī of Ratlām in Central India was performed on 11th June, 1941, at Gulāb Bhawan, the splendid royal residence overlooking the Dal, Srinagar, is being apprenticed to succeed his own father in course of time. In this respect, Gulāb Singh was certainly much more fortunate than Sultān Haidar 'Alī of Mysore, or his own master, the 'Monocular Lion of the Punjāb,' whose

fondness for horses and greed for money he closely copied. Gulāb Singh replaced the haphazard and heartless Sikh exploitation of the Valley by his own firm rule, but exacted from the Kashmīrī every possible penny regularly and systematically. Gulāb Singh, at the same time, lost no opportunity in keeping down the Kashmīrī's already drooping spirit, that had been broken by the Afghāns and crushed by the Sikhs. The Kashmīrī, therefore, remained in the same old state of passive resignation throughout his régime of eleven years. Gulāb Singh was incapable of anything better at the time.

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### MAHĀRĀJĀ SIR RANBĪR SINGH.

[1857 A.C. to 1885 A.C.]

Ranbīr Singh, in comparison with his father, was born under very favourable conditions. He never underwent the struggles through which his father had to pass. His birth in 1829, at Rāmnagar, was considered lucky for Gulāb Singh, as, soon afterwards, Mahārājā Ranjīt Singh conferred Jammu in *jāgīr* on Gulāb Singh's family. Gulāb Singh had married early in life, in 1809, a lady from the Rukwāl Rājpūts. She gave birth to three sons. The eldest, Udhām Singh (erroneously called by Sardār K. M. Panikkar Randhīr Singh, p. 57), died with Prince Nau-nihāl Singh, Ranjīt Singh's grandson, at Lāhore, as a result of an accidental, or according to another report, deliberately planned, fall of an archway under which they passed. Randhīr Singh *alias* Sohan Singh, the second son, was killed along with his cousin Rājā Hirā Singh by the Sikhs near Shāhdara, Lāhore. Thus was paved the way for Ranbīr's succession to Gulāb's *gaddī*. Suchēt Singh, Gulāb Singh's younger brother, who had no son, also adopted Ranbīr as his heir. Ranbīr Singh thus acquired possession of the Rāmnagar 'ilāqa.

Ranbīr's education was old-fashioned. He could read Dōgrī. His father trained him to the use of arms by sending him with his soldiers to quell occasional disturbances. He was married to the daughter of Rājā Bijai Singh of Seba in 1843, when Rāja Dhyān Singh was present on behalf of Mahārājā Sher Singh. By 1855, Gulāb Singh delegated

most of the powers in state affairs to him after the *Rājtilak* ceremony on the 6th of Phāgun, Samvat 1912 (1855 A.C.), having been, at one time, Governor of Jammu, when, among other events, the mutiny of a Sikh regiment at Mīrpur is recorded. Ranbir succeeded his father in 1857 and ruled for 28 years. He had the *alias* of Phīna or the flat-nosed.

### *Ranbir Singh's patronage of Sanskrit Learning.*

Soon after his accession to the throne in the year 1857, Mahārājā Ranbir Singh consecrated a shrine to the worship of Rāma or Raghūnātha, from whom, according to Dogrā tradition, the house of the Jammu Rājās claims descent. On account of the zeal of the Mahārājā, this shrine gradually became the centre of extensive religious establishments. A Pāthshālā or College and a library of Sanskrit works were the foremost objects of the Mahārājā's care. In the Pāthshālā, he provided for the tuition and support of several hundreds of Brāhmaṇ pupils, who were to be trained in the various branches of Sanskrit learning. For the library the collection of manuscripts was simultaneously begun. Translations into Hindi of standard works, selected from the whole range of the Darshanas, the Dharmas and the other Shāstras, were executed, and partly printed with the object of spreading a knowledge of classical Hindu learning among the Mahārājā's Dogrā subjects through the Dogri language. As a matter of fact, Dogri was greatly improved and encouraged. Diacritical marks which did not exist in the old Dogri were introduced on the model of Hindi. Pandit Govind Kaul was appointed to the charge of the Translation Department. Persian and Arabic works on historical, philosophical, and other subjects were translated into Sanskrit with the assistance of Maulavis.\* The Vidya Eilās Press was installed.

Pandit Sāhib Rām, who, according to Dr. Stein, was the foremost among Kashmirian Sanskrit scholars of the last few generations, was commissioned by Mahārājā Ranbir Singh to prepare a descriptive survey of all ancient *Tīrthas* of Kashmir. For this purpose a staff of Pandits was placed at his disposal, whose business it was to collect the necessary material in the various parts of the country. The large work which was to be prepared on the basis of

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\*Introduction, *Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts at Jammu* by Dr. Stein.

their material, was never completed. But some time before his death, Pandit Sāhib Rām had drawn up abstracts of the information he had collected, under the title of *Kāshmīra-tirtha-samgraha*, giving a list of numerous *Tirthas* with brief indications of their special features and position, arranged in topographical order of *parganas*. (*Rājatarangīni*, Vol. II, p. 384).

In *A History of the University of the Panjab*, published in 1933, Professor J. F. Bruce notes a donation of Rs. 62,500 (one lakh of Srinagar rupees) from Sir Ranbir Singh, Mahārājā of Jammu & Kashmir, "in response to an explanation given to the representative of the State by the Secretary to the Punjab Government under instructions from Sir Donald McLeod, the Lieutenant-Governor" in 1868. This sum was increased to Rs. 93,478 by 1882 (pp. 14 and 54). An endowment of Rs. 30,978 received by the Trustees of the Panjab University College (the forerunner of the University of the Panjab) on the 2nd March, 1871, had increased to Rs. 41,250, and its interest provides the McLeod Kashmir Sanskrit Research Studentship of the value of Rs. 100 per mensem. When the University of the Panjab was established in 1882, Mahārājā Ranbir Singh was entered as the first Fellow of the University.

### *The Dharmārth.*

The private charities of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh and Ranbir Singh and other assignments and allocations of several lakhs were constituted by the *A'in-i-Dharmārth* (or regulations for the Dharmārth drafted in Persian) for the benefit of Hindu temples and Sanskrit learning.

**The Dharmarth.**—When Mahārājā Gulāb Singh "assumed the reins of Government he took pains in the progress of the holy religion of the Hindus as well as in the construction of the various temples, the result of which was that temples arose in the various towns of the State of Jammu." He was a staunch Sanātanist. Prior to his time, only two temples existed, viz., Shri Vaishnav (about 10 miles from Katra, in the Riasi District) and Shivji (in Parmandal village, about 24 miles to the east of Jammu). Gulāb Singh ordained that a treasury called the Treasury of Shri Raghunāthji be established wherein five lakhs of rupees be invested and the interest of money be appropriated for the permanent maintenance of *Sadāvarts* (places of distribution of food, etc., to travellers).

In conformity with Mahārājā Gulāb Singh's wishes, Ranbir Singh by a special *Ishād*, dated 20th Katik, 1941-18 A.C., placed the maintenance of *Sadāvars* on a permanent footing. With that view he ordained the appointment of a Council for the supervision, management and protection of the Dharmārth Fund. "Whoever among the heirs of the Sarkār and the State servants and officials expended any money towards any other head was to incur the sin of having killed one crore of cows." Miyāns Pratāp Singh, Rām Singh and Amar Singh endorsed the document on 25th Baisākh, 1941, Samvat 18=A.C. April 1884.

*Stipends to Hindu religious students and publication of Translations into Sanskrit.*

Six hundred *vidyārthīs* (scholars) were to be kept on under tuition on behalf of His Highness in schools in temples according to the *A'in-i-Dharmārth* (p. 29). Gow-shālas were to be maintained, and fodder was to be provided for cows and bullocks (p. 52). A class of translators, compilers and copyists was to be appointed. Ten men "able to translate from Arabic, Persian and other languages into Sanskrit" were to be paid Re. 1/- to Rs. 3/- in addition to their pay (p. 60). Some of the publications\* of the Dharmārth Department are:—(1) *Bhāgwat Purāṇa*, dealing with the high power of Bhagawān, (2) *Prāyaschitta Vali*, oblations offered to a deity, (3) *Ranbir Jyoti Prakāṣa*, (4) *Kathā Sāgar* (story book), (5) *Ranbir Vaidya Prakāṣa* (diseases and their treatment). Six specified temples were to be properly looked after (p. 88). A *havelī*, or residential house, was to be constructed at Kāshī (Benāres) for pilgrims who could stay for 15 days, and a man of position for a month and eight days." *Mugarrarīs* (allowances) in cash ranging from Rs. 20, 48, 96, 120, to 190 were granted (pp. 142-43). In addition, *Mugarrarīs* in kind, viz., rice, dāl, ghee, salt, oil and shāli were also given.

The amount of Rs. 4,356/- was paid from the Sankalpa grant of His Highness. *Jap* numbering one crore was required to be performed in a year. Each *prayogī* was to tell 3,300 rosaries of *jap* in a day. The muqarrariwālas (prayogis) were to be replaced by others every month. Regulations were also laid down regarding the Samādh (tomb) of Gulāb Singh in Rām Bāgh, Srinagar, (p. 144) involving its upkeep and payment of expenses incurred for a variety of religious services at the tomb.

In the time of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh this Department was at the peak of its progress. Arrangements were made for the help of Hindu orphans and widows by certain allowances.

At present the Dharmārth is a "reserved" subject.

*The income of the Trust.*

The annual income of the trust is about Rs. 3,00,000 (3 or 13 (?) lakhs) from the following sources:—

(i) Jāgirs (ii) Rakhs and Forests (iii) Gardens (iv) Interest.  
The expenditure is about the same, viz., three (or 13 ?) lakhs.

\*The *Bhārtī*, Jammu, June 1942=Jaishth 1999 Bikramī, Dharmārth Añk (Number).

The figures for 1997-98 Bikramī are as follows :—

	Rs.
Administration .. ..	39,000
Temples .. ..	90,900
Schools, scholarships and the Raghūnāth	
Library .. ..	26,100
Gaushālā .. ..	5,000
General help .. ..	34,000
Muqarraris .. ..	9,400
Pension .. ..	4,500
Repairs and New buildings .. ..	5,800
Subscriptions .. ..	2,300

Prachāraks preach to the people. Higher education scholarships are given to Hindu students.<sup>1</sup> In the Kishtwār famine money was spent on the provision of food for the people.

#### *Loan for railway construction.*

The railway line from Suchētgarh to Jammu was originally made out of the funds of the Dharmārth Department. About 16 lakhs of rupees were invested on a minimum guaranteed interest of  $3\frac{1}{2}\%$  by the State. If the interest was more than this, it was to go to the Dharmārth Fund. Later on, the Government of Jammu and Kashmīr paid back the amount to the Dharmārth Department, which invested this money in its own funds.

This note is based on the *A'in-i-Dharmārth* or Regulations for the Dharmārth Trust Fund, English Translation, foolscap size, pp. 154. For references see the Preamble, and pages noted above in brackets.

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#### *Mahārājā Ranbir Singh a strict Hindu.*

It was Ranbir Singh's ambition that Jammu should rival Benāres in the number of its temples, "an ambition scarcely to be fulfilled, for, there is no sanctity attaching to the comparatively modern city." And however lavish might be the gifts of the ruling prince, they could not rival the ceaseless stream of wealth pouring from all parts of India into the world-famed Kāshī on the Ganges.<sup>2</sup> Andrew Wilson<sup>3</sup> who had a private audience with the Mahārājā writes in 1875 : "His Highness is reputed to be somewhat serious and bigoted as regards his religion." Colonel Torrens wrote about 1863 :—"Rumbeer Singh is a strict Hindoo ; his favourite wife is "serious," and her influence over her lord and master is increased by the fact that his only children—two sons—were by her."

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1. The *Bhārtī*, Jammu, June, 1942=Jaishth 1999 Bikramī, Dharmārth Āṅk (Number).

2. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 44.

3. *The Abode of Snow*, page 394.

*Attempt on Ranbir's life.*

Thākūr Kāhan Singh,<sup>1</sup> in his small brochure on the life of Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh, refers two to attempts on the part of Jawāhir Singh of Pūnch and Miyān Hethu of Rajaūrī to shoot the Mahārājā. The culprits concerned, about twelve in number, were discovered and punished. Shaikh Saudāgar, Vazir-i-Jammu, is reported to have assisted in unearthing these plots. This is why henceforth Ranbīr employed Afghāns for his own bodyguard.

*Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh's help to the British.*

Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh detailed a contingent of State troops 2,000 strong with 200 cavalry and six guns to Dēlī under the command of Dīwān Hari Chand, then Commander-in-Chief of the Kashmīr forces, to render help in the suppression of the Indian Revolt. In consequence of this timely help in the siege of Dēlī, Ranbīr Singh received from Lord Canning a *sanad*<sup>2</sup> granting him the right to adopt, from collateral branches, an heir to the succession on the failure of heirs-male of Gulāb Singh, on whom alone the country had been conferred by the British.

The Mahārājā was also made G.C.S.I. in an investiture darbār held at Lāhore by Lord Canning in 1858. In addition to this, the Supreme Government offered an '*ilāqa*' in Oudh. But the Mahārājā declined the offer, saying that he assisted the British as a friend, and not as a mercenary. On the return of the troops to Jammu, Ranbīr Singh distributed a lakh of rupees in gratuities, and in life pensions to the families of those who had fallen.

For continued friendly relations, Lord Lytton conferred the title of G.C.I.E. on the Mahārājā in the imperial darbār at Dēlī on 1st January, 1877. Two guns were also added to his salute of 19. "Of course," notes Richard Temple, "the Mahārājā professed himself to be 'a tree planted by the British Government,' and scouted the idea of his intriguing with Russia" (p. 143).

1. *Sawānih 'Umri Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh Bahādur* by Thākūr Kāhan Singh Bilawaria of Basholi. Urdu. Girdhar Steam Press, Lāhore, 1980 Bikramī—A.C. 1923, pp. 55, price -/-.

2. No. cxxxiii, page 267, *vide* Aitchison's *A Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads*, Calcutta, 1909.

[Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P., G.C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L. (Oxon), LL.D. (Cantab), at his first visit to Kashmir in 1859 was the Commissioner of the Lāhore Division. He then rose to the following positions:—Resident at the court of the Nizām of Hydrābād, Finance Minister of India, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengāl, and Governor of Bombay. The quotations, given above and subsequently, are from his book *Journals kept in Hyderabad, Kashmir, Sikkim, and Nepal*, edited by his son, Captain Richard Carnac Temple, in two volumes—H. Allen and Co., 13, Waterloo Place, Pall Mall, S.W., London, 1887. Vol II, pages 1—150, describes his two journeys in 1859 and 1871 to the Valley of Kashmīr.]

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The Mahārājā's full title was : His Highness Mahārājā Sir Ranbir Singh, Indar Mahindar, Sipar-i-Saltanat, General, 'Asākir-i-Inglishia, Mushir-i-Khās-i-Qaisara-i-Hind, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E.

#### *Ranbir's additions to his father's territory.*

Ranbir added Gilgit, lost in his father's time, to his dominion after his own forces were available from Delhi. He subdued Yasīn in 1863. In 1865 he annexed the Dārel valley lying to the south west of Gilgit. Ranbir Singh also volunteered help to the British in the Afghān War of 1878.

Colonel Gardiner,\* the Mahārājā's Commander-in-Chief, described as "one of the most extraordinary men in India," had from his boyhood days gone "through romantic and daring character." "Probably from this fact he took the fancy of Golab Singh, forty-five years ago, by whom he was appointed Commander-in-Chief of his forces, a post which he has held uninterruptedly till the present time. Now a strong, hale man of eighty-five, his

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\*Alexander Gardiner was an Irishman born at Clongoose, in Kildare country, Irish Republic, but according to Andrew Wilson, writing in 1875, on the shores of Lake Superior, U.S.A.-Canada. He was a deserter from the British Navy, and was "a plausible and ingenious scamp, a regular de Rougemont."† Gardiner arrived in Lāhore in 1831, and was employed by Ranjīt Singh in the artillery on Rs. 2 a day. From this humble beginning, Gardiner rose to the rank of Colonel of the Artillery. During the first Sikh war, he was in the service of Gulāb Singh, and kept out of the way. He was deported as an undesirable, but later re-entered Gulāb Singh's service.

There was something almost appalling, writes Andrew Wilson, to hear this ancient warrior . . . relate his experiences in the service of Ranjīt Singh, Shāh Shujā, Dūst Muhammad and other kings and chiefs less known to fame.—*The Abode of Snow*, page 399.

†H.L.O. Garrett, *The Asiatic Review*, London, October 1941, page 790.

uniform is a large green and yellow tartan plaid, puggery and trousers." The Colonel at the banquet in honour of Sir Henry M. Durand, then Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjāb, is represented as ending his speech by saying that "he had been present at the late Maharaja's death, whose last words to his son were : 'Should one Englishman be left in the world, trust in him.' Some present were disposed to think this concluding sentence an embellishment of the gallant Colonel's invention."<sup>1</sup>

The Dogrā soldiers of the army were paid one rupee more than the others. Most of the officers of the army were Dogrā. Parade orders were given in Dogrī.

Mr. (afterwards Sir) Richard Temple, then Commissioner of Lāhore, at his visit to Kashmīr in 1871, found that Ranbīr Singh "was fairly well posted up in the events of the then recent war between Germany and France, lamenting the injury it had done to the shawl trade of Kashmir. He said he had prevented hundreds of shawl makers and weavers from deserting the land by giving them state assistance for their temporary support!" (Vol. II, p. 144).

The Mahārājā's Government did not benefit at the time, for want of any large trade, by the treaty<sup>2</sup> of the 2nd May, 1870, which provided for import of goods, into the State through British India free of customs duty. It has an advantage now that trade has increased. On its side, the State had foregone its duty on goods, chiefly *charas*, in transit for British India from Central Asian countries.

"There seemed to be little or no excise on drugs and spirits in the Maharaja's territories and very little drinking," wrote Richard Temple (Vol. II, p. 142).

#### *Miserable condition of Kashmīr under Ranbīr.*

Ranbīr was popular with his people. He kept himself informed by means of *khufya-navis* in every district who confidentially wrote to the Mahārājā direct. Towards the Europeans he was extremely hospitable. And for

1. *Letters from India and Kashmir*, letter 16, written in 1870, page 197.

2. For the text of this treaty signed by Ranbīr Singh and T. D. Forsyth, and bearing the seal of Mayo, see *The Jummoo and Kashmir Territories* by Frederic Drew, 1875, London, pp. 547-550.

them he built several houses. He was, in many ways, an enlightened man, but he lacked his father's strong will and determination. Unfortunately, he had not the help of officials capable of immense labour required to remove the effects of previous misgovernment. They were accustomed to the old style of rule, and knew no better. In the early sixties, says Younghusband,\* cultivation was decreasing; the people were wretchedly poor. In any other country, their state would have been almost one of starvation and famine. Justice was such that, those who could pay, could, at any time, get out of jail, while the poor lived and died there almost without hope.

'Laws grind the poor and rich men rule the law.'—Goldsmith. ¶

There were few men of respectable, and none of wealthy appearance, continues Younghusband, and there were almost prohibitive duties levied on all merchandise imported or exported. By the early seventies, some slight improvement had taken place. The labouring classes, as a general rule, were well-fed and well-clothed, and fairly housed. Both men and women were accustomed to do hard and continuous labour, and it was obvious that they could not do this and look well, unless they were well-nourished. Their standard of living was not high, but they certainly had enough to eat. And this is not surprising, for a rupee would buy 80 to 100 lbs. of rice, or 12 lbs. of meat, or 60 lbs. of milk. Fruit was so plentiful that mulberries, apples, and apricots, near the villages were left to rot on the ground. And fish near the rivers could be bought for almost nothing. Crimes of all kinds were rare, chiefly because of the remembrance of the terrible punishment of Gulāb Singh's time, and because of the system of fixing responsibility for undetected crime upon local officials. Drunkenness, too, was almost unknown. About half a lakh of rupees was spent upon education, and another half-lakh on repairing the "paths." A slight attempt was also made to assess the amount of land revenue at a fixed amount.

This much was to the good. Yet the country was still very far indeed from what it ought to have

\*Sir Walter Lawrence, formerly Settlement Commissioner, Jammu and Kashmir, and Sir Francis Younghusband, British Resident in Kashmir, are the principal authorities for this part of the chapter.

been. Means of communication were rough and rude in the extreme, and men had to be used as beasts of burden instead of animals.

We have incidentally an inkling of insanitary Srinagar of the time of Ranbir from an eye-witness. Richard Temple, struck with unhygienic conditions in Srinagar in July 1859, says : "I asked (the Mahārājā) whether Srinagar city could not be drained and cleaned, and to this he answered, that the people did not appreciate conservancy, and that they would much prefer to be dirty than to be at the trouble of cleaning the place. Such is always the idea of a native ruler!" (Volume II, p. 94). Is this not in perfect accord with what Sir Hari Singh, his grandson, said to the late Mr. G. E. G. Wakefield, his Army Member, when the latter pleaded for the recruitment of Kashmiris in the State Army, and the Kashmir ruler reproduced to his Army Member the story of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh's contingent which, on receiving orders of march after completion of military training, asked for Police protection (*vide* Chapter IV, page 141, and Chapter X, p. 671-2 of *Kashir*). May we inquire if "such is not always the idea" of the Dogra ruler in respect of the poor Kashmiris' dirtiness and cowardice ?

The new assessment of land revenue was three times as heavy as that of the amount demanded in British districts in the Punjab. There was much waste land which the people were unwilling to put under cultivation, because, under the existing system of land revenue administration, they could not be sure that they would ever receive the fruits of their labour. A cultivator would only produce as much as would, after payment of his revenue, provide for the actual wants of himself and his family, because he knew by experience that any surplus would be absorbed by rapacious underling officials. In matters of trade, there were still the impediments of former days. Upon every branch of commerce, there was the weight of a multiplicity of exactions. No product was too insignificant, and no person too poor to contribute to the State. The manufacture or production of silk, saffron, paper, tobacco, and wine were all State monopolies. The State imported salt for the consumption of the people. The sale of grain was a State monopoly. Though the State sold grain at an extraordinarily cheap rate, the officials in charge did not always sell it to the people, who most

required it, or in the quantity they required. Favourite and influential persons would get as much as they wanted, but often to the public the stores would be closed for weeks together. At other times, the grain was sold to each family at a rate which was supposed to be proportionate to the number of persons in the family. But the judges of this quantity were not the persons most concerned, *viz.*, the purchasers, but the local authorities. Private trade in grain could not be conducted openly, and when the stocks in the country fell short of requirements, they could not be replenished by private enterprise.

### *Taxation heavy and arbitrary.*

On the manufacture of shawls, parallel restrictions were placed. Wool was taxed as it entered Kashmir. The manufacturer was taxed for every workman he employed, and also at various stages of the process according to the value of the fabric. Lastly there was the enormous duty of 85 per cent *ad valorem*. Butchers, bakers, carpenters, boatmen, and even prostitutes were taxed. Poor coolies, who were engaged to carry loads for travellers, had to give up half their earnings.<sup>1</sup>

The whole country, in fact, was in the grip of a grinding officialdom. The officials were the remnants of an ignorant age, when dynasties and institutions and life itself were in daily danger, when nothing was fixed and lasting, when all was liable to change and at the risk of chance. Each man had to make what he could, while he could. In consequence, a man of honesty and public spirit had no more chance of surviving than a baby would have in a battle.<sup>2</sup>

دستِ مُزدَّ آو بِدَسْتِ دِيگرَانِ ماهِي رُوْدش بِه شَسْتِ دِيگرَانِ

—إقبال

[His earnings are at the disposal of others. The fish of his streams is for others' net].

1. *Kashmir* by Sir Francis Younghusband, 1917, p. 179.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 179.

*Severity of famine in 1877.*

No wonder that in 1877, when—through excess of rain which destroyed the crops—famine came on the land, the people were unprepared to meet the emergency. The officials were incapable of mitigating its effects. Direful calamity was the natural consequence.

Earthquakes shook the Valley in 1863, 1878, and 1884. Famine caused starvation in 1864 and 1877. Cholera killed people in 1857-58, 1867, 1872, 1875-76, and 1879. Fires devastated life and property in 1875 and 1878.

In the autumn of 1877, unusual rain fell, and owing to the system of collecting the revenue in kind and dilatoriness in collection, the crop was allowed to remain in the open on the ground. It rotted till half of it was lost. The wheat and barley harvest of the summer of 1878 was exceedingly poor. The fruit had also suffered from long continual wet and cold. The autumn grains, such as maize and millet, were partly destroyed by intense heat, and partly devoured by the starving peasants. The following year was also unfavourable. It was not till 1880 that normal conditions returned.

These were the causes of the scarcity of food supply. When this calamity, which nowadays could be confidently met, fell upon the country, it was found that the people had nothing in reserve to fall back on; that the administrative machine was incapable of meeting the excessive strain; that even the will to meet it was wanting. Corruption and obstruction impeded all measures of relief, and even prevented the starving inhabitants migrating to parts where food could be had. In addition, the communications were so bad that the food, so plentiful in the neighbouring province, could be imported only with the greatest difficulty.

As a result, a large number of the population died. A number of the chief valleys were entirely deserted. Whole villages lay in ruins, as beams, doors, etc., had been extracted for sale. Some suburbs of Srinagar were tenantless. The city itself was half-destroyed. Trade came almost to a standstill, and employment was difficult to obtain.

This great calamity laid bare the glaring defects of the system, which the present dynasty had taken over from their uncultured predecessors, and which, in their thirty years' possession of the Valley, they had not been able to eradicate, or, perhaps, had not the ability to. During the five years which remained of Ranbir Singh's reign, steps were taken to remedy this terrible state of affairs. The assessment of the land revenue was revised.

Eight anna court-fee stamps were introduced. A mint for coining *chilki*, equal to ten annas, was set up in Srinagar. Later, in 1897, in Partap Singh's time, this *chilki* coin was replaced by British Indian currency. Postal and telegraph systems were installed. The State Postal system was, however, amalgamated with the Indian system in 1894, and an agreement for exchange of services between the State and the Indian telegraph system was effected in 1897.

The cart-road, now the motor road, into the Valley was commenced. It appears that the British Government had desired "a gun-carriage road through the mountain." (Digby, page 119). The *Ranbir Dand Bidhi*, modelled on Macaulay's Penal Code of India, was promulgated in Persian.

#### *The advent of the Church Missionary Society in Kashmir.*

The Kashmir Medical Mission of the Church Missionary Society was founded by Rev. Robert Clark in 1864, and the following year Dr. W. J. Elmslie, M.A. (Aberdeen), M.D. (Edinburgh), started his medical work. After a few years he died. But the work was carried on by his successors till Dr. E. F. Neve joined the staff in 1886, in the time of Ranbir's son and successor. In 1880 educational work was started by Rev. J. H. Knowels, and considerably developed by Rev. C. E. Tyndale Biscoe in 1890 and onwards.

In 1872 there was a clash between the Sunnis and the Shi'as at Srinagar, Badgam and Magam. The Maharaja offered compensation amounting to three lakhs of rupees to the Shi'as who suffered much. At the collapse of the shawl trade with France after the Franco-German War of 1870, he very humanely made enormous purchases on his own

account, as the Mahārājā is reported to have mentioned to Richard Temple in 1871. Mahārājā Ranbir Singh made a great effort to introduce new staples into Kashmir, and £30,000 was spent on sericulture, vines, and wine-making and hops. Writing in 1875 Andrew Wilson says\* "the Chief Justice of the Court of Srinagar (Nilambar Mukerji) is . . . . in charge of the silk department also." Under his management sericulture improved and developed since Bengal had a flourishing silk industry at this time, and apparently Nilambar Bābu was personally interested in it as he hailed from Bengal. In 1876 Edward, Prince of Wales, afterwards King Edward VII, visited Jammu.

*Ranbir's gatherings on Akbar's model.*

Ranbir held gatherings on the model of Akbar when men of learning were gathered together for discussion of religious and social matters. Diwān Kirpā Rām was his Abu'l Fazl, but devoid of Abu'l Fazl's religious detachment, who never wrote any refutation of Hinduism. The names of important *littérateurs* were: Pandit Ganeś Kaul Shāstri, Bābu Nilambar Mukerji, Dr. Bakhshī Rām, Dr. Surajbal, Pandit Sāhib Rām, Pandit Himmat Rām Rāzdān, Mirzā Akbar Beg, Hakim Waliullāh Shāh Lāhaurī, Sayyid Ghulām Jilānī, Maulavī Nasir-ud-Dīn, Maulavī Ghulām Husain Tabib of Lucknow, Maulavī Qalandar 'Alī Pānipatī, Maulavī 'Abdullāh Mujtahid-ul-'Asr, Hāfiẓ Hājjī Hakim Nūr-ud-Dīn Qādiānī, Babu Nasrullāh 'Isāī. They were the ornaments of the literary *darbār* of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh. He was very fond of speaking Pushtu and would prefer servants speaking Pushtu about him (see p. 794 as a reason for it). Hakim Nūr-ud-Dīn notes this in his autobiography and records the great help given to the Hakim (*Hayāt-i-Nūr-ud-Dīn*, Qādiān, p. 118).

Diwān Lachchman Dās, Governor of Kashmīr, for about two years from 1941 to 1943 Bikramī = A.C. 1884 to 1886, had a reputation for effective control and proper distribution of *shālī* in the days of famine.

*Diwān Kirpā Rām.*

Kirpā Rām was the well-known Diwān of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh. He was dignified, of literary taste, and

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\**The Abode of Snow*, pages 396-397.

was the author of the *Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, the *Gulāb-nāma* (see p. 756), the *Radd-i-Islam* (or Refutation of Islam, about which I have no comments to offer as I have not read it). He was generous-minded, gave away a thousand rupees from his private purse at a request on one occasion. Dīwān Jawālā Sahāi was the son of Dīwān Amīr Chand of Aimanābād, West Punjab. Amīr Chand managed Jaimū for Gulāb Singh. After Amīr Chand's death, Jawālā Sahāi succeeded his father as the trusted steward of Gulāb Singh. Jawālā Sahāi's son, Kirpā Rām, was at first the private secretary of Rājā Gulāb Singh, and then became the chief minister of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Kirpā Rām's two sons were Dīwān Anant Rām and Dīwān Amar Nāth. The former succeeded his father. The latter was the chief minister of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh after the death of Rājā Amar Singh in 1909. Hakim Nūr-ud-Dīn says that Dīwān Anant Rām's tutor was Maulavī 'Abdullāh (p. 137). Dīwān Kirpā Rām died in 1876. Richard Temple, who met Kirpā Rām in 1871, notes that he "was a man of considerable intelligence, and ambitious of earning a good administrative repute for his master's government" (Vol. II, p. 144).

Ranbir Singh's Translation Bureau, already mentioned, now lingers on in the present almost moribund Research Department of the State. The German Orientalist Professor J. George Bühler, of the Education Department of Bombay, visited the Valley, and took away valuable manuscripts in Persian and Sanskrit. Whether all these manuscripts have been published or properly utilized is not fully known, but the loss to Kashmir was very great indeed. It was almost a literary loot.

#### *Mahārājā Ranbir Singh's appearance.*

"Runbheer Singh (is) now about forty-two years old. His Highness is in person handsome and of a complexion I know not how to express it with a more expressive *epitheton* than olive—an olive colour his face presenteth, fair for the people of his country, with features of the Grecian type, nose and forehead a straight line, and short, black, curly beard. His puggery of lawn, with an edge of gold tissue, was relieved in colour by one scarlet fold. On his forehead was painted the yellow symbol with green centre that indicates the followers of Civa, and he wore the brahminical cord, also a necklace of berries inlaid with gold resembling the rosary of Romanists, and used

for the same purpose. The rest of his dress was of white cambric and a ribbon of scarlet and gold lace across his breast was his badge of authority. His son dressed in the same way, wore a scimitar with a handle of embossed gold. He is shorter, stouter and fairer than his father, with features indicative of intelligence."† Richard Temple, who had many opportunites of conversing with Ranbir, adds that he had "a very long moustache." "His figure was small, and his legs inclined to bend outwards, but he rode and shot well." (Vol. II, p. 93.)

*Ranbīr's application to his duties.*

"From all accounts," writes Richard Temple in 1871 when on a week's sojourn in the Valley, having already been there also in 1859, "the Maharaja attended a good deal to business himself, signed all orders authorizing expenditure however small, sat frequently in court, and heard important criminal trials and cases relating to landed property. He had built new court-rooms for the disposal of public business, and record offices also. Each year he spent part of his time in Jammu and a part in Kashmir. His private domestic life seemed to be good. He rode out daily, and was certainly free from many of the frivolities and vices which but too often disfigure the private conduct of..... Princes. Besides his heir, he had two sons, and his officers told me that he insisted on their being respectable in private life" (Vol. II, pp. 142-3).

*Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh's attitude towards the British Government.*

In his attitude towards the British Government, Ranbīr Singh showed considerable independence. He would not allow an inch of land in his territory to an Englishman. In fact, he vehemently opposed Lord Ripon's intercession on behalf of an Englishman for the acquisition of land in Kashmir, when the Viceroy visited Jammu. The Mahārājā would not accept a British Resident in his State.

Perhaps it was, therefore, that certain Anglo-Indian newspapers were continually writing of the misgovernment of Kashmir in Ranbīr's reign "declaring that mis-government established occasion for British intervention."

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†*Letters from India and Kashmir*, written in 1870, page 187.

The "gravest charges of neglect, and even of dreadful cruelty," were brought against the Mahārājā. On one occasion, it was declared that "His Highness, in order to be saved the expense of feeding his people during a time of great scarcity, actually drowned them by boat-loads at a time in the Srinagar Lake." The Mahārājā declined to sit quietly under this calumny, and at his request "a mixed commission was appointed by the Government of India to inquire into the truth of the story." The Commission found "there was no truth in this hideous statement; the people who were said to be drowned were discovered to be living and were actually produced at the inquiry."\*

Ranbir Singh was addicted to opium in the latter part of his life, and held darbārs late in the night, but otherwise his day was usually well-regulated. A glimpse of this can be had from the eye-witness, Frederic Drew, as a daily attendant at Ranbir's *darbārs*, from his *Jummoo and Kashmir Territories*, pp. 65-68. Hakīm Nūr-ud-Dīn, his trusted physician, later became the successor of Mīrzā Ghulām Ahmad of Qādiān, the founder of the Ahmadiyya sect in the Punjab.

Dīwān Kirpā Rām mentions the fire that destroyed several of the buildings and offices of the Shergarhī, a fact also noted by Richard Temple at his first visit in June 1859 (Vol. II, p. 61). Ranbir Singh re-built them. He also covered with gold plate the entire dome of the temple of Shri Gadādhar in the precincts of Shergarhī (*The Gulzār-i-Kashmīr*, pages 471 and 473).

Drew describes glowingly in detail the marriage of Ranbir's daughter with the Rājā of Jaswāl, near Kangrā, in 1871 (pp. 76-82).

Wazīr Punnu, governor of Kashmīr, who met Richard Temple in June 1859, was reputed to be deficient in energy to cope with famine in 1864, and was recalled to Jammu in 1871. He died on the 6th September, 1885, having fallen dead in the darbār.

#### *Death of Mahārājā Ranbir Singh.*

At 4-30 p.m., on the 12th September, 1885, Ranbir Singh died of diabetes at Jammu. He had been taken seriously

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\*Condemned Unheard—*The Government of India and H. H. the Maharaja of Kashmir*, William Digby, C.I.E., London, July 1890, page 23.

ill in 1881 too, when he sent for Hakīm Ghulām Hasnain, a noted physician of Lucknow. Immediately before his death, the Mahārājā enjoined his sons to live in peace with one another, and told Pratāp Singh, the eldest, to complete the works of public utility he had begun. He also ordered that the contract for the sale of liquor in Jammu, then recently sold for 40,000 rupees, should be cancelled, and the sale of spirits forbidden as heretofore. He further directed that the toll, levied on persons crossing the Tawī river by ford, should be discontinued, and that firewood and vegetables should, for the future, be allowed to enter Jammu free of duty. At four in the afternoon he became insensible, and according to Hindu custom was removed from his bed to the floor, where he breathed his last shortly afterwards.

The next day, the 13th, the Mahārājā's body was burned on the bank of the Tawī river with great ceremony in the presence of a large multitude. The corpse is said to have been enveloped originally in forty coverings of shawl and other rich stuffs, interspersed with gold coins and jewels of great value placed there by the women of his harem: all but thirteen of the wrappers were taken off by the attendant Brāhmans before the body was placed on the pile. The whole of the Mahārājā's wardrobe, jewels, riding horses, with seven elephants, and a number of cattle besides a very large sum in cash—the whole estimated at from five to ten lakhs of rupees—were set aside for distribution among the Brāhmans or to be sent to holy men in the neighbourhood. Later, a sum of five lakhs was to be added from the private treasury to the fund consecrated by Ranbir Singh to the perpetual use of temples, which fund had already amounted to 15 lakhs in the previous year.

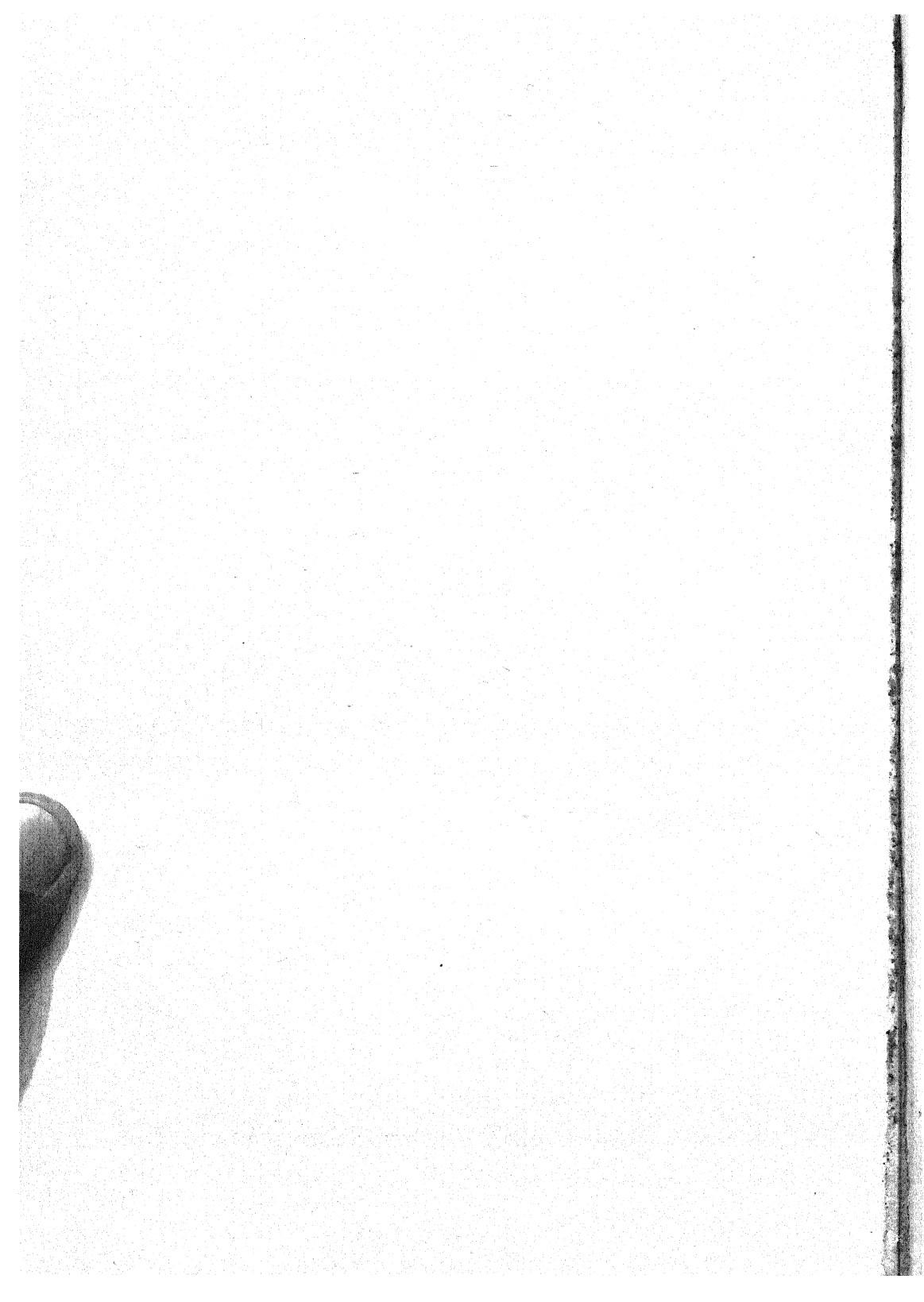
Ranbir had four sons: (i) Pratāp Singh, (ii) Rām Singh, (iii) Amar Singh and (iv) Lachhman Singh. The first three were by the Mahārānī Shubh Devi, commonly known as Kahlori Rānī, and the fourth was from Kishan Devī of the Charak Rājpūts. Lachhman Singh, however, died when about five. Ranbir was succeeded by his eldest son, Miyān Pratāp Singh, then 35 years of age, despite the intrigues of his two brothers, who were "hungry for the crown."

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**THE DOGRA RULERS OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR AND THE HEIR APPARENT**

Top left: Mahārājā Gulāb Singh. Top right: Mahārājā Ranbir Singh.  
 Bottom right: Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. Bottom left: Mahārājā Hari Singh. Centre : The Yuvrāj Prince Karan Singh, the Heir apparent.



## MAHĀRĀJĀ SIR PRATĀP SINGH.

[1885 A.C. TO 1925 A.C.]

Lieutenant-General His Highness Mahārājā Sir Pratāp Singh, Indar Mahindar Bahādur, Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Englishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., G.B.E., LL.D.,—to give him his full title—was born at Riāsī on the 11th of the dark fortnight of Sāwan 1907, or July 14, 1850 A.C., about seven years before the death of his grandfather, Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, and was on the *gaddī* for 40 years. The event of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicing. The early education of Miyān Pratāp Singh consisted of a study of Dogri, Persian and English. When grown up, he was apprenticed to State officials, and thus acquired a knowledge of state administration. He was small of stature and always suffered from ill-health. Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh liked his other sons better than the heir apparent. There were many misgivings, and everybody was pessimistic about Miyān Pratāp Singh's ability to govern efficiently. Indeed no ruling prince of Indo-Pākistān had had a more chequered career.

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh formally assumed power, at the age of 35, in a darbār on 25th September, 1885, over Jammu, Kashmīr and Dependencies. Following his father's practice, Pratāp Singh, from the commencement of his reign, fixed a monthly allowance for private and domestic expenses. This allowance was Rs. 43,000 per month. The handsome Rājā Amar Singh, on the demise of his first wife, was re-married. Pratāp Singh's own administration was vested in a council composed of himself, Rājā Rām Singh, Military Member, and Rājā Amar Singh, Member, Civil Affairs.

The late Mahārājā Ranbīr Singh did not agree to the British Government having a Resident stationed at Srīnagar. But when death removed him from the scene, the Government of India took the first opportunity of establishing a British Residency in Srīnagar. This is quite clear from the letter dated 27th November, 1885, of the Secretary of State for India, Lord Randolph S. Churchill, to the Government of India (Digby, pages 144-45). The new Mahārājā, like his father and grandfather, resisted this encroachment on his power, but gave way in the end. The Punjāb had already been annexed by the British and they were anxious about the frontier of India. "After

the ill-starred Afghān war of 1878, a desire seems to have been cherished," says Mr. Digby, "for the possession of the fertile valleys and the strong mountain-passes of Kashmīr" (page 46). This was one reason. The other was that the Secretary of State had hinted that the transfer of sovereignty of Kashmīr to the Hindu ruling family implied intervention on behalf of the Muslim population of the State.

*Mahārājā Pratāp Singh deprived of his powers.*

On account of family intrigues, Mahārājā Pratāp Singh, however, made a disastrous start. It was alleged that Pratāp Singh was in league with Russia and Dalīp Singh, and that he wanted to murder Mr. (afterwards Sir) Trevor Chichele Plowden, the British Resident, his own brothers Rām Singh and Amar Singh, and one of the Mahārānīs who was, for some reason, personally objectionable to him. The Mahārājā, with great composure of mind, declared that, "if his own brothers were determined to ruin him with false accusations, he would submit to his fate. His Highness did not take his meals for two days, he was so much overpowered; and in his frenzy he saw no room for escape except to give his consent to such arrangements as were proposed to him."† Somehow, Pratāp Singh was made to sign an *Irshād*, or Edict of Resignation, in March 1889. According to this *Irshād*, or Edict, he was relieved of all part in the administration, which was placed, subject to the control of the Resident, in the hands of a Council of Regency consisting of (1) Rājā Rām Singh (2) Rājā Amar Singh (3) An experienced European to be appointed on two to three thousand per month (4) Rai Bahādur Pandit Suraj Kaul and (5) Rai Bahādur Pandit Bhāg Rām.

تختِ ایوانِ جلالت کی نہ گُپچے پُوچھے امیر

راجہ اٹھنے بھی نہ پایا تھا کہ بیٹھائی کونسل

خواجہ امیر الدین امیر کشمیری

The Council was presided over, at first, by Diwān Lachhman Dās and, a year later, by Rājā Amar

† Digby's book *Condemned Unheard* is reported to have been removed from the libraries of the State on account of its remarks against the late Rājā Amar Singh.

Singh, the second younger brother of Pratāp Singh. And, according to Digby, "Prince Amar Singh, Prime Minister, was in secret communication with the Resident" (page 95). Diwān Lachhman Dās usually acted under the guidance of Rājā Amar Singh, "a man of energy, ambition, and intrigue," who had quite a striking figure. Before family intrigues commenced, Pratāp Singh appears to have truly loved his younger brother, Miyān Amar Singh, and 'bestowed on him the rich jāgīr of Bhadarwah in exchange for the comparatively poor Basohli.' According to the Viceroy, Rājā Rām Singh failed to attend to his business and was continually absent from the Council of State.

The Viceroy accepted this *Irshād* with the following words : " Notwithstanding the ample resources of your State, your treasury was empty; corruption and disorder prevailed in every department and every office ; Your Highness was still surrounded by low and unworthy favourites, and the continued misgovernment of your State was becoming, every day, a more serious source of anxiety."

Though the Viceroy, Lord Dufferin, was warning the Mahārājā to look better after the finances of his State, the Lady Dufferin Fund Committee, says Digby (page 85), received Rs. 50,000 from Kashmir, while a sum of Rs. 25,000 was accepted as a contribution to the Aitchison College at Lāhore !

#### *Deplorable condition of Kashmir under Mahārājā Pratāp Singh.*

At this time, the condition of the Valley of Kashmīr was utterly deplorable. "The Brahmins known as Kashmīri Pandits," writes Sir Walter Lawrence,\* "had the power and authority, and the Muslim cultivators were forced to work to keep the idle Brahmins in comfort. In 1889, the Kashmir State was bankrupt. The rich land was left uncultivated, and the army was employed in forcing the villagers to plough and sow, and worse still, the soldiers came at the harvest time; and when the share of the State had been seized and these men of war had helped themselves, there was very little grain to tide the

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\**The India We Served*, Cassell, 1927, page 128 and page 134.

unfortunate peasants over the cruel winter, when the snow lies deep and temperature falls below zero.”

The condition of the peasants can be judged from the above. The servants of the State were no whit better off. The extent of bankruptcy of the State treasury can be gauged from the fact that, when Mr. Walter Lawrence demanded his pay as Settlement Commissioner and that of his staff, he was at first offered *singhāra* nuts<sup>1</sup> (water chestnuts). *En passant*, unfortunately the *singhāra* of Srīnagar is much smaller than that of the Punjāb or the Central Provinces. But when payment in *singhāras* was refused, the treasury officers tried to improve matters by offering oil-seed as pay; and it was only with great difficulty that he could get his pay in ‘double rupees,’ as British Indian rupees were called. *Begār* or forced labour was a misery for poor people. Those who were extremely poor were impressed into service, but the grasping official would levy blackmail from others. People were crushed under the heavy burden of unjust taxation. The tax on the sale of horses, called the *zar-i-nakhkhās*, amounted to fifty per cent of the purchase money. When Lawrence started his settlement, everything save air and water was under taxation.<sup>2</sup> Even the office of grave-digger was taxed. Māhārajā Pratāp Singh, however, lived to abolish a large number of taxes including the Muslim marriage tax.

#### *Natural calamities in Pratāp's reign.*

In addition to the misfortunes of the peasantry, the earthquakes of 1885 proved very severe. Cholera in 1888, 1892, 1900-1902, 1906-7 and 1910 took a heavy toll. The plague of 1903-4 in Jammu created panic even in the Valley. Big fires in the Valley in 1892 and 1899 caused great loss of property. Heavy floods in 1893 and 1903 were very destructive.

#### *Pratāp Singh President of the Council.*

In 1891, on the visit of Lord Lansdowne to the State, Pratāp Singh was appointed President of the Council, and Rājā Sir Amar Singh became its Vice-President. Dīwān Amar Nāth, the son of Diwān Kirpā Rām, was the Chief Minister of the Māhārajā. Sir Dayā Kishan Kaul

1. *The India We Served*, page 128.

2. *Ibid.*, page 134.

was Private Secretary for some years. General Farmān 'Ali Khān and General Samandar Khān held high staff posts under the Commander-in-Chief, first, Rājā Rām Singh, and later, Rājā Amar Singh.

*Appointment of Lawrence for the Settlement of the Valley.*

One of the most important events of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's reign was the settlement of the Valley of Kashmīr. It was commenced by Mr. A. Wingate, I.C.S., C.I.E., in the summer of 1887. He met with great opposition from State officials as well as the *shahr-bāsh*, or the city people, and others who lived at the expense of the cultivator. Finding his work obstructed at each step he left off after over a year. Mr. Walter Roper Lawrence, I.C.S., C.I.E., was appointed in 1889. Sir Walter Roper Lawrence, B.A.T., G.C.I.E., C.V.O., C.B., as he subsequently became, succeeded in settling the land against very heavy odds. To begin with, the upper class of Hindus resented the new system which, it was feared, would operate as a check, and define their control over the peasantry. Hence, all those who surrounded the Mahārājā intrigued against it and tried to wreck it. In addition to this, even nature appeared to conspire against the unhappy people, and famine, cholera, plague and inundations appeared at regular intervals, and laid low the already crushed people. In 1892 there broke out a terrible epidemic of cholera, which took a toll of at least 18,000. In 1893 a fearful flood destroyed a large part of the standing crop, and swept away about 6,000 houses. Sickness followed in its wake and caused additional suffering. Sir Walter, however, faced all these difficulties bravely, and the settlement work was pushed on in spite of these calamities. The operations were completed in 1893, but the actual settlement came into force three years later in 1896. By the year 1912 practically every *tahsil* and district directly administered by the State was either settled for the first time or in revision. The land revenue at these settlements was fixed at 30 per cent of the gross produce.

*The main features of the Settlement of Kashmīr.*

The main features of the settlement, as finally effected by Lawrence, were : (i) The state demand was fixed for fourteen years; (ii) Payment in cash was substituted for payment in kind; (iii) The use of force in the collection of revenue was done away with; (iv) *Begār*, or forced labour,

in its more objectionable forms, was abolished; (v) Occupancy rights were conferred on *zamīndārs* in undisputed lands; (vi) The status of privileged holders of land was investigated, and lands in excess of the sanctioned area assessed at the ordinary rates; (vii) Waste lands were entered as *khālisa*, wrongly written *khālsa*, (*i.e.*, lands under government management), but preferential rights for acquisition of such land by *āsāmīs* (tenants) were granted; (viii) Permanent but non-alienable hereditary rights were granted to those who accepted the first assessment, and all land was carefully evaluated on the basis of produce, previous collection and possibility of irrigation. The *rasūm* and exactions of *jāgīrdārs* and big landlords were abolished and the rents and liabilities of cultivators were defined. Mahārājā Pratāp Singh, to the satisfaction of his subjects, and against the wishes of his courtiers, wrote off arrears of land revenue amounting to 31 lakhs of rupees.

دعاۓیں جان کو لارنس کی دو، ہے طفیل اُسکا  
زمینداروں کی حالت کو جو کچھ سنبھالا ہوا دیکھا  
پیرزادہ محمد حسین عارف

Fittingly enough then did Mahārājā Pratāp Singh install Sir Walter's marble statue in a special stone wall in the premises of the settlement office in Srinagar.

The younger brother of Partāp Singh, Rājā Rām Singh, who was Commander-in-Chief, died of heart failure in 1899. Rājā Amar Singh, the second brother, was then Commander-in-Chief and also Foreign Minister, and died in 1909 of paralysis.

#### *Persian as court language replaced by Urdu.*

Sir Jivanjī Jamshedjī Modī, writing in 1917, says\* that "up to a few years ago, Persian was the court language of the Darbār of Kashmīr. Even during my second visit (June-July 1915) I had occasion to talk in Persian with a large number of people there. Even the Hindu Pandits spoke Persian . . . At one time, there was, as it were, two parties in Kashmīr; one was that of the Persian-knowing Pandits and the other of Sanskrit-knowing Pandits. . . . The Persian-

\**The Mogul Emperors at Kashmir—The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Asiatic Society*, Vol. XXV, Nos. 71-73, 1922, page 63.

speaking Pandits and the Sanskrit-speaking Pandits did not intermarry. . . . The Persian-knowing Pandits could not practise as *Gurus*, or professional Hindu priests.” Persian, however, was replaced later by Urdu as the official language, not without a protest from Muslims and several Kashmiri Pandits.

The replacement of Persian by Urdu, it must be noted, was as disastrous to the people of the State at the time as the replacement of Persian by English to the Muslims of India. It meant economic ruin, then, of several indigenous families, since it opened the door mostly to Punjābī Hindūs, who came in large numbers to supplant the subjects of the State in official employment. Bitterness between Kashmiris and non-Kashmiris ensued. This bitterness led to strong agitation, which had to be stopped by defining the term ‘state subject,’ to whom alone the bulk of employment was thenceforth restricted.

#### *Works of public utility under Pratāp Singh.*

In the reign of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh, many works of public utility were undertaken. The college, opened at Srinagar through the efforts of Mrs. Anne Besant early in 1905, was taken over by the State and named the Sri Pratāp College. With 1,187 students on its rolls this college, in 1938, had the distinction of being the second largest college affiliated to the Panjab University. At Jammu was established, in 1907, the Prince of Wales College, which, at one time, was the only institution affiliated to the Panjab University in geology. Many high schools, and a large number of primary schools were established throughout the State. In the name of Rājā Amar Singh, a technical institute was opened at Srinagar. The honorary degree of Doctor of Laws was conferred on Pratāp Singh by the University of the Panjab at the convocation of 1917. He was also a Fellow of the University and “took interest in University affairs.”

To combat successfully the ravages of different epidemics that had become regular visitations, the Mahārājā established hospitals in different parts of the State. Preventive measures were also adopted. Filtered water was brought to populated areas by means of pipes. Several large springs were protected from contamination.

Agriculture was not neglected. Extensive swamps were reclaimed for agricultural purposes by building dams on rivers. Zamīndārī *kols*, small streamlets, were improved. Waste lands were offered to cultivators on favourable terms. The co-operative movement was started in the State when the late Khān Bahādur Shaikh Maqbūl Husain was the Revenue Minister, and, as a result of the personal interest taken by him, several co-operative banks were established. A model farm, known as the Pratāp Model Farm, was established near the Shālāmār garden, to improve the existing staple (rice and maize) crops, and to introduce new ones likely to prove productive in the country. Sericulture was started on modern lines at Srinagar and Jammu. This brought the State a large revenue, and employment to hundreds of State subjects. The urban population entered the silk factories and the rural population engaged in silk-worm rearing. Customs and Excise departments were re-modelled. Forests were improved. The exploitation of deodār was effectively controlled. This was achieved through the organization of the Forest Department in 1891 under an officer lent by the Government of India. The Forest Department was re-organized in 1923-24.

To help commerce and industry, new roads were constructed. Jammu and Srinagar were connected by telephone. The railway from Siālkōt was extended to Jammu. Many of the State monopolies such as that of the shawl industry were abolished. Unpaid *begār* was done away with. Electric plants were installed, at heavy cost, at Mohora and at Jammu. The Mohora installation was set up in 1907-8, utilizing the river Jhelum, near Buniyār, about fourteen miles from Bārāmūla. It is, even, now not out of date, but powerful enough for an electric railway line then proposed, through its pipes need replacing. Roughly 18 million units were generated in 1941 which, as Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha says, "is less than a month's output in Mysore." Dredges were used at Bārāmūla to remove the mud which was choking the flow of the river and causing floods in the Valley.

The beginnings of municipal government took place in 1886 when the first Municipal Act was promulgated. Changes were effected in this Act in 1890 and 1913. Until 1905 the administration of justice was vested in a member of the State Council. In this year the Judge of the Jammu

and Kashmir High Court was appointed to decide all judicial cases. The Criminal Procedure Code was introduced in Urdu in 1912, under its old Dogri title, the *Ranbir Dand-bidhi*, after having been passed by the Council in June 1892. Other legal enactments were consolidated and published in a handy volume.

#### *The British Resident's share in reforms.*

Thus, it can be said, in a sense, that Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's reign ushers in a new era in Kashmīr, transforming it, partially though it be, from the medieval to the early beginning of a modern age. And here we cannot omit to mention the silent but certain and effective assistance, by advice or by urge, of the British Resident from time to time, in these useful changes and of the British Indian Government in shaping the organization of the State on the Punjāb model.

#### *Military Reforms.*

Military reforms were introduced. These transformed the State army into a modernized force by reorganization in such a manner that it could effectively assist in frontier defence against external aggression and internal disorder. The Commander-in-Chief of India visited Jammu in November, 1922.

#### *The conquest of Hunza and Nagar. The Chitrāl War.*

The conquest of Hunza and Nagar in 1895 and the Chitrāl War in 1891 took place during Pratāp Singh's time. The conquest of Hunza stopped occasional looting on the Qāra Quram trade route. The details of these events will be found in the *Ta'rīkh-i-Jammūn*, in Urdu, Lucknow, September 1939, of Al-Hājj Maulavī Hishmatullāh Khān Lakhnavī, who was on the staff of the British Agent at Gilgit, and deputed for duty in Chitrāl during 1894-1898, and who later entered the Kashmīr State Civil Service (*vide* pages 826-887). The Pāmir Boundary Commission brought Kashmīr near to Russia and China. In 1895 over fourteen thousand animals were supplied to the Commissariat Department by way of assistance in transport.

#### *Abolition of the old Council in 1905.*

In October 1905 the Council was abolished and its powers were conferred on the Mahārājā himself by Lord Curzon. This arrangement, however, made little change in reality in the administration of the State, since Sir Amar Singh "had dictated too long to be able to obey." It

was not until his death in 1909 that Pratāp "had real authority, and he was then too far advanced in life to understand quite how to use it." In 1922, a State Council of Ministers was, however, again formed to assist the Mahārājā in the administration of the country. Rājā Hari Singh, Pratāp Singh's nephew, who was Commander-in-Chief in 1915, and had been to Europe in 1919, was made Senior Member and Commander-in-Chief of the State forces.

### *Miyān Hari Singh.*

Born in September 1895, Miyān Hari Singh, the son of Rājā Amar Singh, one of the richest nobles of India, received education under a number of qualified European and Indian instructors.\* In 1908, he entered the Mayo College, Ajmer. After completing the full course of studies there, he received training in the Imperial Cadet Corps, Dehra Dūn. Mahārājā Pratāp Singh appointed him Commander-in-Chief of the State forces in 1915, before he had attained the age of twenty. In 1922, he was appointed Senior Member of the then State Council, and a number of reforms were initiated by him in this capacity. As Commander-in-Chief, Rājā Hari Singh was principally responsible for the training and equipment of the units of the State army, which were dispatched to the Front during the first Great War of 1914-18, and for maintaining them at the requisite strength. In recognition of the services rendered by these units in the various theatres of the War, the following battle honours were conferred on them:—(1) 1st Kashmir Pack Battery—"Nayangoa, East Africa 1916-18." (2) 1st Kashmir Raghū Pratāp Battalion—"Megiddo, Nāblūs, Palestine 1918." (3) 3rd Kashmir Body Guard Rifles Battalion—"Kilimanjāro, Behobeho, East Africa 1914-17." 3rd Kashmir Raghū Pratāp Rifles Battalion—"Megiddo, Sharon, Palestine 1918, Kilimanjāro, Behobeho, East Africa 1914-17."

The maintenance of the contingent of State forces, which was sent to the first World War front, cost the State over a crore of rupees. The State supplied 31,000 recruits to the British Indian Army, which was the largest number of recruits, it is claimed, supplied by any State during the last war. The principality of Pūnch was particularly prominent in the matter of offering these recruits. His

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\**Modern Jammu and Kashmir State, 1925-42*, the Ranbir Government Press, Jammu, 1942, page 29.

Highness Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's Government also contributed a sum of about 43 lakhs of rupees to the War Loan, and Rājā Hari Singh personally made a very substantial contribution from his privy purse.<sup>1</sup>

### *A sensational episode in Miyān Hari Singh's life.*

A sad episode in the life of Rājā Hari Singh, when about thirty years of age, caused considerable sensation at the time. His name came into unwelcome prominence in the case of Robinson *versus* Midland Bank Limited. This episode has been noted by an international publicist in these words : "The Maharaja of Kashmir and Jammu is named Sir Hari Singh. In 1925 in London, as "Mr. A." he was the central figure and victim in a celebrated £ 300,000 blackmail case. In court Sir John (now Viscount) Simon called him "a poor, green, shivering, abject wretch."

—*Inside Asia* by John Gunther.<sup>2</sup>

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[The Right Honourable Viscount Simon , P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., Hon. D.C.L. (Oxford); LL.D. (Cambridge) and of eight other Universities ; Chairman, Indian Statutory Commission, 1927-30 ; Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, 1931-35 ; Chancellor of the Exchequer, 1937-40 ; Lord Chancellor, 1940-45 ; born on 28th February, 1873, is the most distinguished advocate of his time.]

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It is not easy to offer any comment on this sad affair as it took place so far away and as far back as twenty-three years. Besides it is not also certain if Miyān Hari Singh was, on the analogy of practice in Indian law-courts, ever present in person in the court, to evoke Viscount Simon's serious, scathing remark.

### *King George's visit as Prince of Wales.*

At the visit of King George, then Prince of Wales, in the year 1905, "Jammu was decked in the height of Oriental splendour, and a most beautiful camp was laid out around the new Residency at Satwāri. It is estimated that £40,000 was spent in connection with this regal display by a State that is always short of money, and which is terribly backward in such important matters

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1. *A Short Note on some of the Aspects of His Highness' Achievements*, the Ranbir Goverment Press, 1934, page 1.

2. Harper & Brothers, New York and London, 1939, First Edition, printed in the United States of America, page 455, paragraph 2.

as roads and sanitation."<sup>1</sup> Similarly in 1904 when Lord Amphill visited Srinagar as acting Viceroy, about ten thousand poor Muslim *zamīndārs* were made to stand on the Takht-i-Sulaimān with lights in their hands, and were paid two to three annas per head.<sup>2</sup> The Masonic Lodge was established in 1913. The Royal visit led to the foundation of the Prince of Wales College, at Jammu, in 1907, as already noted. This college is now re-named Gāndhi Memorial College according to a State Government order, dated Thursday, May 20, 1948.

### *The State Darbārs.*

"The State Darbārs are an interesting spectacle, whether on such occasion or on one of the great festivals, such as Basant, the first day of spring. The former custom has been revised of every court official bringing his *nazr* or offering to the Mahārājā on that day. This gift is about 3 per cent. of the month's salary. Much of the money thus given finds its way back to the donors in the shape of presents from His Highness to old and faithful servants or as wedding gifts. On this festival, every one should appear dressed in yellow, or, at least, with a turban of that colour."<sup>3</sup> But *darbārs* are now conducted somewhat differently.

### *The beginnings of the first newspaper in the State.*

Lāla Mulk Rāj Sarāf, a Dogrā journalist of the village Sāmba, in the district of Jammu, applied in 1921 for permission to start the first newspaper in the State, but was told that the Darbār did "not consider it advisable to entertain his application for starting a weekly journal at Jammu." A second application in the same year the State was like wise disallowed. A third application met with the reply that His Highness the Mahārājā Sahib Bahādur "is not inclined to grant the required permission." This last reply was vouchsafed when Rājā Sir Hari Singh was the Senior and Foreign Member of the State Council. A fourth attempt in 1924, however, was successful. This too was during the senior membership of the Rājā when His Highness the Mahārājā Bahādur in Council was pleased to accord permission to a paper being started. And on inquiry by Mr.

1. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 48.

2. Abu'l Hāmid Munshī Hasan 'Alī, Nāopōr, Srinagar, *Wāqi'at-i-Kashmīr*, MS., part 18, page 16.

3. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 48-49.

Sarāf he was told that the permission for a paper "implied the starting of a press as well." Rājā Hari Singh gave a donation of Rs. 50 per year to this 'pioneer enterprise' *viz.* the *Ranbir* of Jammu. This is the genesis of journalism in the State of Jammu and Kashmīr in the régime of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh. For seven years the *Ranbir* was the only newspaper of the State.

### *Maharājā Pratāp Singh's orthodoxy.*

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh was intensely religious. This explains why he did not go to England, or anywhere out of India, as he thought it to be against his religion. In fact, it was commonly said that he would not see a Muslim or any non-Hindu in the morning before his *pūjā* or prayer. He would look at a cow rather than any non-Hindu as the first thing in the morning. He would even break his *huggu* if the fringe of his carpet was touched by a non-Hindu, and would bathe as a penance for such unholy touch!

Sir Pratāp Singh was not only "a patron of Brāhmins and Sādhūs but had himself repeatedly visited Hardwār and other Indian sacred places, and even endured the toils and faced the risks of the pilgrimages to the cave of Amarnāth, almost inaccessible in the heart of the snow ranges."<sup>1</sup> No Brāhman could be given capital punishment. When he brought himself to the signing of the death warrant of any criminal he would fast for the day.

Pratāp Singh always wore a very large turban which, on the one hand, made him conspicuous in any assembly of princes and, on the other, added a few inches to his small stature. He took a keen interest in India and in England. He had an inquiring eye. He was very hospitable. His entertainment, on occasions of State banquets, was most lavish. He discouraged litigation and settled, in private, several complicated civil cases with the aid of arbiters. He had a wonderful memory. He would vividly describe old events extending over several decades, which others had forgotten. Unfortunately, he never enjoyed good health, but he held on to life with amazing tenacity. A very able doctor told Sir Walter Lawrence<sup>2</sup> in 1894 that the Mahārājā could not live for more than two months, and he died full thirty years after the prophecy.

1. Arthur Neve, *Thirty Years in Kashmir*, 1913, page 44.

2. *The India We Served*, page 192.

"In September, 1925," writes Sir Walter,\* "I spent a day in Geneva with a great Indian Chief. . . . . we talked of the many men we had known and respected who seemed to take opium with no baleful results. Partāp Singh was one of these . . . . and my host . . . agreed that opium in a large measure accounted for his long life and his ever fresh interest in affairs and the fashions of mankind. He added that the astrologers had recently predicted that if Partāp Singh survived 1925, he would live another fifteen years." Under the influence of opium, "Pratāp Singh sometimes passed orders which he very much repented in his saner moments."

### *Pratāp Singh's food and drink and other habits.*

Pratāp Singh was a voracious eater, so I learnt from his former prime minister. His table consisted of forty dishes. He relished leavened *rōṭī*, and would also take *pūrī* and rice. His food was very rich, and he took a lot of cream, curds and pickles. From one to two he had his mid-day meal. At about five in the afternoon, he would take about a seer of milk and various fruits. Late in the night, at about two, he took his dinner. He ate flesh in his youth, but gave it up, it is said, on the advice of Hakim Mahdi, his physician. Colonel Hugo operated on him for cancer. But he was so keen on his *huqqa* that two hours after the chloroform he called for it, and smoked apparently without any after-effects. He would get up at about eight in the morning. By about ten, he had heard the day's news and disposed of his personal letters. After this he would have his bath. He then, observed his *pūjā* from about 11-30 to 12-30, and preparation for the meal would follow. He took no *lassī* or buttermilk. He drank no tea during the hot weather. He abstained from food during the day on an occasion of public or private mourning, but had fruits and light dishes instead.

Pratāp Singh mostly sat on the floor, and did not use the chair. He did very little physical exercise in latter days, but his stomach, like his memory, was unusually strong. He was a good horseman, and on one occasion kept pace with Lord Roberts. Swimming and wrestling had been the chief recreations of his youth.

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\**The India We Served*, page 193.

He could write letters in English, though not without mistakes of spelling and grammar, and at times would insist on the same being dispatched. He wrote in "a very crabbed hand and with the use of peculiar idioms." Now and again he contributed letters to the columns of the *The Times*, London, "steeped in knowledge of the Shastras and aiming at the promotion of British and Indian good will."

*Pratāp's riverine processions.*

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's entry into Srinagar every year, between May and June, was a picturesque scene. At Sheltang he would take his seat in a specially decorated *chākwāri* (a boat for high-ranking people) with vazirs round him, and as the *chākwāri* moved up towards Shergarhi, thousands of people would look out from roofs, windows, and river *ghāts*. The river Jhelum was littered with *shikāras* moving to and fro.

*Dogrā Rulers scrupulous about the honour of women.*

All the three Dogrā rulers kept three, four or more mistresses each. But they were very scrupulous about the honour of their subjects, and never attempted to smuggle girls from the homes of the subjects of their State or outside. In this respect, indeed, they set an example to many a ruler of our States.

*Pratāp's interest in cricket.*

Pratāp Singh was generally surrounded by flatterers. He apparently relished their company. In his old age, his courtiers persuaded him to take an interest in cricket. Professionals were employed from the Punjāb. A well-known scholarly State official, a Kashmirī Pandit, once wrote to me that "the Mahārājā was made to believe that he was a born cricketer! Although he could not hold the bat properly and could hardly hit the ball, yet he always scored more than a century! He was told—and he fully believed it—that balls hit by him came like cannon balls and it was scarcely possible to stop them!" This now reads to us like fun! But it is not all fun. Pratāp Singh was no fool. He was rather shrewd. As a matter of fact, he enjoyed being befooled in order really to befool his flatterers. When bored by a visitor or an appellant or his advocate, Pratāp Singh would snore in order to cut short the matter or get rid of a bore. But his besetting sin was his weakness of will. He would take no initiative but would always depend on some official's move.

From such a man no one expected any improvement in the State. The verdict of history will, however, be somewhat different. The reasons are not far to seek. Owing to a highly developed system of espionage, the Mahārājā knew better than any one in the State that the condition of the people was far from satisfactory. Being a simple man of reverent mind, he sided with the party of progress in spite of the intrigue and opposition of powerful and influential reactionaries, who always gathered round him.

*Munshī Muhammad-ud-Din "Fauq's" remarks.*

The late Munshī Muhammad-ud-Din *Fauq*, about whom a note appears on page 376 of *Kashir*, and who gave a lifetime to the study of affairs in Kashmir writing in the *Kashmīri* of 21st August, 1924, said, cow-slaughter was punished with death in the time of the Sikhs. Under Dogrā rule, the sentence for cow-slaughter can extend to ten years' rigorous imprisonment and fine. E. F. Knight† wrote in 1893 : "Imprisonment for life is now the penalty, and many an unfortunate Mohamedan, I believe, is lying immured in Hari Parbat because that, in time of famine, he has ventured to kill his own ox to save himself and family from starvation." At the close of the year 1944, the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of the High Court of Jammu and Kashmir—a retired Judge of the High Court of Judicature, Allahābād—is reported to have recommended in a solemn communication, embodying proposals for reforms in the State, that the period of ten years for cow-slaughter be reduced to a period not exceeding two years, because the sentences for cow-slaughter from 1934 have varied between 2 and 4 years, and the maximum sentence inflicted was seven years' rigorous imprisonment on one occasion only. The import of beef into the State is prohibited. "Some of the mosques and sacred places, closed to Muslims during Sikh rule, are still locked up. In the course of 27 years' rule," points out Fauq, "the Sikhs gave two Muslim governors to the Valley, but 80 years of Dogrā rule—almost thrice the span of the Sikhs—had given likewise only two Muslim governors to Kashmir. A Hindu adopting Islam forfeits all his rights to his ancestral property in favour of his wife, children, and collaterals." But, perhaps, Fauq forgets here that a Muslim, too, on becoming an apostate, suffers the same fate. The Brāhmaṇ in Kashmir

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†Where Three Empires Meet, page 16.

has, however, till recently, been immune from capital punishment.<sup>1</sup> The Sayyid in Hydarābād is not. The import of pork or ham so abominable to the Muslim, is not penalized in any Muslim State of India. The Muslims of Kashmir had a number of genuine grievances. An influential body of leading Muslims took advantage of the visit to Kashmir, in 1924, of Lord Reading, Viceroy of India, to represent these grievances. The Mahārājā's government put down this constitutional effort of the Muslims with a firm hand.

*A patriotic Kashmiri Pandit Publicist's observations on Dogra rule in Kashmir.*

"Speaking generally and from the *bourgeois* point of view," writes Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, "the Dogra rule has been a Hindu Raj. Muslims have not been treated fairly, by which I mean as fairly as the Hindus. Firstly, because, contrary to all professions of treating all classes equally, it must be candidly admitted that Muslims were dealt with harshly in certain respects only because they were Muslims. The law prohibiting cow-slaughter is there to support this statement." It may here be pointed out that "during the last one hundred years of Dogra rule there have been as many as 28 prime ministers in the State. Not one of them has ever been a Muslim. And out of the thirteen battalions in the Dogra army only one and a half are Muslims. The killing of a monkey is a penal offence. The Arms Act allows Hindu Rājputs to bear fire-arms without licence to the exclusion of all classes of Muslims."<sup>2</sup>

"The Muslims are very backward in education. According to the late census 1·6 per cent. of them are literate. The literacy among the males is 2·9 per cent., while among the females it is 1·6 per thousand. In the villages, illiteracy of the Muslim masses is colossal. In hundreds of villages not a single Muslim male or female knows even how to write his or her name or count two dozen sheep" (*Inside Kashmir*, pages 250-1).

"The main blame, however, for this state of backwardness falls on the shoulders of the Dogra rule. The

1. *Modern India and the West*, edited by L.S.S. O'Malley, C.I.E., Oxford University Press, 1941, page 370.

2. The Srinagar correspondent of the *Dawn* of Delhi, in the issue of Saturday, October 12, 1946, page 4.

Dogras have held the country for about a century with absolutely no fear of foreign aggression or internal disorder. The record of progress as it is should put any conscientious man in charge of the welfare of four million people to shame" (*Ibid.*, p. 251).

"The demand of Muslims became irresistible and the Maharaja was moved at last to do something in this direction. In 1916, Mr. Sharp, then Educational Commissioner with the Government of India, visited at the request of the Kashmir Durbar the educational institutions in the State, examined the Muslim demands, inquired into their grievances and submitted a report containing his recommendations for the guidance of the State authorities. These recommendations were sanctioned by His Highness but were lightly treated by his Ministers, and instructions issued by him were seldom followed by those in charge of the Education Department, who were invariably non-Kashmiris. As a matter of fact, soon after its publication, the report was safely put in the archives from where nobody could find it out. Fifteen years after, an official inquiry committee had to admit that "no one appears to be aware of the nature of the report submitted by the educational expert." The Muslims rightly felt aggrieved over such a state of affairs. For years they complained and protested, fretted and fumed, but all to no purpose (*Ibid.*, p. 83).

"Mr. Sharp had recommended (in 1916) an immediate increase in the number of schools so as to provide primary education in all villages with a population of 500 or over. This has not been done even in the year of grace 1941." (*Ibid.*, p. 251).

"Other communities were in the meantime making some progress. Especially in the Kashmir Province the Pandits were making rapid advance in education and had on this account begun to capture the offices as subordinate clerks. Kashmir Muslims became impatient. They had now many grievances against the authorities which were collected and sent to them with no results. At this stage a bold step was taken by a few leading Kashmiri Muslims. Recklessly enough a memorial was submitted by them to Lord Reading, then Viceroy of India, when he visited Kashmir in 1924 (already referred to above). In the course of the memorial the Muslims demanded that proprietary rights of the land should be given to the peasants ; that a

larger number of Mohammadans should be employed in the State Service ; that steps should be taken to improve the condition of Mohammedan education in the State ; that the system of *begar* should be abolished ; that the work of the Co-operative Department should be extended ; that all Muslim mosques in possession of the Government should be released and handed over to the Muslims. This memorial was signed by some eminent *Jagirdars*, and the two *Mir Waizes* (the Religious Heads of Muslims) also affixed their signatures to it. Some demonstrations in the State-owned silk factory at Srinagar and disturbances of semi-political nature took place in the city during the summer of that year. But everything was in an embryonic form then, and all this was put down by the authorities with a firm hand (*Inside Kashmir*, p. 84).

" A Committee of three official members consisting of a European, a Hindu and a Mohammedan examined the memorial and reported that there was no substance in it ! Some of the memorialists were exiled and their landed property confiscated. The two *Mir Waizes* were left off with a warning, but all official privileges enjoyed by them were immediately stopped. The demonstrators were summarily dealt with and punished" (*Ibid.*, pp. 84-85).

" The poverty of the Muslim masses is appalling. Dressed in rags which can hardly hide his body and bare-footed, a Muslim peasant presents the appearance rather of a starving beggar than of one who fills the coffers of the State. He works laboriously in the field during the six months of the summer to pay the State its revenues and taxes, the officials their *rasum* and the money-lender his interest. Most of them are landless labourers working as serfs of the absentee landlords. They hardly earn, as their share of the produce, enough for more than three months. For the rest they must earn by other means. During the six months (of the winter) they are unemployed and must go outside the boundaries of the State to work as labourers in big towns and cities of British India (mostly of the Punjab). Their lot, as such, is no good, and many of them die every year, unknown, unwept and unsung outside their homes. The disgraceful environments and unkind surroundings in which so many of them die have been a slur alike on the people and the Government of the country to which they belong."

(*Ibid.*, p. 252). And yet the Royal Commission Report of 1944 have recommended the continuance of the practice as it is believed to be economically good for these poor people! The bankrupt economic policy of the State has no use for this labour within the State, and perhaps because these labourers bring money from the Punjab to pay revenue to the State!

"Almost the whole brunt of the official corruption has been borne by the Muslim masses. The Police, the Revenue Department, the Forest Officials, and even the employees of the Co-operative Societies, have their palms oiled by exaction of the usual *rasum*. Nobody feels any sympathy with this distressing picture of poverty. The channels of human kindness and mercy have run dry. To loot the peasant is no sin; society does not disapprove of it.

"The list of the earthly possessions of a peasant is very brief. Besides the rags he wears, he owns a small house, a few earthen vessels, a wooden box, a couple of mats and, of course, a large debt. In most cases they have no bedding to sleep in. During winter, when nights are severely cold in the Valley of Kashmir, they sleep on hay spread on the floor in a part of a room occupied by cattle, which is generally warm.

"Rural indebtedness is staggering. The Government never took the trouble of making any inquiry in this behalf. Incomplete and haphazard non-official inquiries show that more than seventy per cent. of the people living in the villages are under debt. In numerous cases the produce of the land is pawned long before it is visible in the fields. Once a debt has been contracted it is never fully paid back" (*Ibid.*, p. 252).

[*Inside Kashmir* by Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, B.A., was printed in 1941, at the Lion Press, Lahore, and published at Srinagar in September 1942. This book was proscribed by the Jammu and Kashmir Government, a month after, *viz.*, on 27th October, though the seniormost lawyer of India, who took the chair at the inauguration of the Indian Union Constituent Assembly, Dr. S. Sinha, characterizes it as "an informative work on the present educational, economic and political conditions" of Kashmir. "It is," Dr. Sinha further says, "a helpful record and a useful survey and merits serious attention" (*vide* Dr. Sinha's *Kashmir—the Playground of Asia*, 1943 edition, revised and enlarged, p. 378). See also the brochure, *Heresy Eulogized*, published on 1st January, 1943, (Sahitya Mandir Press Ltd., Lucknow, U. P.), in which eminent leaders of Indian political life and leading journals of the land have written appreciatively on *Inside Kashmir*].

In the Royal Commission Report\* of Chief Justice Gāṅgā Nāth one reads :—“ The average diet of the people of this State falls below the calories content required for an average person namely 2,600. Since most of the population performs manual labour the standard requirement of calories could be even greater. The main defects in the diet are the preponderance of rice in the diet of the Kashmiris, the deficiency of raw green vegetable element, the comparative absence of fruits in the regular diet, and deficiency of milk content.

“ In a country so predominantly agricultural and with such limited scope for income in cultivable area and equally restricted sphere of expansion of agriculture, the need of industrialization to relieve the pressure on land cannot be over-emphasized. The proposition is so patent that we are surprised at the present industrial backwardness of this State. The State has, if any, a small place on the industrial map of India, although India itself is not a sufficiently industrialized country.”

If Jammu is one of the cleanest towns of Northern India, Srinagar, which has grown by “ eighty per cent. during the last fifty years,” is certainly the filthiest city of India ; its river is one of the most polluted and the dirtiest of rivers. Its banks are always covered with filth and refuse and the water is muddy and foul. A highly responsible official has made a statement in the Royal Commission Report to the effect that “ practically nothing has been done in an organized manner to tackle the problem of rural hygiene, sanitation and public health during the last decade.” The birth rate of Srinagar has risen during the decade from 4,000 to 7,000, the death rate has increased from 3,000 to 4,800.

In *Jesting Pilate*, his well-known book of travel published in 1926, and reproduced by Dr. S. Sinha in his *Kashmir*: “ *The Playground of Asia* ” (first edition, pages 255-56. Second revised and enlarged edition, pp 330-331), Aldous Huxley gives us the following reflections on what he saw on the Kashmir roads :—“ It is cheaper in Kashmir to have a waggon pulled by half a dozen

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\*Draft Report of the Royal Commission appointed by His Highness and presided over by the Hon'ble the Chief Justice of the State, Rai Bahādur Gāṅgā Nāth.

men than by a pair of oxen or horses. (page 20). . . . Passing, I feel almost ashamed to look at the creeping wain; I avert my eyes from a spectacle so painfully accusatory. That men should be reduced to the performance of a labour which, even for beasts, is cruel and humiliating, is a dreadful thing. ‘Ah, but they feel things less than we do,’ the owners of motor-cars, the eaters of five meals a day, the absorbers of whisky hasten to assure me: ‘they feel them less, because they are used to this sort of life. They don’t mind, because they know no better. They were really quite happy.’ And these assertions are quite true. They do not know better; they *are* used to this life: they are incredibly resigned. All the more shame to the men and to the system that have reduced them to such an existence, and kept them from knowing anything better.” (page 22).

### *A balanced appraisal of Dogrā rule.*

The long quotations above should not give the impression that the State administration has been deliberately oppressive to the people. In spite of the invidiousness of allowing arms only to Hindu Dogrās, army, it must not be forgotten that, in the army one-third, according to an former high official of the State are Dogrā Muslims, etc., that and General Farmān Ali Khān, General Samandar Khān, Brigadier Rahmatullāh Khān and others have occupied quite high positions in the Dogrā force. The Food Control Department was inaugurated for the good of the people, namely, for relieving them of the oppressive rates of food grain charged by a class of profiteers, known as *Wad-dārs*, (*wad* in Kashmirī means profit), who paid advances to the poor *zamīndārs* to purchase cheap, standing crops from them in order to sell food grain to the people at exorbitant rates.

It is, however, true that Dogrā administration lacked imagination, energy and ability to open up new areas, new avenues, new industries and to introduce the most convenient modern means of locomotion. Gorgeous Gurēz, with its copious water and wide verdure, its long, long stretches of plain-like level land is inaccessible. Silvery Sonamarg can be approached only through knee-deep mud after a smart shower. The two hundred miles from Srinagar to Skārdū and Shīghar is a primitive path, difficult to tread and teacherous to ride. I speak from personal experience when I state that the

indigenous apricots (*khūbānīs*) rotting in the orchards of these two places far surpass those of the best of California—such as those obtained in Los Angeles—in shape, in colour, in delicacy and in taste, despite the improvements effected by highly specialized scientific agriculture in that part of the U. S. A. Melons, apples and other fruits go waste for want of transport. And yet the people are the poorest. The ‘poverty of the Kashmiri is proverbial,’ but that of the people of Skārdū and Shīghar is indeed appalling. Even the headman of a hamlet *en route* may be seen, in his rags, any day, carrying his load of firewood for sale to any party of visitors that happens to halt for a day near it for the paltry price of an anna and a half. Lovely Lolāb is not easy to approach by the only open way of Kupwāra. And the plains of Deosai remain desolate all the year round. The drug industry has been installed, it is true. But very many essential things continue to be neglected still. Dr. John Martin Honigberger, Physician to the Court at Lāl ore, in his meeting with Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, mentioned that he would start making sugar from beet-root, and tea in Kashmir on returning to the Valley (see his *Thirty-five Years in the East*, p. 171). These are still to be attempted, though a hundred years have elapsed since his visit (see also *supra* pp. 786-7.) G. T. Vigne, the noted traveller, also over a century ago, in 1835, mentioned that veins of lead, copper, silver, and gold were known to exist in the grass-covered hills in the neighbourhood of Shāhabād below Bānihāl (see Vigne’s *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 337).

The Dogrā administration has lacked active sympathy with the aspirations of the people to a vigorous advance in enlightenment and prosperity and to the raising of the standard of living. It has been as foreign to the Valley as the British to India, with the sad subtraction of efficiency associated with British administration.

### *The Death of Mahārājā Pratāp Singh.*

Sir Pratāp Singh breathed his last on the 23rd September, 1925, in his sixty-seventh year, having been on the *gaddi* from September 1885 to September 1925, a period of forty years.

"The bier was covered with costly shawls and the pyre was of sandalwood. . . . The old Maharaja was on his death-bed in a room upstairs in the palace, but was rushed down to die on Mother Earth which is essential for Hindus. A thread connected him with a cow outside and ensured the safe passage of his soul to Heaven. The priests had a good time when he lay dying. Five thousand rupees produced a Goddess in gold with promises of longevity. The palace gates were guarded and General Janak Singh, the Army Minister, arrested the statue of the Goddess and found it was not even gold.

"A very interesting ceremony was performed after the Maharaja's death. A Brahmin was brought in from outside the State and shaved from head to foot. He was presented with samples of all the articles which had been used by the late Maharaja, money, motor-car, a horse, kitchen utensils in gold and silver, beds and bed linen, etc., and turned out of the State under Police escort, never to return under pain of death. He took away all the sins of the departed potentate."\*

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh had a daughter and a son. Both died in infancy. One statement is that, due to disease contracted in youth, he could not be expected to have a child of his own subsequently. Therefore, Rājkumār Jagat Dev Singh performed his obsequies. Jagat Dev was the second son of Sir Baldev Singh, the late Rājā of Pūnch, the second cousin to Pratāp Singh, and the great-grandson of Gulāb Singh's brother Dhyān Singh, and was adopted, when 14 years of age, shortly after the World War I, by Pratāp Singh in his lifetime. Jagat Dev Singh died in 1940; his son, Shiv Ratan Dev Singh, now studying for his LL.B. degree at Lucknow University, U. P., as already noted, will be the Rājā of Pūnch and the Jāgīrdār of the State on his installation to the *gaddī* in due course. There was a rumour that the late Mahārājā Pratāp Singh wanted this adopted son, Jagat Dev Singh, to succeed him, when Rājā Hari Singh was involved in the case in London, already mentioned. But the reports are that the late Earl of Reading, when Viceroy of India, decided to continue the *status quo* in favour of Hari Singh, according to Article I of the Treaty of Amritsar.

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\*Recollections—50 Years in the Service of India by the late G. E. C. Wakefield, C.I.E., O.B.E., The C. & M. Gazette Press, Lāhore, 1942, pages 192-3.

*The accession of Shri Mahārājā Sir Hari Singhji Bahādur.*

Mahārājā Pratāp Singh's mantle, therefore, fell on the shoulders of his nephew, Rajā Sir Hari Singh, the son of the late Rajā Sir Amar Singhī, the second younger brother of the deceased ruler and the great-grandson of Mahārājā Gulāb Singh, the founder of the State. Miyān Hari Singh, born on the 9th of the dark fortnight of Assūj, 1952, or 30th September, 1895, now rules the State of Jammu and Kashmīr as Honorary Lieutenant-General His Highness Rāj-Rājeshwar Mahārājadhirāj Shri Mahārājā Sir Hari Singhji Bahādur, Indar Mahindar, Sipar-i-Saltanat-i-Inglishia, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., HON. LL.D. (Panjab, 2nd December, 1938), Honorary A.D.C. to His Majesty the King of England.

His *Rāj-tilak* ceremony was performed with great *éclat* and was attended by several princes and the Governor of the Punjab. "There was a great display of jewels and 'Zabardast,' His Highness's favourite horse, was decked out with 7 lakhs of rupees worth of emeralds."\*

*Birth of Shri Yuvarāj Karan Singhji.*

Mahārājā Sir Hari Singh has a son, named Karan Singh, born at Cannes in Southern France, on the 9th of March, 1931, in the course of Their Highnesses' European tour. Shri Yuvarāj Karan Singhji, the heir apparent, is now (1949 A.C.) in his 19th year, receives his education, at present, not like his father at a Chiefs' College, but at the Doon School, Dehra Dūn, and was lately attending Pratāp College, Srīnagar. He is no longer styled *Miyān* Karan Singh or *Miyān Sāhib*, as his father—when he was the heir apparent—and Ranbir Singh, Pratāp Singh, and Amar Singh, the grandfather of Karan Singh, used to be styled, in their younger days. Karan Singh is now in the U.S.A. for treatment.

Miyān is now discarded in favour of Mahārāj Kumār or Shri Yuvarāj. The new palace is Gulāb Bhawan. Old Shergarhī is re-named Rājgarh, and the Assembly is called the Prajā Sabhā and the President is Prajā Sabhā Pramukh, the member of the Assembly is Prajā Sabhā Sad, the Prime Minister is Pradhān Amātiya, the Council of Ministers is Amātiya Mandal. The swearing-in of

\*Recollections—50 years in the Service of India, Lāhore, page 193.

high state functionaries is done through a Sanskrit formula. His Highness' orders have taken the place of *Irshād* or *Farmān*, and are issued in Sanskritized Hindi. And so to quote the late Mr. R. S. Pandit "in the time of the present ruler, the Maharaja Hari Singh, Rājatarāṅgī goes on" (*The River of Kings*, page 630).

#### Farewell to the Reader

The student of history is not permitted to play the rôle of prophet. His function is to chronicle events, to interpret those events, and to emphasize the lessons of those events for the good of mankind. Judging from the happenings of over two decades from 1925 to 1948 during the régime of Mahārājā Hari Singh, but despite himself, the people of the Valley of Kashmir have made just the beginning of a start on the road to political consciousness. With unity of purpose and readiness to sacrifice, the Kashmīris can transform themselves from suppliants into a vigorous and effective agency for the progress of their Fatherland.

Here we stop reviewing the past and enter the land of the living. So our history—partly general, and partly cultural—closes. We, therefore, take leave of the reader and pray—using, in part, the words of the noted traveller, Godfrey Thomas Vigne—

May Kashmir become "the Focus of Asiatic Civilization,"  
and may it have the Might to Maintain itself as—

#### *The Focus of Asiatic Civilization!*

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*Kashir*—that has chronicled events in the history of Kashmir up to 1925—goes into the hands of the reader early in 1949. If we skip over this period, as it is current politics, and, therefore, outside the ken of the student of history, it may now be possible to state that signs are clearer and the ray of hope brighter that, with the freedom of India and the creation of Pakistan, the Valley of Kashmir, on account of sovereignty being vested in the hands of its own people, may henceforth start on a career of greatness and, therefore, the prospect of its future as the focus of Asiatic civilization definitely appears to be reassuring !

## Errata—Volume II

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- Page 348, 2nd line of the footnote No. 2, read 1317 for 1314,  
and add 3 to the two subsequent dates too.
- „ 352, delete (?) in the second hemistich of the first couplet.
- „ 354, in the first line of the last couplet, insert the *izāfat*  
شانشہ on the second *hāzī* of شانشہ
- „ 355, in the last line, insert the *izāfat* on کر
- „ 358, delete the *izāfat* from کمالات in the 2nd hemistich  
of the last but one couplet.
- „ 363, in the 1st line of the Persian couplets, insert the *izāfat*  
on the *shīn* in مرضیہ
- „ line 5th, transfer the *tashdīd* from حی to یکون
- „ 365, read رفت for فتنہ in the middle of the paragraph 2.
- „ 367, insert the *izāfat* on the ‘ain in شمع in the Persian  
couplet.
- „ 375, 2nd line from the top, read *Tibb-i-Ūnānī* for *Tibbi-i-Ūnānī*.
- „ line 3 from above, read *Ranbīr* for *Ranbhīr*.
- „ line 19 from above, read *Vol. IX* for *XI*.
- 399, 10th line from the top, accent the *i* in *Ghaznavi*.
- 401, 5th line from above, read *pepper* for *pepher*.
- 403, 15th line from above, accent the *i* in *Himāl*.
- 405, 7th line from above, accent the two *i*'s in the  
*Masnavi Himāl*.
- 410, accent the *i* in *Sultāni* and *Divān* in three places.
- 451, 2nd line, accent the *i* in *Divān*.
- 454, read قطیرہ for قطیری in the 2nd line of the 2nd couplet.
- 456, transfer the *izāfat* from عاشق to بطبع
- 457, 1st line in the 2nd paragraph, accent the *i* in *Khāki*,  
also the *i* in *Ganāi* in the 4th line of the same  
paragraph.
- 458, read و for ' in the first line of the first couplet.

- Page 458, insert بُو before بُو in the 3rd couplet from above.
- ,, 472, delete the *izāfat* from روح in the 9th line from above.
- ,, „ transfer the *izāfat* from ء to ؤ in the 2nd hemistich of the لمعات
- ,, 476, in the 2nd line of the top couplet, read نگاه for نگاه تگاه
- ,, „ read دل for دل in the third couplet of the paragraph 14.
- ,, 478, read را for را in the 2nd hemistich of the 2nd couplet.
- ,, 480, read ظل for ظل in the second couplet.
- ,, 481, accent the *i* in italics in *Hamid* and *Sāqi* in the paragraph 2.
- ,, 484, read بُو الوفامي كُرد for بُو الوفاي كُرد in the 2nd hemistich of the 2nd couplet of *Hakim Sanā'i*.
- ,, 489, read چاک for چاک in the last line of Pandit Narā'andās *Zamīr's* couplets.
- ,, 522, under Sculpture, in line 11, read almost for amlost.
- ,, 543, 2nd line from above, the *i* is to be accented as *i*.
- ,, 548, 7th line from above, accent the *i* in *Sangitaratanākara*.
- ,, 554, 3rd line from the bottom of the main paragraph, read *Zir-u-bam* for *Zir u-bam*.
- ,, 604, in the footnote, *Hājjī* has been wrongly spelt as "Hājī," also in two places, viz., p. lxii, in Vol. I, in the Bibliography, in the name of the last author under M, and in Vol. II, on p. 462, 7th line from below, in the paragraph No. 3.
- ,, 605, carry the words *capital*, *Khizr* from the 5th line from the top to the next lower line to be inserted after the words *the new*. This error has also been noted in the footnote on the same page.
- ,, 634, in the top paragraph, delete the accent on *a* in the *bighā* in three places.
- ,, 635, 7th line from below, insert "a" between long and time, and accent the *a* & *a* in Chaghtai which is correctly *Chaghataī*.

- Page 636, add at the end of the middle paragraph : *According to Wade, Ranjit Singh got Rs. 25 lakhs a year from Kashmīr.*
- ,, 642, in the middle of the page, in the second legend, in Arabic, there should be a *tanwīn* on the ت in the word جیفہ Lower down in the Persian couplet, ذر should have the زیر below ذ and not below ذ.
- ,, 650, 4th line from below, delete the *comma* after " attributes."
- ,, 653, in the Persian couplet, after the first paragraph, read اتشی for اتشی
- ,, 680, line 13 from the top, read *page 781* instead of page 783.
- ,, 693, delete the *comma* between Kashmīr and State on the line immediately above Urdu poetry, and insert a *comma* after " Hakim " in the first line of this same paragraph.
- ,, 702, 3rd line of the main paragraph, delete *with* after provoked. Also, in this same page, footnote No. 2 should have an apostrophe after *Shea* followed by *and*. See also the footnote on the same page for this same correction.
- ,, 704, line 4th from below in the middle paragraph, read *sad* for *said*.
- ,, 705, in the first line of the *footnote*, read *Gyānī* for *Giyānī*.
- ,, 715, in the last block of the three couplets of Mirzā Mahdī Mujrim, the first hemistich of the second couplet should have کیں and not گیں as being more appropriate to the Persian script.
- ,, 727, 13th line from the top, delete the accent on the second *a* in *Nānāk*.
- ,, 735, there should have been no space between *Sirāt-i* and *Mustaqīm* in the first line of the page.

In four or five places certain photographs will not be found as noted in the List of Illustrations but a little *after* or *before* the page given in the List.

The photograph of Floating Gardens facing page 650 is an addition, not noted in the List.

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NOTE.—With reference to page 252, Vol. I, and to page 182 of the Index to Vol. II, *chinār* in *Kashir* has been throughout spelt as such. On consulting lexicons, the spelling is as follows: Bate (1875), page 208, has *chinār*; Fallon (1879), p. 539, *chinār*; Platts (1884), 443, *chanār* and *chinār*; Wollaston (1894), p. 939 and p. 956, *chinār*; Steingass (1930), p. 399, *chanār*; Johnson, p. 456, has *chanār*. Persian and Urdu dictionaries usually write *chanār*. Kashmīris, however, as a rule, pronounce it *chinār*.

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**The Map of Ancient Kashmir.**—The Map of Ancient Kashmīr, intended to face page 35, Vol. I, noted as No. 9, on page **xxix**, and referred to on page 783, Vol. II, though printed by the Survey of India for *Kashir*, was detained at Amritsar, and could not be received by the author despite long correspondence with a number of notable officials of the Government of India.



THE END

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#### Imprint

The two Volumes of *Kashir* by Dr. G. M. D. Sufi were printed at the Civil and Military Gazette Press, Ltd., 48, the Mall, Lāhore, by the General Manager, Lieut. P. Heal, R.N., and published by the University of the Panjab, Lāhore, Pākistān, in 1949, and can be had of Messrs. Ferozsons, Lāhore, Peshāwar, or Karāchi, and of Messrs. Macmillan & Co., Bombay, London, New York, etc., for Rs. 40/- or £3. 6sh., or \$12. 500 copies.

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## Volume II

### CHAPTERS VIII to XII

[Pages 343 to 832]

[Prepared by Mr. Kamal Hydar, News Editor of the "Pakistan Times," Lahore, Mr. Shaukat 'Ali, M.A., and Mr. Zuhur-ud-Din Ahmad, M.A., Library Assistants, Punjab Public Library, Lahore, and revised by the Author.]

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*Chārgāh*, one of the melodies imparted into Kashmīri music, 548.

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*Chā'ū'sh*, saw that everybody was at his proper place in battle, 659.

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*Chhōṇwen Rattan*, Gyānī Budh Singh of Pūnch, the author of, 705 supplies information to the author about Banda Bairāgī, 705.

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*Chiefs and Families of Note in the Punjab*, by Sir Lepel Griffin, quoted, f.n. 748.

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*Chikin-dūzī*, one of the types of Kashmīri embroideries, 569.

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**Chingīz**, Mullā Kamal's ancestry traced to, 376.

**Chishbiyya, The**, by Mullā Bahā-ud-Dīn Bahā, 480.

**Chitrāl**, the—War, 815; Hishmatullāh Khān Lakhnavī deputed for duty to—, 815.

**Chloroform**, Partāp Singh was so keen on his *huqqa* that two hours after the—he called for it, 820.

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**Chosroes**, *Chosroes' Spring* in the possession of, 531.

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*Chrār*, the tomb of Shaikh Nūr-ud-Din Rishi at, 514-5.

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*Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi, The*, quoted for weights, f. n. 643.

*Chronicles*, Kashmīr, reference to rice as *dhānya*, 645 ; quoted for Ibrāhīm Shāh Sharqī's flight to Srinagar, f.n. 666.

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*Chrysanthemum indicum*, or coronarium or the *Gul-i-Dā'ūdī*, one of the drugs introduced into India during Muslim rule, 493.

*Chūb-i-Chīn*, a kind of root brought from China and used by *hakims*, 498 ; a funny description of the patient who tries the—for blood purification in Baron Schönberg's *Travels*, 498 ;—koṭh finds its way to China, 499 ; —*Chīn* another name of *Chūb-i-koṭh*, 499.

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*Chunār*, Mahārānī Jind Kaur was exiled to the—fort, 749.

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*Chuttianah*, a duty levied on Kashmīri shawls, 565.

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Çiti Kanṭha, believed to be the first Kashmīri poet, 403.

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*Çivaparinaya*, tale of Çiva's marriage in Kashmīri, 398.

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*Civil and Military Gazette, The*, Mr. Grey's account of the receipt for the sale of Kashmīr in, f.n. 767.

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Codrington, Dr., his *Musalman Numismatics* quoted, f.n. 639.

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*Collection of Treaties, Engagements, and Sanads, A*, quoted, f.n. 794.

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*Commentary of the Hindu System of Medicine* by Dr. T. A. Wise, reference to different systems of medicine in, 492.

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*Condemned Unheard*, by William Digby, quoted, 680; f.n. quoted, 805; removed from the libraries of the State, f.n. 808.

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*Copper Coins of the Sultāns of Kashmīr, The*, quoted, f.n. 638.

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*Court and Camp of Ranjeet Singh, The*, Osborne on Ranjīt Singh, quoted, f.n. 709; Osborne on the death of Ranjīt Singh, quoted, f.n. 716; quoted, f.n. 737.

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*Dairī*, the family of Mahjūr shoots from Mullā Ashraf—, 414; *Bulbul* died in the neighbouring village of—, 479; a poet of eminence, 486; Irānians would delight themselves by meeting—, 486.

Dal, Sultān Hasan Shāh built a *mairasa* which stood on the—at Pakhribal, 349; the revenues of Bāghāt-i-Malkha lying between Nauhatta and the—in Srinagar assigned to the *madrasa*, 349; the unruffled water of the—for a mile, 351; Habba enjoyed life with Yūsuf Shāh as the queen of Kashmīr luxuriating in the spell of lovely weather on the—, 390; *Mazharī* employed by Akbar as superintendent of the—, 459; Sultān Zain-ul-‘Abidīn built a three-storeyed house on a small island in the—, 511; the Suna Lānk lies in the centre of the—, 511; the Chār Chinār was built by Sultān Hasan Shāh in the—, 511; the shrine at Hazrat-bal is situated on the shores of the—, 519; Hazrat-bal is approachable both by road and by the—, 519; the remains of early Mughul gardens are seen all around the sides of the—, 528; the Shālāmār lies at the far end of the—, 529; the Nashāt garden on the—, 532; the Bahr-Āra was the western arm of the—, 533; there was a palace which gave the fullest view of the—, 533; Chashma-i-Shāhī is high up in a hollow of the mountain which overlooks the lotus on the—, 533; the Chār Chinār at the southern bank of the—, 534; the description of the—, 534; its background, 534; its several distinct parts, 534; the bathing place of the—, 534; the Arrah river feeds the—, 534; its flood gates, 534; its origin, 535; the—lies in the flood plain of the Jhelum, 538; the Bāgh-i-Murād in the—, 542; the Bāgh-i-Khidmat Khān on the—island, 542; the Bāgh-i-Dilāwar Khān was near the *ghāt* on the Brārinambal, a branch of the—, 542; there were 77 gardens in the vicinity of the—, 542; trips in the *Shikāra*, both morning and evening, on the—are extremely delightful, 588; tax receipts from—the lake, 631; floating gardens on the—, 650; Gulāb Bhawan, the splendid royal residence overlooking the—, 788.

Dalēl Singh, son of Ranjīt Dev, 754a.

*Dal-guldār*, one of the types of Kashmīrī floor covering called the—or appliqué, 569-570.

Dalhousie, Lord, Gulāb Singh was disliked by—, 787.

Dalip Singh, the eldest son of Ranjīt Singh was called—, 717;—placed on the throne, 719; Hira Singh becomes the *Vazīr* of—, 719;—remains the ruler of Lāhore after paying the expenses of the war, 719; after the defeat of the Sikhs—was brought away from the capital, 719;—sent to the interior of India, 719;—was proclaimed Mahārājā at Lāhore at the age of six, 745;—removed in 1850 to Fathgarh; 749,—converted to Christianity, 749;—leaves for England, 749; the return of—to India to take his mother to England, 749; leaves again for India, 749;—detained at Aden, 749;—re-converted to Sikhism, 749;—goes to Europe, 749;—death in Paris, 749; Gulāb Singh endeavoured to retain sovereignty for—, 771.

*Dal-Khālsā*, Gurū Gobind Singh's army consisting of 500 Pathans came to be known as the—, 708-709.

Damdama Sāhib, Gurū Gobind Singh finalized the compilation of the *Granth Sāhib* at Talwandī Sābo, now called the—, 706.

Damascus, Khwāja 'Abdul Karim visited—, 380; through Bukhārā Kashmīr silk found its way to—, 574; the Caliphate went to the Umayyids of—, 600; Dr. Honigberger practised at —, 784.

Dancers, luxurious feasts were given in the Mughul gardens where —entertained the guests, 528; tax on Kashmīri—637.

Dandelion, on the *Hand*, a herb common throughout the Kashmīr Valley, 499-500; it is a common remedy for intermittent fevers and ague, 500.

Danish massacre of monks and nuns by—when tolerance pervaded the Hindu-Muslim period, 621.

Dānishmand Khān, Khwāja 'Abdullāh Ghāzī acquires medical knowledge under—, 495-496.

Danube, the Jhelum forms a continuous series of rapids, like those of the St. Lawrence and the—, 537.

Dar, See Bīrbal Dar.

Dār, Miyān Muhammad Amin Dār, Mullā Muhsin Fāni repents of his 'sin' under the influence of, 372.

Dārā Shukūh, Prince, writes the *Risāla-i-Haqq-numā*, 350; establishes the residential 'School of Sūfiism' for *Kasb-i-Māh*, 350; Mullā Shāh greatly respected by, 350; Mullā Shāh initiates—into the Qādirī order, 350; Mullā Shāh passes many days of his life in the monastery built by—, 350; reference to Mullā Shāh in the *Sakīnatul-Awliyā'* of—, 350; Miyān Mir frequently visited by—, f.n. 350; the *Sakīnatul-Awliyā'* of—deals with the life of Miyān Mir, f.n. 350; a notice of Miyān Mir's life in the *Safīnatul-Awliyā'* of—, 350; while Akbar had his inclination to the sun,—turned to the moon!, 351; the Pari Mahall called after the name of the wife of—, 351; his remark on the Pari Mahall, 351; Fāni's grave is reputed to be near the Khānqāh of—, 365; Fāni's talents attracted the notice of—, 365; Fāni takes refuge in a monastery built by—, 366; the influence of—, 372; his works and translations, 372; Sa'dullāh Khān was so thoroughly honest that he would not care even for the complaints by—against him to the Emperor, 379; builds bridge over the Jhelum in 1631, f.n. 385; reference to—in the slab in the Bādshāhī Bāgh, f.n. 385; Persian rendering of the Upanishad made under the supervision of—, 406; a poem entitled the *Jung-nāma* describing the war between Aurangzib and—attributed to the poet *Ghani*, 465; Pandit Chandra Bhān flourished under—, 485; the Pari Mahall was built by—, 519; the mosque of Akhund Mullā Shāh was built by—, 519; the —Mahall of Prince—was glimmering in a flood of light in its own days, 519; the garden of—at Bijbhāra, 535; Bāgh-i-Shāhābād was given to—, 542; Mir Ziyā served Aurangzib in suppressing—, 570.

Dāradā, reference in Sanskrit literature to the tribe—, 397;—, also called Darads, 397.

Darasgāh-i-Mullā Haidar, Mullā Haidar established this institution in the reign of Jahāngir, 350.

*Darbān*, Khān 'Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān would not agree to have a—at his door, 382.

*Darbār-i Akbarī*, The, Āzād's reference to Akbar's visit to Srinagar in, 353.

Dard, the —— ic language has supplied skeleton to the Kashmīrī language, 395; Kashmīrī belongs to the —— group, ; the significance of ——, 395; —— *istān*, by Dr. Leitner, quoted, f. n. 395; the characteristics of the —— ic languages, 396; —— ic is the second branch of the Āryan language, 396; the second branch of Āryan language settles in —— *istān*, 396; Sir George on the word ——, 396; Dārads inhabited the country where we now find Shins, who are at present called —— s, 397; Greeks and Romans included under the name of the —— country the tract between the Hindu Kush and the frontiers of India, 397; the area known as —— *istān*, 397; —— *istan* included much of the country not occupied by the ——, 397; the Āryan languages spoken in the area are known as —— ic, 397; the inhabitants resent the names of ——, —— *ist* and —— ic, 397; the —— s call Kashmir as *Kashrat*, 397; the —— *istān* was once inhabited by what are called Piçacha or cannibal demons, 397; the name —— ic used instead of Piçacha, 397; —— ic denotes a combination of three groups which includes ——, 397; Kashmīrī, despite its —— ic basis has come under the influence of Indo-Āryan languages, 397; Kashmīrī is only one of the —— ic languages that has a literature, 397.

*Dargāh*, Pari Begam buried in the —— of Miyān Mir, 35.

*Darind*, the village of —— set apart for the maintenance of the Madrasa-i-Husain Shāh, 349.

*Dar-ul-'Ulūm*, Deoband, Maulavi Sayyid Muhammed Anwar Shāh held the rectorship of the ——, 383.

Dār-ush-Shifā, Husain Shāh Chak gives a *jāgīr* for extending the, 349.

*Darshani Bāgh*, the Garden of Audience was part of Akbar's palace at the foot of the Hari-parbat, 517.

Dārūgha Muhammad Zāhid Abu'l Hasan Samarqandī supervised the building of the Bādshāhī Bāgh, 385.

*Darvīsh*, 'Aziz, poet, brief extract from, 427; the *Rishī-nāma* is also called the —— *nāma*, 475; Shaikh Safi-ud-Dīn Is-hāq, the founder of the —— order of Safawis, 503.

*Dasam Pādshahā dā Granth*, the Book of the Tenth Reign of the Sikhs 706; its compilation, 706; the —— makes no mention of immuring of children in the foundation or wall of Sarhind, 728.

*Dastūr-ul-'amal*, the handbooks compiled for the use of subordinate officials were called the, 607.

Dā'ūd, Bābā, the poet, his death, 373; nicknamed as Mishkātī, 373; the *Gulzār-i-Khalīl* is based on the *Tazkirah* of Bābā —— i-Mishkātī f.n. 376.

Dā'ūd Khākī, Bābā, reference to —— as one of the more important poets, 456; his Ganāi parentage, 457; his birth, 457; studies, 457; becomes tutor of Sultān Nāzuk Shāh's son, 457; becomes *murīd* of Shaikh Hamza Makhdūm, 457; goes with *Sarfi* to seek Akbar's help, 457; death, 457; remains brought to Srinagar from Islāmābād, 457;

*Khākī*, his poetic name, 457 ; his works, 457 ; his poetry, 457 ; Nasib-ud-Din *Ghāzī* was the *murīd* of —, 475.

Dā'ūd, Mullā, Mullā Ashraf *Bulbul*'s father was Mullā —, 479.

Daulatābād, the village of — set apart for the maintenance of Madrasa-i-Husain Shāh, 349 ; Sārangdeva was making a name in — when Cīti Kantha was in Kashmir, 404.

Daulat Khān Lodī, Ibrāhīm Lodi's Governor of the Punjāb, 700 ; Nānak 'enters' the granary of —, 700 ; Nānak gave away the property of —, 700.

Daulatābād, Muhammad Tughluq founded, 384.

Davendra Satyārthī, Professor, on Kashmīri folk-songs, 415 ; on the peasants' reaction to the happy sight of saffron flowers, 417.

David Hume, his *Essays, Literary, Moral and Political* quoted, 672 ; also f.n. quoted, 672-75, 681. See Hume.

David Shea, *Dabistān* translated into English by —, 371 ; the translation was begun by — and left incomplete by —, 371 ; his English translation of the *Dabistān* quoted, f. n. 700.

Dayā Rām Ganjū, Pandit, reference to his humorous writings, 412.

Dayā Shankar Nasīm, one of the famous Kashmīri poets outside the state who is holding a high position, 491.

Dayya Lol, one of the works of Nanna published recently, 412.

Deccan, the, *Shafīq* flourished at Hydarābād, —, 369 ; biography of Khān 'Allāma Tafazzul Husain Khān by Nawwāb Sayyid Muhammad 'Alī Khān of Hydarābād, — ; f.n. 382 ; Muhammad Tughluq founded the Daulatābād in the —, 384 ; the people of — believed Begam Sumrū to be a witch, 394 ; Devagiri in the —, 404 ; the *Sarv-i-Āzād*, published at Hydarābād, —, f.n. 451 ; Devagirī was a state in the —, 547 ; Bhāskara migrated from Kashmir and settled in the —, 458 ; the singers from Karnāta (below the —) sat before Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidin, 552 ; Aurangzib levies *Jizya* for the maintenance of his army in the —, 620 ; Lachhman Dās leaves his native land and settles in the —, 705.

Delhi, an Urdu translation of the *Ta'rīkh-i-A'zamī* lithographed at, 373 ; Shaikh Ahmad was a disciple of Khwāja Bāqī-billāh of —, 379 ; Khwāja 'Abdul Karim had come down to Shāhjehānābād in —, 380 ; Nadir Shāh gave out that he was returning to Irān soon after the sack of —, 380 ; Hakīm Mirzā Muhammad Hāshim was taken from the court of — by Nadir Shāh, 380 ; Sir Jadū Nāth Sarkār's reference to Nādir Shāh's invasion of —, 381 ; chapter on the devastation of old — in the *Bayān-i-Wāqi'*, 381 ; escape of Prince Jawāns bakht from —, 382 ; Nawwāb Farid-ud-Daula, the Prime Minister of Shāh 'Ālam of — went to Lucknow to study astronomy, 383 ; Muhammad Tughluq left — in 1327 for the conquest of Madura, 384 ; on the death of Begam Sumrū's father she and her mother removed to —, 392 ; Reinhardt obtains the principality of Sardhana as a *jāgīr* from the emperor of —, 392 ; Begam Sumrū was a *jāgīrdār* of the emperor of —, 394 ; a part of Begam Sumrū's army

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*Demosthenes*,—glories in the possession of his people of three classes of women, two of which furnished the legal and semi-legal wives, 613.

*Denier*, the, thickness of raw silk thread is indicated by a French weight called the—, 573 ; the weight of 492 yards is the—of raw silk, 573 ; the thicker the thread the higher the—, 573.

*Deoband*, the *Dār-ul-'Ulūm* at—, 383 ; Maulāvī Sayyid Muhammad Anwar Shāh's death at—, 383.

*Dera Babā Nānak*, Sri Kartārpur, Gurū Nānak died at, 699 ;—now a town in the Batālā tahsil, 700 ; the remains of the founder of the Sikh religion found its last resting place at—713.

*Derby*, Rolls Royce factory at—, 505.

*Dēsha*, one of the Karnātic tunes, 552.

*Detroit*, Ford factory at, 505.

*Deutsche Mythologie*, the story of *Aka-nandan* has some slight sad resemblance to the "Der Riese und das kind" of the—, 419.

*Devagaha*, new palace built at—by Bad Shāh, 510.

Devagiri, *see* Daulatābād, 404; Čārangadevā lived at the court of the Yādava king named Simhaṇa who ruled at—in the Deccan, 547.

Dhalla, son of Sūrat Singh, 754a.

Dhaddan, son of Dhalla, 754a.

Dhansari, one of the melodies imported into Kashmirī music, 549.

Dharāmdās,—Chandra Bhān was the son of, 486.

*Dharmārth*,—fund started by Gulāb Singh for Hindut emplés and Sanskrit learning, 791; reference to the *A'in-i-Dharmārth*, 791; six hundred students kept under tuition on behalf of the ruler of Kashmir according to the *A'in-i*—, 792;—is now a reserved subject, 792.

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*Dictionary of National Biography*, extracts from—on Vigne's travels, 724.

—Persian, Arabic and English, A, Hindu is called 'Black. A servant. A slave. A robber. An infidel. A watchman' in the, 683.

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Diddamar, reference to the—quarter in A'zam's appellation, 374.

Diet, Bābā Dā'ūd was born in the year when the—at Worms excommunicated Luther, 457.

Digby, Ranbir opposed a British resident being stationed at Srīnagar according to—, 807; his book *Condemned Unheard* removed from the libraries of Kashmir State *f.n.*, 808; Prince Amar Singh, Prime Minister, was in secret communication with the Resident, according to, 809; Pratāp Singh's donations to various funds according to, 809.

Dīnā Nāth *Mast*, a poet, extracts from his verses, 491.

Dinnāra, the Sanskrit word —derived from the Roman Denarius, *f.n.* 639; the term—used in old Kashmir for any coin, *f.n.* 639; a hundred shells were equal to one copper—, *f.n.* 639.

Dipamālā, one of the female dancers of Sultān Zain-ul-'Ābidīn's court, 552.

*Diwān*, (poetical works) Mulla Shāh leaves a—, 350; the—of *Sarfi*, 364; a manuscript copy of the—, ī-Muhsin Fānī is in the Panjab University Library, 366;—i-Nāzim, the dialogue of Sukh Jiwan and his wife in Persian, 399; the—ī-Wahhab is Pare's original work which comprises the whole of his poetry, 410; Pare's 767 odes which are in the— are in Kashmīrī, 410; none of Pare's works except the *Shāh-nāma* and a selection of his—is printed, 410; Ghani's—has gone beyond the confines of Kashmīr, 447; Sā'ib is said to have remarked that "the whole of his—could have been bartered away for the single couplet of Ghani, 451; Sā'ib's remark that he should have written a whole—with only the first hemistiches himself and asked Ghani to add insertions thereon, 451; Sā'ib makes a selection of 220 verses from Ghani's—for his personal note-book, 452; the—of Ghani, 464; Ghani's—printed at Lucknow, 464; Sālim's—of about 700 pages is in the Panjab University Library, 469; reference to Taufiq's—, 473-474; Hubbis'—is a specimen of fine poetry, 474; Zihni did not arrange his—, 476.

*Diwān*, (analogous to the steward or fiscal agent of feudal days in the West) Lachhmi Narāyan was the—of Nawwāb Āsaf Jāh, f.n. 369; dismissal of—Lachhman Dās, Governor of Kashmīr, 483; *The Gulāb-nāma* of—Kirpa Rām and the beauty of his expression, 487; the Jāmī Masjid of Srinagar was closed under the order of—Moti Rām, 513; *The Gulzār-i-Kashmīr* of—Kirpā Rām quoted, f.n. 560;—Kirpā Rām gives a list of instruments that Kashmīris have been using in the manufacture of arms, 592; the *Vazīr-i-Māl* was sometimes called the—, 606; the duties of a—606; under the *Sūbadār* there was the provincial—, 607;—Kirpā Rām on Ranjīt's death, 715;—Devī Dās was sent to Kashmīr to organize the assessment of revenue by Ranjīt Singh, 721;—Moti Rām acted as Governor of Kashmir twice, 721; Vigne on—Moti Rām, f.n. 723.

*Diwān* Chand, Misr, a Brāhman, a notable pillar of Kashmīr State, 725; humble beginning, 725; reduces the fort of Multān, 725; seizes the diamond treasury of the Nawwāb of Multan, 725; title conferred on—, 725; death, 725; as Governor of Kashmir, 725.

*Diwān-i-Khās*, the, 'Abdul Karīm's description of Nādir Shāh's tent in the—, 382.

Divine Law, the Sultān's authority was always limited by—law, 600.

Dogenham, Ford factory installed in—, near London, 505.

Dogrā, Kashmīrī Pandits rose to high rank under the—s on account of his proficiency in Persian, 487; medical men under the—s, 497; the Patthar Masjid was practically closed during—rule, 516; the Mughal gardens fairly well kept by the—Government, 531; during the beginning of—rule the Government derived about £2,000 from silk industry, 575; frequent changes and re-distribution of the *parganas* continued during—rule, 629; the early—s continued Persian legends on their coins, 642; the—coins, 643; the legend of—coins, 643; Lawrence on the condition of the people under the—s, 680; Col. Torrens's reference to

the—Diwān abusing a Hindu Pandit and *vice versa*, 692; the administration of the Kashmir Valley conducted by the—house of Jammu from 1846 onward, 750; Gulab Singh was a—, 751; explanation of the term—, 751; the origin of the term—, 752; *do girath* corrupted into—, 752; —is a corruption of *dugar*, 752; the name— really comes from Divigartta— 752; Miyān the title of the—, 752; the descent of the — royal line, 753; the—principalities are said to have been founded round about Jammu and Kāngṛā by Rājput adventurers, 753; the beginning of the—rājās of Jammu, 753; the—family chart, 753 *a*;—revolts in the time of Akbar and Jahāngīr, 754; the—liberally treated by the Mughuls, 754; the appearance of the—, 754; Drew's description of a—, 754; Ranjit had a special eye for personal beauty of the three great—brothers, 754; Ranjit Dev's death led to the overthrow of—rule by the Sikhs, 755; —s lost their independence, 755; Gulab Singh restored the lost dignity of the—, 755; Rajaurī called Rāmpur by—, 761; Fauq's comment on the purchase of Kashmīr by the—, 768; the—ruler asked to quit Kashmīr, 769; the ruler to whom Kashmīr is sold is a—, 771; the alternatives before the Kashmīri were a militant—and the Britisher, 773; Shaikh Imām-ud-Dīn routed the — troops, 774; Gulāb Singh the founder of—rule in Kashmīr, 788; according to—tradition, the house of Jammu claims descent from Rāma, 790; payment to—soldiers, 796;—rulers scrupulous about the honour of women, 821; —rulers keep four or more mistresses each, 821; sentence for cow-slaughter under—rule, 822; the—rule has been a Hindu Rāj, writes Pandit Prēm Nāth Bazāz, 823; no Muslim Prime Minister under —rule, 823; only 1½ Muslim battalions out of 13 battalions under—rule, 823; the main blame for backwardness of the State falls on—rule, 823; the record of progress under—rule should put any conscientious man to shame, 823-824; a balanced appraisal of—rule, 828; lack of imagination on the part of—administration, 828; the—administration lacked actual sympathy with the aspirations of the people, 829.

Dogri, Gārada is more closely allied to the—alphabet of the Punjāb Hills, 402; Muhammad Bāqir had the charge of the Translation Bureau for the translation of Tibb-i-Ūnāni into—, 497; Ranbir could read—, 789; classical Hindu learning through—attempted, 790; —improved and encouraged, 790; army parade orders were given in—796; Pratāp Singh's study of—, 807; the first—newspaper, 818.

Domel, at Muzaffarābād, the Krishnagañgā river joins the Jhelum on its right bank, whence the name—, 538.

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Dōru, Gāmi's grave may be seen at the village Arwadri, near—, 405.

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Dr̥dhvala, *Agniveça Samhitā*, revised the work of Charaka, 494.

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Drug, reference to the — Research Laboratories, Jammu and Kashmīr, f.n. 499; State—Laboratory at Srinagar, 500.

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## SOME OPINIONS ON "KASHIR."

Opinions on the first draft of **Kashir** entitled "Islamic Culture in Kashmir" circulated for criticism in 1925—28.

**1. The late Sir Thomas Arnold, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., School of Oriental Studies, University of London:**

I have read it with great interest, and have derived from it much profit and instruction. No such detailed study of Islam in Kashmir has hitherto been published, and your exhaustive investigations into the widely scattered materials have revealed the importance of the subject.

**2. Prof. L. F. Rushbrook-Williams, M.A., B. Litt., C.B.E., formerly Professor of History, University of Allahabad:**

In my opinion it is likely to rank as a standard authority in its field; and I cannot sufficiently admire the industry with which you have collected valuable material from so many different sources. Further, I should like to congratulate you on having successfully performed a difficult and valuable piece of original work.

**3. The late Prof. J. Horovitz, Dr. Phil., University, Frankfort-on-Maine, Germany, formerly Professor of Arabic, M.A.-O. College, Aligarh, U.P.**

I find your book very well arranged and the chapters dealing with the main subject, Muslim Culture in Kashmir, most valuable. I don't think that another book exists in which one would find so much information on this subject presented in such a pleasant form. You have collected a vast material and I have learnt a great deal from the perusal of your book.

**4. The late Mr. Arthur Mayhew, C.I.E., C.M.G., Director of Public Instruction, Central Provinces, sometime Educational Commissioner with the Government of India and later Educational Adviser to the British Colonial Office, London:**

It is a most interesting contribution to a branch of Muslim History of which I—and too many

Englishmen—have hitherto been far too ignorant.

**5. Mr. Manohar Lal, M.A., Bar-at-Law, Dean, University Instruction, Panjab University, Lahore, later the Hon'ble Sir Manohar Lal, Kt., M.A., D.Litt., Finance Minister, Punjab:**

I am returning the proof of your book. It obviously promises to be an excellent book and let me congratulate you on it. I have found no occasion to change what you say—though I cannot subscribe to all your opinions. Your treatment, however, is carefully documented and you are secure from all hasty criticism.

**6. The late Rai Bahadur Pandit Sheo Narain Shamīm, Advocate, High Court, Lahore, President, Panjab Historical Society, Lahore:**

I have gone through Mr. Sufi's work "Islamic Culture in Kashmir" with intense interest. It shows great range of research. The task was, by no means, an easy one, because the book covers so many subjects relating to Islamic Culture. While the book was passing through the press the author asked me to offer some suggestions and criticisms which I cheerfully did. I cannot say that I agree in all what he has said, but on the whole his undertaking is a success. Although my ancestors left Kashmir about a century and a half ago, my love for the home of ancestors is still cherished by me to the same degree as by the author. I hope the book will be largely read particularly by students of history. Although the Valley has been described as "paradise on earth," its inhabitants have, at times, been much maligned and to my mind unjustifiably, if not, maliciously. I am sure Mr. Sufi's work will remove many popular errors. Kashmir is no longer that isolated country, which it used to be in the past, the approach to it has become very easy and the consequent contact of other races with Kashmir and Kashmiris will conduce to this mutual benefit.

The Committee of the Panjab University Oriental Publications Fund that recommended the publication of Dr. Sufi's **Kashir** consisted of—

1. Khan Bahadur Maulavi Muhammad Shafi, M.A. (Panjab), M.A. (Cantab.), ex-Principal, Oriental College, Lahore and ex-Convener of the Panjab University Oriental Publications Fund.
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**Bakshi Sir Tek Chand, M.A., LL.B., Hony. LL.D., Retired Judge, Punjab High Court, Lahore.**

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*Dated: 12-8-1941.*

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ہاں ہاں کے گا دیکھتے ہی ہر شتر کم آج والد بے شبل ہے بالندیہ بن نظیر  
 ۸ ۷ ۶ ۴ ۳ ۱ ۹ ۲ ۹ ۱ ۰ ۵

اس مشکش کی جامع ناشہ تو ہے جناب شاکھا  
 ۸ ۷ ۶ ۵ ۴ ۳ ۱

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